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JULY 1, 1944, to DECEMBER 30, 1944

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The Shape of Things

UNLESS THE POLITICAL WISEACRES ARE HOPElessly at sea, Governor Thomas E. Dewey will have flown to Chicago before most *Nation* readers receive this issue and told the Republican convention that he is the boy "who cain't say no." For nobody doubts that he will consent to be "drafted" despite his 1943 statement: "I do not believe that an honest-to-goodness draft ever nominated the Presidential candidate of one of the major political parties." This will remain true even though his friends succeed in making his selection look a little more like a draft by inducing the other contenders to withdraw and getting him chosen unanimously on the first ballot. The strange thing is that with all his overwhelming support Mr. Dewey seems to have aroused little real enthusiasm. But as Turner Catledge of the New York *Times* has pointed out, the sole motivation of the Republicans at Chicago is "the desire to win, the hope to win, the determination to win—above all, to win." And Dewey on his vote-getting record in New York State looks more like a winner than anyone else available. Other qualifications would be superfluous.

*

AGREEMENT ON A PROGRAM IS PROVING harder than agreement on a candidate. The natural inclination of the G. O. P. bosses is to follow the rule for platform makers enunciated by Mark Sullivan—"The function of an opposition is to be an opposition." Believers in this strategy would gloss over the many differences on issues inside the party and concentrate on "turning the rascals out." Mr. Dewey himself evidently favors this approach; his one direct contribution to the deliberations of the resolutions committee has been a strong blast at bureaucracy. So far as domestic issues are concerned, suitable compromises can probably be arranged. But the international plank is causing trouble. Even though Mr. Willkie has been sidetracked, Governor Edge of New Jersey and others are protesting against the effort to build it out of "rubber words." Mr. Edge has been particularly incensed by the use of the phrase "peace force" as a means of avoiding any commitment to armed collective action against aggressors and has threatened to take the question to the floor of the convention—a move which the party managers wish to head off at all costs.

BURLIN
PUBLIC L

TO THE CREW OF THE U. S. S. COOS BAY. We sympathize with your indignation about the strike at the Lockland plant of the Wright Aeronautical Company, which held up for several days the production of vitally needed airplane engines. But it is clear that those whose duty it is to keep you informed about events at home have badly misled you in this instance. You inclosed with your letter to the Associated Press a fund you had subscribed out of your small pay for the purpose of "buying off" the "money-hungry strikers." We understand your contempt, but it is misdirected. The walkout at Lockland had nothing to do with money; it was a strike in protest against the transfer of seven skilled Negro workers to a department previously manned only by white personnel. It was an unofficial stoppage in defiance of the Automobile Workers' Union, which is not only opposed to strikes in war time but is strongly committed to the principle of racial equality in industry. Unfortunately there are minorities among the workers who, finding inspiration and encouragement in very high places, fight for discrimination even though it means interfering with the flow of material to the battle fronts. There are members of Congress and governors of great states who are constantly ranting about "white supremacy" and attacking bitterly every effort to allow Negroes equality of opportunity or their other rights as citizens. These are the men morally responsible for the Lockland trouble and many other strikes over the same issue. They provide the lead which ignorant workers follow when they attempt to exclude Negroes from their shops.

*

IN SPITE OF HYSTERICAL OPPOSITION FROM the "White Supremacy" bloc in Congress, the Fair Employment Practices Committee has been granted $500,000 to carry on its fight for racial equality in employment. Meager though the amount may be for the vast responsibility that has been imposed upon the agency, the provision of even this sum must be considered a major political victory for the advocates of racial justice. In the Senate particularly, the racial bigots left no stone unturned to discredit the FEPC and withhold its appropriation. The agency was charged with creating racial trouble, with seeking to communize America, and, in the words of Senator Bilbo, with furthering the Negro's "dream of social equality and intermarriage." Under pressure from the Southern bloc the Senate adopted an amendment which will prevent the government from seizing and operating plants to enforce the rulings of the FEPC against discrimination. The agency will still have the power to enforce its orders through cancelation of government contracts. A second Senate amendment providing that no decision by the FEPC could modify any act of Congress is regarded as an attempt to undermine its cancelation powers. The practical effect of these amendments is not clear as we go to press; but since the agency has achieved remarkable results in the past without adequate authority for cracking down on offenders, now, armed with a clear-cut Congressional mandate, it should make an even better record.

*

THE AMERICAN NAVAL VICTORY AND THE advance on Saipan hold promise of even more spectacular news before the summer is over, as Mr. Bolté suggests on another page. But against our Pacific successes, and the less impressive advances being made in Burma, must be placed Japan's counter-achievements in China. The capture of Changsha in itself was hardly of major importance. The Japanese have held the city briefly on at least two previous occasions and could presumably have retained control before now if they had so desired. But its present capture is part of a large strategic plan which involves the opening of direct rail communications from the Japanese mainland, via the Straits of Shimonoseki, to Canton and, ultimately, to Singapore and Burma. As long as the Japanese hold this line, our own efforts to supply China from a port on the South China coast are completely blocked. The only way for supplies to reach the Chinese armies and our own superbomber bases will continue to be the hazardous air route from India. As General Chennault has indicated, this may seriously delay our victory in the Pacific. Fortunately, the Chinese, by unexpectedly stubborn resistance, seem to have upset the Japanese time-table. The whole of the Canton-Hankow railway has not by any means been conquered, while Chinese counter-attacks in the north have prevented the enemy from consolidating his control of the Hankow-Peiping line. A settlement of the long-standing differences between the Communist and Kuomintang armies—which is still in process of negotiation—would release hundreds of thousands of additional Chinese soldiers in this crucial northern sector and would seem the one immediate hope of balking Japanese plans.

*

VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE'S MISSION TO China has started most auspiciously. The Vice-President was greeted at the airport by an extraordinary delegation which included President and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Foreign Minister T. V. Soong, War Minister Ho Ying-chin, and the heads of all but one of the diplomatic missions at Chungking. At a state banquet given the following evening Mr. Wallace made a notable speech, echoing China's legitimate aspirations and making it clear that while America had abandoned the kind of imperialism that insisted on special privileges and concessions it would not again dodge its responsibilities for preserving peace in the Pacific. But Mr. Wallace's success in winning the Chinese has not been confined to formal speech-making. They have found him extremely well-informed and interested in the potential development of Chinese agriculture and industry after the war. Mr. Wallace found time in his first few days to take a long tour through Szechuan's rich farming country, where he examined the latest experiments in applying Western technique to China's age-old land. The Vice-President also made a hit with the American G. I.'s by stripping to the waist and playing three fast games of volley ball. We should probably have heard a howl of protest from the Republicans that the Vice-President was more interested in playing politics than volley ball if they had not already seen to it that few, if any, of the G. I.'s in China will have a vote this fall.

*

ON THE ITALIAN ANTI-FASCIST FRONT THE people themselves have scored some victories. The most important of the gains was the recognition of the new Bonomi government by the Allies. There was some delay over the issues of including Badoglio in the new Cabinet and compelling an oath of allegiance to the king. Badoglio, according to last reports, was not included, and whereas the Badoglio administration pledged allegiance to "the king and his royal successors," the new government swore to act "in the supreme interest of the nation." The monarchy still survives in vestigial form in the person of Prince Humbert, but a liberal republicanism is evidently calling into being new institutions of democracy. The improved situation is showing itself in other ways. Five years ago the tenor Gigli, on his return to Italy from an American tour, informed his countrymen that the United States was on the brink of civil war, that it was being ruined by the Jew who controlled the trade unions, that its arts were in decay, and that there was a "general nervousness and disorientation and an air of extortion and corruption." Gigli was booked last week to sing before American soldiers, but so violent was popular protest because of his previous pleasant associations with Fascists and Nazis that the American officer in charge had to cancel the engagement. Colonel Charles Poletti, former Lieutenant Governor of New York, is now A.M.G. commissioner for the Rome area. It is heartening to learn that his purge of Fascist collaborators from government agencies is going to be thorough and "pitiless." He told Homer Bigart of the New York *Herald Tribune* that he would lean heavily on the underground movement of resistance, previously heavily snubbed by A.M.G. "I sympathize with the views of these fellows," he said. "What the hell—they've been carrying on the fight for months. They are going to be asked to help." Here, at long last, is the American accent we have been waiting to hear breaking crudely into the suave evasiveness of diplomatic politesse.

THE INEPTITUDE OF OLIVER LYTTLETON, British Minister of Production, and the disproportionate ballyhoo which his remarks raised in this country, both show that the OWI and the British Ministry of Information have not yet completed their educational jobs. One essential for mutual understanding between two countries is a sympathetic grasp of each other's mythology. Our myth is that we entered the war as the surprised victim of unprovoked aggression. The British, on the contrary, take pride in the fact that they took the initiative against Hitler; they declared war on him because of his aggressions against others. And it was because of this pride that Mr. Lyttleton intended to pay a compliment when he said: "It is a travesty on history ever to say that America was forced into the war." What he meant was that America, like Britain, had taken its stand for international morality as a matter of free will, not because of *force majeure*. Obviously the British story includes an element of compensation for the sorry record of Chamberlainism. Only when Nazi aggression had grown beyond the point where it clearly menaced British interests did the British government reluctantly and hesitatingly take a stand. Our policy toward the aggressors was to back strong moral protests with gradually stronger measures "short of war." Undoubtedly our embargoes against Japan and our tentative support of China were provocative from the Japanese point of view, but it was the kind of provocation of which we need not be ashamed except to the extent that it was inadequate and belated. Neither America nor Britain has to apologize for resisting aggression: both need to become more conscious of their tardiness in resistance—a tardiness for which they are now atoning heavily.

*

THE PRICE CONTROL EXTENSION BILL WHICH was finally adopted by the Senate-House conference committee and subsequently passed by both houses is distinctly less objectionable than either the House or Senate version of the bill; but it remains highly unsatisfactory. After a four-day struggle the notorious Bankhead amendment—designed to roll up huge profits for the textile industry—was discarded in favor of a compromise that will boost clothing prices by somewhat less than the $350,000,000 indicated in the original amendment. The conferees struck out a provision which would have removed all restrictions on wage increases for workers earning less than $37.50 a week and the amendment permitting appeals to the District Courts, but they retained, with some slight modifications, most of the amendments designed to weaken the OPA's enforcement powers. These include a provision making it possible for a price violator who is being sued for treble damages to escape punishment by showing that the violation was not wilful and that reasonable precautions had been taken to prevent it. Another crippling provision requires the OPA to bring action against price violators in the district where the defendant lives or has his office. The new bill also prohibits the OPA from denying a black-market operator the right to sell rationed goods, and requires increases in rent ceilings in cases of "substantial hardship." War Mobilization Chief James F. Byrnes, who was largely responsible for the compromise on the Bankhead amendment, is reported to be strongly opposed to a veto on political grounds, and it is probable that the President is reluctant to compel Congress to cut short its recess. But rather than permit special interests to cripple the entire stabilization program, the President should veto the bill and force Congress to pass some sort of simple continuing legislation.

*

WE LIKE AN INDEPENDENT CONGRESSMAN. John M. Coffee (Dem.) of Washington has a healthy habit of speaking out of turn and not waiting for the nod from his party leaders. It has made him one of the most consistent and effective of the House liberals. Last week he introduced a resolution calling upon the President to break off diplomatic relations with Franco Spain in the interests of a speedier victory and a lasting peace. This in itself constituted a sharp jab at an Administration which had certainly showed no marked hostility to Franco's fascists. But Coffee went on to insist that this should be but a preliminary to the appointment of a military commission charged with getting arms, ammunition, and medical supplies to "the heroic Republican guerrilla armies of Spain when their revolt, timed to weaken the Nazi armies in their moment of greatest crisis, creates in Spain one of the active and decisive battlefields of this global war." It is good to hear a representative of the American people remind his colleagues and his government that the important issue of this war is the utter destruction of fascism.

Finland's False Friends

THE Finnish tragedy is drawing toward its inevitable climax. The Red Army, in the first of its summer offensives, has smashed through the Mannerheim lines in short order and captured the key port of Viipuri. This not only opens the road to the Finnish capital, 135 miles distant, which is being evacuated by civilians, but cuts the main line of communications for the Finnish forces in eastern Karelia. It is in this region that the Russians have now begun new drives, north and south of Lake Onega, and are rapidly retaking Russian territory which the Finns conquered with German aid in 1941 and hoped to retain as part of a "Greater Finland."

Those hopes faded long ago, and now the trap into which the Finns walked so heedlessly when they joined up with the Axis in 1940 is about to close on them. Their one chance to escape total occupation is to make peace, and it is not surprising that rumors of negotiations for an armistice should be spreading in Sweden. But no real peace can be made between Russia and the present Finnish government, which, clinging obstinately to its Nazi allies, threw away its opportunity three months ago. By all reports the Finnish people themselves are desperately tired of the war, but it is not yet clear whether they are prepared to insist on its being brought to a close. In order to survive, in order to get a new chance to build a really democratic state, they must find leaders who are prepared to end forever a foreign policy based on traditional hostility to Russia. If Finland showed its good-will by throwing out the men who have brought it to its desperate situation, we do not believe that the Soviets would insist on a Carthaginian peace.

When peace is Finland's only hope, it is criminal to encourage it to hold out. Yet this is exactly what some of the pre-Pearl Harbor isolationists and other enemies of the Administration in Washington have been doing. The expulsion of the Finnish Minister, Procope, who for far too long had been permitted to carry on anti-Allied activities in this country, has been the signal for vicious attacks on Russia and Mr. Roosevelt. Representative Knutson of Minnesota, for instance, has accused the President of having given "the Russians a free hand to invade Finland and wage a war which is as savage and barbaric as it is unjustifiable."

Propaganda of this sort ignores completely Finnish complicity in German plans of conquest and adopts uncritically the line that Finland was a victim of Russian aggression in June, 1941. We suppose it is hopeless to offer to men like Knutson any facts which conflict with their theories, but unbiased sympathizers with the Finns will find revealing information in an article in the June issue of *Harper's*. Its author, Major Erwin Lessner, is an Austrian refugee who fought as a volunteer with the Finns during the "Winter War." He describes a meeting in the village of Lapua, where he was stationed, only eleven days after the end of hostilities, at which Parson Kares, leader of the Finnish fascists, persuaded Marshal Mannerheim, never an admirer of Germany, to give his blessing to an alliance with the Nazis for the purpose of waging a new war against Russia. That was in March, 1940; in May the first German soldiers landed in Finland, and work was begun on a great German air base at Petsamo, on the shores of the Arctic, an air base from which many deadly attacks have been launched against American and British ships on their way to Murmansk. When the moment came, a little more than a year later, for Hitler to attack Russia, there were at least seven German divisions in Finland ready to take their part in the invasion. Under these circumstances it is hardly possible to describe Finland as the victim of unprovoked aggression, even if Russians fired the first shot.

There are still some seven German divisions in Finland, and we wonder what our Knutsons would suggest that the Russians do about this force. In order to save Finland from invasion, is it to be allowed to stay there unscathed, menacing Russian communications with Murmansk? Or would they suggest that Russia sign an armistice with Finland on terms which will allow these German troops to withdraw in good order and so become available for reinforcement of Rommel's hard-pressed legions in Normandy? How many American lives are they prepared to sacrifice in order to uphold the hands of Finland's fascists? Unless they have an answer to such questions, they will serve both Finland and America better than they are now doing by advising Helsinki to make a peace that will enable the Red Army to insure the utter destruction of the German divisions cornered in the north.

Prospects of Reconversion

RECONVERSION is not so close as it would appear to be in the headlines, and its timing will be determined not in Washington but in Europe. WPB Chairman Donald M. Nelson has been under pressure from industry for months to permit some resumption of civilian production, and he has now announced that he will permit three steps in that direction. Manufacturers will be allowed enough materials for working models of products to be turned out after the war. They will be allowed to purchase necessary machinery, tools, and dies for civilian production out of available surpluses and, where it will not interfere with war production, to place orders with the machine-tool industry. Both these steps seem to us proper and necessary. A third is still clouded in considerable doubt. Restrictions are to be lifted on aluminum and magnesium in order to permit civilian output where man-power is available. But on the question of the availability of man-power there seems to be a difference of opinion between the military and the War Production Board.

The man-power problem is extremely complicated. On the one hand, employment in munitions production has dropped 800,000 since the peak of last fall and may drop another million by the end of this year. On the other hand, as Chairman Nelson told the Truman committee, there is still a serious shortage of labor in some areas, and some 200,000 workers must be shifted to tight labor areas within the next few months if we are to meet current production goals. Unlike materials, labor cannot be crated and shipped where it is wanted. All sorts of factors—wages, housing, the unwillingness of people to leave their homes—play a part. Nelson's position seems to be that since labor is not fluid and many workers cannot be moved at all, a certain amount of civilian production could be allowed in areas of labor surplus. The military authorities fear that if such resumption is permitted, it will ease pressure on workers to move into sections where there are labor shortages. The position seems to be that a certain amount of unemployment is necessary on the edges of the war effort to keep labor moving toward places where it is needed.

Any considerable reconversion is out of the question, as Nelson has made clear, until we are closer to Hitler's defeat. The army woke up in Italy to the need for more artillery and in France to the need for more tanks—though it would have expanded both programs long ago if it had been more willing to learn from Russian experience. Now some reconverted facilities, notably in the railroad-equipment industry, will have to be turned back to the production of tanks. This is no easy task, and illustrates the danger of permitting reconversion before we are certain that there may not be a change in the fortunes of war. Both capital and labor are apt to press too soon for reconversion, and we may find them both allied against the military. It would be safer to overrate rather than to underrate the extent of German resistance and the task of defeating Japan when the European war is over.

Some small part of the pressure has been eased by the action of the military in consenting to let the new Production Executive Committee of the WPB decide what plants and what localities are to be affected by the cutbacks in military orders. It would do a great deal for labor morale and smooth the economic readjustments involved if labor were represented directly on this committee, as asked by R. J. Thomas of the United Automobile Workers' Union. The system of labor advisory committees is unsatisfactory at best and actually exists largely on paper. At the present time there are 769 industry advisory committees—and 13 labor advisory committees. The figures are the best commentary on the realities of labor-management cooperation at the WPB.

The job of reconversion is enormous and delicate and will need much good-will and cooperation to be successful. At present, discussion of the subject is far too much concerned with when industry can get the go signal and how soon controls will be removed. That way lies a return to pre-war production levels, and that, as Thomas said in Washington last week, means fifteen to nineteen million unemployed. Labor representation, direct representation at the top levels, would give labor a chance to keep attention focused on the need for full employment. "The type of planning that I think is necessary," Thomas said, "is not planning for reconversion but planning for full utilization of our material and human resources." Theoretically everyone shares that perspective; actually little is being done about it.

BURLINGA

The Great Offensive

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

WE'VE heard a lot of talk about global warfare, but now for the first time we are seeing it waged. The past three weeks have seen the beginnings of the true global offensive; the long and anxious period in which the United Nations built up their strength and deployed their forces is now finished. With the opening of the global offensive, the end of the war is for the first time within sight.

The great offensive has been well planned and well coordinated. It is a concurrent offensive, waged on opposite sides of the world, aimed at destroying our enemies' strength and pushing them back into their homelands. There is no out for Germany or Japan: having lost the initiative, having failed to crush us before we became more powerful than they, they have lost everything—including an early advantage, that of possessing interior lines of communication. We now have superior strength massed against both of them: what good are interior lines if they dare not move troops from one front to another for fear of an offensive against the weakened front? When you have won an empire by conquest and must hold it all by force, and when you are then confronted by superior force at many or all of your boundaries, you are inescapably in a dilemma, and interior lines are no longer of major importance.

Consider Germany's situation. The Allies have done a tremendous job of landing men and material on the Norman beaches; now they have taken Cherbourg, a deep-water port through which they can funnel even greater quantities of men and material, harbor demolitions notwithstanding. The local German reserves have been roughly handled, and were not able to force a penetration to the sea in the early stages of the operation when the Allies were comparatively weak ashore. As this is written, the enemy's strategic counter-attack has still not developed, which means either: (1) that the Germans couldn't move their mobile reserve over lines of communication badly battered by the Allied air force and the sabotage of the French Army of the Interior; or (2) that SHAEF's astute method of issuing consecutive weekly warnings to European fishermen to stay home has made the Germans fear other landings at spots which they dare not leave uncovered.

Meanwhile a strong and masterfully commanded Allied force has been driving the Germans up Italy—obviously toward no good end, unless the mauled Tenth and Fourteenth armies can somehow contrive a stand on the Pisa-Rimini line. With the Allies poised on Corsica and Sardinia, no troops can leave southern France to aid their unfortunate comrades on the peninsula; nor, with Tito active in Yugoslavia, can help come from the Balkans.

Likewise the long eastern front. Finland appears on the verge of quitting the war, thus in effect exposing the extreme left flank of the German line. The successful drive in Finland is directly linked with the opening of the main summer offensive on the White Russian front around Vitebsk. Removal of Finland from the Russians' right flank opens the way for a drive through the Baltic states; but no such drive is profitable so long as the Germans hold Vitebsk, the strongest bastion on the entire eastern front and a thorn in the left flank of any such drive. In last winter's offensive against Vitebsk, the local Soviet command was known as "troops of the Second Baltic Front," which suggested a clue to the intention of that offensive, as Vitebsk is a long way from the Baltic.

The Germans held Vitebsk then, and according to their communiqués threw the Russians back from their temporarily commanding positions around the city. Presumably great strength has been massed for the present offensive, but Vitebsk still looks like a tough nut. It has been extensively fortified, with concrete strong points, wire fields, mine fields, and artillery batteries sited in great depth. However, if there is a single lesson to be learned from this war, it is that *no static defense can long hold out against determined and resourceful attack.* Vitebsk may have fallen by the time this is read; if it has, the way will be open for a drive through the Baltic states, or straight across the northern approaches to Poland, above the barrier of the Pripet Marshes.

This is the short route to Germany from the east. As such, it will be strongly defended. But what if it is, or what if Vitebsk holds awhile? Another Soviet offensive is poised below the Pripet Marshes, even closer to Germany; yet another is aimed through Rumania. The Germans cannot shift their forces in anticipation of one or another of these offensives; they must try to hold *all* their ground with inferior strength, bolstered by increasingly large non-German levies and by that chimerical concrete-and-steel about which they themselves waxed so hoity-toity when they had crashed through the Maginot Line. Time and space are the elements of strategy: on the east as on the west and south, the Allies dictate the timing, and each new phase of the offensive robs the Germans of space. Each phase of the offensive links with the others, and there is symbolism as well as very real military gain in the triangular shuttle bombing of Germany which is now to be started.

In the Far East the lines are not yet so tightly constricted, but the 1,100-mile leap from Eniwetok to Saipan, the cleaning up of Biak, the pounding of the Central Pacific bases, the counter-blows in the Burma-India theater, and the first fine performance of the Superfortresses show the development of the anti-Japanese pattern. The thrust to Saipan, by-passing Truk with derision, seemed daring; but we have Admiral Nimitz's word for it that we "put enough muscle into our Fifth Fleet to handle the situation." The "situation" might have been the entire Japanese fleet; but since Kwajalein, I believe, each of our Central Pacific advances has been covered by a task force powerful enough to engage the Imperial Fleet on favorable terms.

Saipan seemed the final step that would force the Japanese into a fleet engagement: however, the loss of 402 planes on a single day, and the loss and damage to their surface units two days later when our carrier-based aircraft intercepted their task force, turned them away before the Fifth Fleet could close the action. Our admirals regretted this, but eventually how much more regrettable for the Japanese. Our hold on Saipan puts us within striking distance of the Philippines, Formosa —an island to watch carefully—and Japan itself. If the Imperial Command would not risk the fleet to meet this threat, it is difficult to say when it will take risk.

The gap in the Far Eastern war, of course, is the ground situation in China; but this seems the enemy's offensive of desperation, designed to secure the Peiping-Hankow-Canton rail link for overland passage of troops from Manchuria to the South China coast before the sea lanes are closed. An offensive of desperation may win temporary advantage, but it doesn't win wars, or even delay defeats very long.

The Plot Against Wallace

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, June 22

TOM CORCORAN is running quite a campaign behind the scenes here to get the Democratic Vice-Presidential nomination for Supreme Court Justice Douglas, and the tactics being used have disturbed some of Douglas's own colleagues on the bench. Corcoran is hated by the old-line Democratic politicians for past reasons that reflect credit on him, and mistrusted by most of the New Dealers for current reasons that don't. He still has a coterie of office-holders who depend on him for advice and owe their original appointments to his influence as a Presidential adviser before 1940. He uses this coterie for all it is worth on both public and private business, and he has been pretty successful in harnessing it to the Douglas chariot.

So active has the campaign for Douglas become on the Hill that it was discussed at a recent session of the Senate Judiciary Committee as "Tom's Plot." One of those who have been doing some under-cover lobbying for Justice Douglas in Congressional circles and elsewhere is Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, who owes a good deal to Tom's counsel. If the reports I get are correct, Forrestal has overstepped the bounds of propriety in his slurs on Wallace. If Forrestal is wise he will attend to the navy, where he has made a good reputation, and leave politics, where he may lose it, alone.

Corcoran seems to have entree to the White House again, where he takes credit for the Pepper and Hill victories. In White House circles his line is that while labor is on record for Wallace, it doesn't really care and would be as well satisfied with Douglas. With laborites his line is that, of course, Wallace is the best choice for Vice-President, but the reactionaries may block him, and Douglas would make a good second string for labor's bow. With politicians on the Hill, who are hostile to Wallace anyway, the Douglasites play on the argument that Wallace would lose the ticket votes. With the right, the line, of course, is to stress the danger of Wallace's succession to the Presidency. Perhaps Arthur Krock's Sunday dispatch in the New York *Times* of June 18 indicates that the right may be convinced that Douglas is less dangerous than Wallace. Krock refers to the Supreme Court Justice with curious equanimity as "a judge more radical than otherwise, but deeply native in his personality, intellectual process, and geographical background." I find it hard to see where Wallace of corn-belt Iowa is less "deeply native" than Douglas of the Yale Law School. From so calloused a son of the Wall Street soil as Krock, the phrase may be obscure, but I am inclined to think it significant.

Whether as an ally of Corcoran's or independently, Joe Kennedy is also playing a part in the anti-Wallace campaign and has spread word that the White House is not really for his nomination, which I know is untrue. The President is for Wallace, and his position is to his credit, for there is no one better equipped to carry on the best traditions of the New Deal at home and abroad. The White House second choice, if any, seems to be Ambassador Winant, an engaging figure but much Wallace's inferior in ability and insight. An attempt has been made unsuccessfully to play on the religious angle. Both Kennedy and some of Tom's supporters have claimed that Wallace would alienate the Catholic vote. But this argument has made no headway at the White House and has been resented by important Catholics here, who like Wallace as much as they dislike loose talk of "the Catholic vote."

The Douglasites have played no part, of course, in the attempt of Southern reactionaries to free the Electoral College from popular control but are not without hope that the threat may be enough to dislodge Wallace for their own candidate. Tom's own second choice, Sam Rayburn, is loyal to the President and stands with the Roosevelt Democrats in Texas. Yet either Douglas or Rayburn might be the beneficiary of the Southern revolt, and Corcoran is shrewd enough to understand this. He has much influence with Senator Pepper and seems to have tried to dissuade him from making a speech attacking the Electoral College conspiracy.

The Wallace crowd blames Corcoran's hostility on the Vice-President's opposition to cartels. Corcoran is the dominant figure in the powerful Sterling Drug, Inc., as Sterling Products is now known, and Sterling was closely allied before the war—and before Tom came into it—with I. G. Farben's American subsidiary, General Aniline and Film. The monopolistic policies followed by Sterling in the handling of atabrine, the best of our quinine substitutes, lead straight to the revival of cartel agreements after the war. But this view of Tom's opposition to Wallace is much oversimplified. Douglas has been his pet candidate for President or Vice-President ever since the 1940 campaign. Tom loves politics and he loves power. The manipulation of men and events satisfies his deepest instincts. He is charming, shrewd, energetic, and ruthless. He feels that he has made several Supreme Court justices, at least two Cabinet members, a brace of Representatives and Senators, and many lesser officials, and he would like to make a President.

What has alienated those who once admired him and worked with him is the way in which he has used these men and his influence with them to further his present private interests as a Washington corporation lawyer and lobbyist. He has said that he has put his old conscience "on the shelf" temporarily while he makes some money, but one wonders whether a man can change consciences as easily as he changes shirts. The private interests he serves today run counter to the public causes that once had the benefit of his great abilities. He used his influence at the Department of Justice to get much too mild a consent decree in the Sterling case. He used his influence with Senator Pepper to stop the Senate Patents Committee before it could investigate that case. He is one of the principal advisers of that extraordinarily stupid man Leo T. Crowley, whose policies as Alien Property Custodian and Foreign Economic Administrator have been of great help to Sterling at home and abroad. I'd hate to see Tom add a Vice-President and some day a President to his private collection.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

TO LOOK FORWARD to a Republican victory in 1936 the Republicans must produce a candidate who can really be considered a rival to Franklin Roosevelt's remarkable personality, with a constructive plan for the social and economic reorganization of the United States which will give a guaranty that it will work better than the Roosevelt program. There is not a single Republican candidate in sight who could be taken seriously.—OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, *June 6, 1934.*

IN EVERY PART OF THE COUNTRY, in every branch of industry, workers by hundreds, by thousands, and by tens of thousands have been laying down their tools in strikes that have been overwhelmingly supported by the rank and file. . . . Recognition of the union with its implication of the closed shop is the central issue in the rising wave of unrest which may culminate in a strike of steel workers in June.—*June 6, 1934.*

NO MORE STRIKING EXAMPLE of the Roosevelt-Hull new Latin American policy can be found than our imminent withdrawal from Haiti. Though less important in the eyes of the world than President Roosevelt's continentalizing of the Monroe Doctrine and the abolition of the Platt Amendment, the proposed manner of our leaving Haiti is a more conclusive proof of the high purpose and good faith of the New Deal in inter-American affairs.—ERNEST GRUENING, *June 20, 1934.*

THE INTERNATIONAL ARMAMENT RING will rejoice in the collapse of the League's effort to initiate an embargo on the shipment of munitions to the Chaco. Although twenty-three nations, including Great Britain and the United States, indicated their willingness to cooperate in the project, ten others made their acceptance conditional on the formal adherence of Germany and Japan, who as non-members of the League have thus far declined to join in the proposed move.—*June 20, 1934.*

HITLER AND MUSSOLINI, meeting in Venice to the accompaniment of dazzling festivities and political rites, have agreed on a "virile peace" for Europe. . . . Obviously, when the tumult and the shouting dies, it will appear that nothing has happened which is likely to relax the desperate tensions in Europe.—*June 27, 1934.*

FIRST PLACE AMONG the medical marvels of 1934 was easily won by the long-awaited official A. M. A. report on the socialization of medicine . . . issued to the public by Dr. Morris Fishbein in the form of "Ten Commandments." . . . These pronouncements are in effect a command to the American public to pull in its neck and leave medicine to its sole owners and monopolists, the medical profession. —*June 27, 1934.*

Storm Signals over South America

BY JOHN W. WHITE

Santiago, Chile, June 18

ECUADOR'S revolution on May 28 and the refusal of Colombia's Senate two weeks earlier to let President López yield to anti-democratic opposition and resign are storm signals of new unrest in South America. Throughout the continent the persecuted democratic forces are determined to try at last to free their countries from their long subjection to fascist-minded dictators. The dictators, quite naturally, are making frenzied efforts to crush this democratic unrest before it gets out of control. Fascism holds no terror for them; it is the nightmare of democracy that drives them to imitate Gestapo methods.

In Argentina, Paraguay, and Peru leaders of organized labor, "the leftist hordes," and other adherents of democracy are being arrested, tortured, and either deported or sent to concentration camps. In Bolivia the junta set up by the revolution which overthrew President Peñaranda under the guidance of Buenos Aires has resorted to similar measures in preparation for the forthcoming "elections," which it is hoped will obtain for the government the recognition of the United States Department of State. These preparations are so thorough that the rigidly censored news agencies were permitted as long ago as March 15 to transmit the prediction that the "elections" would be won by the *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario,* which has been supporting the de facto regime. In Brazil the signs of popular unrest induced President Vargas to assure the Brazilian people on April 15 that democracy would be restored to them as soon as the war was over.

Of the ten South American countries, only Chile and Uruguay have been able to preserve their democracy free from internal threat. Yet one prediction can be made about South America in all safety: there will be no political stability, no organized production, no ordered economy, no efficient participation in post-war cooperation until freely elected, popularly supported democratic governments are set up in all the republics.

The war has been history's greatest boon to the South American dictators. When the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor thrust the United States into the war, almost completely unprepared, Washington found most South American rulers friendly disposed toward Hitler and Mussolini. Hundreds of millions of dollars had to be poured into their countries to keep the dictatorships "in line"—that is, to purchase an allegiance that in more than one case has been only half-hearted at best. But we were in the biggest war in our history, and it was necessary to adopt a policy that would assure to the United Nations, instead of to Germany and Japan, the strategic raw materials so essential to winning the war.

While superficially adhering to the Atlantic Charter and pretending to cooperate with the United Nations in crushing fascism in Europe, the South American dictators have maintained fascist-style totalitarian regimes at home. Argentina's recently established military government is the most notorious example. Several years before the war started, however, Getulio Vargas had set up in Brazil an Italian-style corporative state which he calls the New State *(Estado Novo)* instead of the New Order. In Peru, Prado's government is a continuation of the totalitarian state which Marshal Benavides established with the assistance of Japanese military advisers and an Italian police mission. The political secret police organized by this mission has proved fully as efficient as any in Germany, Russia, or Italy. The country's only democratic party, the APRA, is outlawed, and four hundred of its most prominent members are in exile.

It is a significant commentary on the so-called democracy of the South American republics that the democratic forces in the various countries are obliged to communicate with one another by means of "undergrounds" similar to those in the occupied countries of Europe. These undergrounds use the two democratic capitals of Santiago and Montevideo as relay points for collating and redistributing their information. It was through the underground that Velasco Ibarra was able to keep in touch with the democratic parties of Ecuador during his long exile in Chile. A similar organization keeps the exiled members of Peru's APRA in touch with their comrades at home. The underground communication system between Buenos Aires and Montevideo handles almost as much "business" as the regular postal service.

The Nazi type of concentration camp has become an established institution, complete of course with torture chambers and whipping-posts. One of the first acts of the Villarroel government in Bolivia was to establish a concentration camp on Coati Island, in Lake Titicaca, two miles above sea level, and to fill it with democratic leaders and other "Communists." Argentina's concentration camp is in the Territory of Neuquen, in bleak, windy Patagonia. It is packed with democrats, Socialists, Communists, workers, and the other left elements which Argentina's generals hate and fear. Peru has its concentration camp on Fronton Island, near Callao. The affidavits detailing the tortures to which prisoners are subjected would be unbelievable had not the routine in Nazi camps been described so often.

The political situation in Ecuador before the recent revolution was typical of that existing in most of the continent. For the last three months President Arroyo del Rio had concentrated all the activity of his government on one purpose—to prevent the entry into the country of Velasco Ibarra. Ibarra was the extremely popular Presidential candidate of the united democratic parties, which comprised the democratic wing of the conservatives, the Socialists, the unimportant Communists, organized labor, and other liberal forces. His partisans have always insisted that he has the support of 75 per cent of Ecuador's voters. Even allowing for enthusiastic exaggeration, there never has been any doubt of his ability to carry by a wide margin any honest, uncontrolled election. The crowd that welcomed him upon his arrival at Guayaquil was described by the news agencies as the greatest popular demonstration in the recent history of Ecuador. The one thing, of course, that President Arroyo del Rio did not want was an honest election. He had picked an "official" candidate as his successor and was supporting him with all the power of the government in order to keep his own fingers in the graft.

Velasco Ibarra left his long exile in Chile early in March on the Argentine steamer Rio de la Plata, bound for Colombia. President Arroyo del Rio at first refused to let the steamer call at any port in Ecuador but finally permitted it to anchor at the entrance to the Gulf of Guayaquil. A small army of political secret police was sent to the place to prevent anyone from approaching Velasco Ibarra. Passengers boarding the ship were not permitted to be accompanied by friends or members of their families. These elaborate precautions made it impossible for the Rio de la Plata to load a large consignment of balsa wood that was to have been shipped to airplane factories in the United States, but saving Ecuador from Velasco Ibarra was a much more important matter in the mind of Arroyo del Rio than Ecuador's participation in the war effort.

Since becoming President, Velasco Ibarra has promised the people of Ecuador a democracy similar to Chile's. In nearby Colombia the recent refusal of the Senate to accept the resignation of President Alfonso López and his subsequent resumption of the administration insure the continuance of progressive democracy in that country also. Thus the two South American countries closest to the Panama Canal will now have democratic administrations, eager to cooperate with the United States instead of having to be bribed to do so.

Argentina presents the most dangerous threat to the future of democracy in South America. But Argentine meat, hides, wheat, and linseed are so vitally essential to the war effort that the military clique at Buenos Aires knows the United Nations do not dare impose the economic sanctions that would force the downfall of the government. Aggression is part of the totalitarian ideology, as we have learned at great cost, and the Buenos Aires government has lost no time in getting its aggression machinery into operation. The overthrow of Peñaranda in Bolivia was the first step and the only one that so far has met with success. Soon after the Bolivian revolt the Chilean government thwarted an Argentine plot to overturn the strongly democratic government of President Rios. The threat in little Uruguay became so serious that a United States squadron was sent to Montevideo and Admiral Ingram announced to the world that Washington was prepared to defend its friends anywhere against totalitarian aggression. An Argentine-inspired plot against Peru organized in La Paz after the fall of Peñaranda was discovered before it acted.

Not only the democracy but also the peace of the South American continent is endangered by the ambitions of the military clique that rules at Buenos Aires. War and the threat of war have always been a popular strategy for unpopular rulers. The Chilean government recently announced that it had arrested and deported two Argentine officers who were trying to organize a smuggling ring to keep the Argentine army supplied with copper, iron, and other war materials. A chair of national defense has been organized at La Plata University as part of the government's program to educate Argentine youth for war. Inaugurating the course on June 10, Secretary of War Perón explained the government's political goals thus: "Diplomatic action is necessary, but when it fails, we must resort to force in all those situations which justify force."

It is a question where the present Argentine government will strike when it decides to summon the people to unite behind their unpopular generals for the defense of the country. Argentina calls 30,000 young men to the colors every year for compulsory military training. The last two classes have been taught to hate both Brazil and the United States. When taken to the rifle ranges, they are told by the sergeants to imagine they are aiming at a damned Yank or a Brazilian *macaco*, a slang word for monkey which the Argentines apply to Brazilians with all the venom of a curse.

The Argentine government is using its belated break with the Axis as an excuse for suppressing all the constitutional rights of the people. Radio stations are under strict government control and are forced to interrupt their programs at all hours to broadcast government propaganda. They are forbidden to retransmit British and United States short-wave programs beamed at South America "until they have been edited in accordance with Argentine laws." This editing usually consists of eliminating anything offensive to the Axis powers. Movie theaters must show at least one government propaganda film at each show. Newspapers are told what they may and may not print. Telephone lines are tapped. A large corps of secret political police, organized under the personal direction of members of Hitler's Gestapo, reports on conversations overheard in bars and tea-rooms. The great daily *La Prensa* was closed for five days for criticizing a stringent economy policy in the hospitals. The two Nazi-subsidized newspapers are kept in newsprint from supplies allotted to the government for its *Boletin Oficial*. American news reels of the war are closely censored, but two downtown theaters showing German propaganda films remain unmolested.

While we are fighting for democracy, that way of life is taking a brutal beating in South America.

Advance Australia—Where?

BY BRIAN PENTON

AUSTRALIANS sing a national anthem bravely entitled "Advance Australia Fair." Their prospects in a tormented world suggest that "Advance Australia—Where?" might be a more appropriate slogan.

Seven million whites inherit a continent, about the size of the United States, at the strategic crossroads between East and West. To survive, Australia must become the catalyst of Asiatic, American, and British Imperial interests, many of them sharply conflicting. A thousand million Asiatics live at its back door in ghastly poverty. Two of the most numerous peoples—the Chinese and the inhabitants of India—are about to emerge as at least potentially great powers. This writes a question mark over the pattern of the whole world, but it makes especially doubtful the future of the Pacific and of underpopulated and isolated Australia.

Australia has grown up in isolation. Distance, plus a strong British navy, guaranteed that isolation. Behind these barriers Australia was able to legislate a high standard of living for its people. As far as statistics can give the picture, the following figures on real income—compiled by Colin Clark, Queensland government statistician, formerly lecturer in statistics at Cambridge—reveal how Australian standards compared with others in 1938 (the units are an abstraction based on the purchasing power of an American dollar in the decade 1925-34):

U. S. A.	1,381
Canada	1,337
New Zealand	1,202
Great Britain	1,069
Switzerland	1,018
Australia	980
Netherlands	855
Eire	707
France	684
Denmark	680
Germany	646
Belgium	600
Czechoslovakia	455
Japan	353
Italy	343
U. S. S. R.	320
South Africa	276
Lithuania	207

The outstanding fact demonstrated here is that in 150 years of history Australia had been able to provide its people with a standard of living exceeded by only five nations. This standard is immeasurably above that of the 50 per cent of the world's population which lives just to the north. The great question now is whether the conditions which enabled it to do this will continue after the war. That question makes the hair rise on the heads of thoughtful Australians.

The war has partly answered it. Singapore, stronghold of the mighty British navy, fell a few weeks after the first Japanese landed in Malaya. Why? Because the British selfishly abandoned it, along with other possessions on the periphery of their Empire, to be recovered, as one statesman said, "in the subsequent negotiations"? Some Australians thought so, and they were bitter. But the fact was much more distressing. To be abandoned through indifference is one thing; to be abandoned because one's guardians are utterly incapable of carrying out their defensive commitments is quite another.

The Empire was not an effective military unit in modern war. That was the plain truth. Any war was a world war now, and in a world war Britain was so closely beset from the Continent, its exposed supply lines were so vulnerable, that it just could not afford to scatter its forces across a global Commonwealth.

So what of the future? What of the "White Australia" policy—a policy of race differentiation dictated by fear of cheap colored labor, which every educated Asiatic must resent? What of the tariff, which more than any other factor made possible the high industrialization on which Australia's standard of living rested? When the Japanese were fanning out across the Pacific, the Australian Prime Minister said: "The Australian government regards the Pacific struggle as primarily one in which the United States and Australia must have the fullest say in the direction of the democracies' fighting plan. Without any inhibition of any kind I make it quite clear that Australia looks to America, free of any pangs as to our traditional links of kinship with the United Kingdom."

That simple statement caused an illogical flutter and much unwarranted indignation among the editorial writers of Britain. Perhaps it was the word "pangs" which got them. But Mr. Curtin was throwing down no gauntlet. He did not mean that Australia was "cutting the painter" and henceforth would consider itself the protégé of the United States. He meant that in accord with geographic realities Australia looked to America for material and strategic aid on their common sea, without any fear that this would injure its traditional ties, etc., etc. But it was true, though he did not say it, that the traditional links between Australia and the Empire had undergone a subtle change. This change would be simply defined, when the air was less heavily charged, as Australia's discovery that it belonged not in the European orbit of Great Britain but in the Asiatic orbit of the Pacific.

This discovery was a blow, but it was softened by a second discovery made at the same time—that practically close at hand, where the determining realities of his life lay, the Australian had a close blood and lingual relation in the American. The discovery may seem a bit belated, since Australians had been absorbing American culture for years through books, movies, and a two-way traffic in tourists. But here was something deeper than mere imitation. A theoretical commonalty of aims and ideas and—what detached analysis would no doubt later prove even more important—a vital interdependence were demonstrated in dramatic action. If Australia had merely been "rescued" by Americans, the lesson would have had no point. It would have left the long, dark future in pawn to quixotry. But the Americans had come not merely to rescue Australia; they had come also to save themselves. Whether or not Australia was going to be the base for a counter-offensive, whether it was the best springboard for an attack on Japan, was a debatable point: expert military opinion seemed early in the piece to decide it was not. But that tactical decision could not alter the grand strategic truth that America's future in the Pacific—even after it dictated terms to Tokyo—would depend on maintaining in Australia the rule of a friendly, white people. It seemed improbable that Britain would ever wish, or be able, to recover its ante bellum Pacific status. America must. Geography tied it to that area. The vast unexploited markets of Asia, the vast military threat of Asia, the political development of Asia were its intimate concern.

On the strategic map Australia loomed very large—not merely for today, not most significantly for today, but for long and uncertain tomorrows. Australians drew comfort from this to replace the lost sense of security they once derived from reflecting that Britain must protect them because it must protect its possessions in China, Malaya, and India. Now they knew, or believed they knew, that America must continue to cooperate in the defense of Australia because to remain a Pacific power it must maintain a Pacific axis in order to restrain Asiatic infiltration across the encircling net of Pacific islands.

Only one doubt—no bigger than a man's fist—remained. Would this axis be a defensive or an offensive axis? The Australian would not feel easy if it were to be used as a gun at Asia's head, to create the conditions required to exploit the Asiatic mainland in the good old colonial way. Despite fair, vague words to the contrary, that did not seem at all unlikely. There was an Atlantic but so far no Pacific Charter. Reticence on this point was understandable to anyone who had the remotest idea what, in simplest economic terms, the under-privilege of Asia's thousand million souls meant. Any day in the streets of Peiping, Hangkow, or Canton you could see a man squatting beside a piece of sacking on which he displayed for sale a battered can and a rusty nail or two. He was the ironmonger of the multitudinous poor in a country so short of cheap manufactures, so devitalized in purchasing power, that nothing was without economic value. Well might Occidental hypocrisy balk at translating the four freedoms into Chinese. Yet it was doubtful whether they could have meaning in any language unless that were done. Freedom from want and freedom from fear in the Pacific mean the industrialization of Asia.

"But of course," you say. "And America has the capital for the job."

Quite. But for what end? To raise the standards of the backward peoples or to increase American dividends? The two are not, up to a point, incompatible perhaps, and exploitation is not always so ugly as it sounds. Even an imperialistic capitalism which set out to find a use for its surplus money by financing the industrialization of Asia could not help enriching the country with roads, railways, power stations, and factories. It might try to maintain possession of these assets by promoting venal government and political disruption and by holding over China's head the threat of military action from encircling bases, but in the long run the Chinese people would inevitably seize what their own labor and resources had created.

There was the rub. The Chinese people, all the people of Asia, no longer backward, no longer unequipped for large-scale modern war, would eventually rise against those who tried to control and exploit them in the imperial way. When this rising occurred, Australia would provide the main field of battle. One could not contemplate the outcome of such a clash between East and West, between the insurgent East and the declining West, with any optimism.

So the great question remains? Advance Australia—Where? The United States has the clue to the mystery. It is concealed in its yet unformulated Asiatic and Pacific policies. Will it see its long-term profit in the raising of Asiatic standards; or will it go into Asia to grab short-term profits and let the devil take the hindmost. Look at the map and you will see that geography has located Australia in that unenviably exposed position.

The Supreme Court's New Moot Suit

BY DWIGHT MACDONALD

A FEW weeks ago the United States Supreme Court provided the colored people of America with a new-model moot suit, complete with legalistic reat pleats, stuff cuffs, and all the rest. The court dreamed up this bit of judicial tailoring, which has caused seasoned civil-liberties lawyers to gasp slightly, in order to dodge the Lynn case, the only court challenge of military jimcrow that has yet been made. By declaring the Lynn case "moot," on grounds we shall presently examine, the court hopes to avoid having to decide it one way or the other.

I described the early stages of the Lynn case in an article in *The Nation* of February 20, 1943. It all began two years ago when Lynn, a young Negro landscape gardner, was notified by Local Board 261 of Jamaica, Long Island, that he had been classified 1-A. He replied by letter: "Please be informed that I am ready to serve in any unit of the armed forces of my country which is not segregated by race. Unless I am assured that I can serve in a mixed regiment and that I will not be compelled to serve in a unit undemocratically selected as a Negro group, I will refuse to report for induction."

Local Board 261 took no official notice of this letter and ordered Lynn to report for induction in the fall of 1942. When he refused, he was arrested and indicted for draft evasion. His brother, Conrad Lynn, a lawyer, applied for his release on a writ of habeas corpus on the ground that his selection in an all-Negro quota violated Section 4(a) of the 1940 Draft Act; which states: "In the selection and training of men under this act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color." The Lynn brothers found that no judge would even hear their case so long as Winfred resisted induction. He must come into court "with clean hands." Therefore he accepted induction and entered the army in December, 1942. The Federal District Court in New York then heard the case and ruled against Lynn. Not long afterward, Conrad Lynn himself was drafted, and the case was turned over to Arthur Garfield Hays and his associate, Gerald Weatherly, acting for the American Civil Liberties Union.

On December 8, 1943, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in New York heard the case, and on February 2, 1944, it also ruled against Lynn. It was a split decision, however, Judges Swan and Augustus N. Hand in the majority, and Judge Clark in the minority. To the government's claim that Congress did not intend to abolish racial segregation in selection when it passed Section 4(a), Judge Clark replied: "I find it is difficult to think of more apt language to express the Congressional intent; the suggestion that Congress should have said something more, or amended the statute, means in effect that it should be watchful to see how a statute is violated and then expressly negative such violation or be assumed to sanction it." Mr. Hays at once appealed the decision to the Supreme Court.

Lawyers generally feel they have a good chance of getting the Supreme Court to review a case if they can get a split decision in the Circuit Court. But the Lynn case is not just another lawsuit. It is full of political dynamite. It was not too surprising, therefore, when the Supreme Court on May 29 last announced it would not review the Lynn case. (This technique of evasion was also used in the Minneapolis Trotskyists' case. By simply refusing to review, the court is able to allow reactionary decisions to stand without compromising its reputation for liberalism.) What *was* surprising was the reason the court gave for refusing to hear the case: "The petition for writ of certiorari in this case is denied on the ground that the cause is moot, it appearing that petitioner no longer is in respondent's custody, U. S. ex rel. *Innes* v. *Crystal*, 319 U. S. 755, and cases cited."

A case becomes "moot" when it has changed in such a way that it can no longer be decided one way or the other. When Lynn originally brought his suit, he was in the "custody" of Colonel Downer, commandant at Camp Upton, New York. Hence Coloned Downer is named as the "respondent" who is asked to produce the "body" of Winfred Lynn. Since then, Lynn has completed his training and is now serving overseas in the Pacific area. Hence he is no longer in the custody of the "respondent" and the case is moot. Even had he remained at Upton, the case would still be moot, by this reasoning, for Colonel Downer himself has now been retired from the army because of age.

The court's line of reasoning is even more fantastic than it appears at first glance. To note a few salient points:

1. When Lynn originally brought his suit, the courts told him he must enter the army in order to get a hearing. He did so and as a result soon passed out of the custody of the original "respondent." Because he obeyed the orders of one branch of the government,

he is now told by another branch that he has lost the right to have his case decided.

2. At the time Lynn was ordered overseas, Mr. Weatherly protested to the Adjutant General and received the following reply, dated February 9, 1944: "Should the unit to which he is assigned be ordered to proceed outside the continental United States and he is qualified for the duties to which assigned, he will not be removed from his unit. . . . (*Signed*) J. A. Ulio, Major General."

3. If the court had had any interest in seeing the case decided, it could have simply ordered Lynn's present commanding officer substituted for Colonel Downer as respondent. Rule 21 of the federal Rules of Procedure provides: "Parties may be dropped or added by order of the court on motion of any party or of its own initiative at any stage of the action. . . ." And Rule 81(a)(2) makes this specifically applicable to habeas corpus proceedings.

4. Habeas corpus is the only part of civil law that still applies to persons serving in the armed forces. If the military authorities can escape its control simply by passing the "body" from one colonel to another, it is in effect nullified in the military sphere.

5. Most of the cases cited by the court to justify its ruling are cases in which a civilian prisoner has been pardoned or freed on parole subsequent to his bringing the habeas corpus action. Such cases are obviously not comparable to the Lynn case. The only case cited which seems at all similar is *Innes* v. *Crystal.* Yet even here the soldier involved at least had passed from the custody of the army to that of the Leavenworth penitentiary. Lynn is today in the custody of the army, as he was originally.

6. That the Lynn case might be sidetracked as "moot" seems to have been a last-minute inspiration of Solicitor General Charles Fahy, who is famous among lawyers for such brilliant tours de force of legal technique. The government lawyers did not raise the issue of mootness in the lower courts, although by the time the case got to the Circuit Court of Appeals Lynn had been out of the custody of the original respondent for almost a year. The showdown will come this fall when Arthur Garfield Hays's appeal to the court to reconsider its refusal to review the case will be finally determined.

The Workers' Defense League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the March on Washington Movement plan to file supporting briefs *amicus curiae,* and the Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces is planning a publicity campaign. Unless public opinion causes the court to reverse itself, the chances of getting a legal test—let along winning it—of the anti-discrimination section of the 1940 Draft Act will henceforth be slight, and jimcrow in uniform will be more strongly intrenched than ever.

In the Wind

WESTBROOK PEGLER, IN HIS COLUMN of June 20, revealed the long-distance telephone records of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, which have been subpoenaed by the Dies committee and which, Mr. Pegler implies, indicate the close relationship existing between the committee and the White House and various official agencies in Washington. What Mr. Pegler did not reveal is that the Dies committee secured the documents from American Tel. & Tel., unbeknownst to the Political Action Committee, that Mr. Dies has never introduced them into the public record, and that they are now in the hands of the *World-Telegram's* distinguished columnist. The subpoena power of the House of Representatives, it seems, has become the property of Westbrook Pegler.

IN WASHINGTON, *THE NEGRO DIGEST* reports, the white-looking official Latin American guests are quartered by the State Department's Division of Cultural Relations in Blair House, the official government guest house. The darker Latin gentlemen are referred to Howard University.

RUMOR FROM ACROSS THE OCEAN: Mr. Churchill has informed his intimates that the British Cabinet has finally taken a decision, to be announced after the war, with respect to the future of Palestine, and it will be favorable to Zionist hopes.

TEAMWORK: JUNE 18, EARL BROWDER, in the *Daily Worker*: ". . . our problem . . . is to develop peace-time markets, under our capitalist system, equal to the war market in volume and effectiveness. . . . If this foreign market is properly organized, the goods we sell to them will make them wealthy and prosperous, so that they will soon be able to pay, with handsome profits for American capitalists. JUNE 19, ERIC JOHNSTON, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, to a press conference in Moscow: The Soviet Union wants to buy "many billions of dollars' worth of American goods on purchase terms mutually advantageous to the two countries involved."

THE OFFICIAL ORGAN of the railroad brotherhoods, *Labor,* says that "Montgomery Ward's sales tobogganed $19,000,000 in the first months of 1944, while in the same period the business of Sears, Roebuck and Company, which has not fought labor, zoomed by $32,000,000.

FESTUNG EUROPA: According to information recently received in Washington, the Czechs in Prague are being punished by the Nazis for merely talking loudly on the streets "or smiling." . . . A Belgian resistance group has succeeded in hoodwinking the German censor by posting leaflets in envelopes filched from the German Labor Office.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

The Maquis's Plan for France

BY MICHAEL CLARK

Algiers, June 3

I HAVE before me a batch of underground newspapers from France, the most recent being three issues of *Le Franc-Tireur.* This paper, 150,000 copies of which are printed monthly "in spite of the Gestapo and the Militia," is already quite candid about what it "expects from Algiers." "Too many of our companions have fallen," it says in one place. "We do not want medals for their widows but lead for their assassins.* ... Is it foreign pressure that has retarded and is still holding up the action of justice?"

The resistance movement evidently keeps a close watch on the political scene here, and it is quite frequently critical. *Le Franc-Tireur,* for instance, writes: "That is why, like the other twenty or so clandestine newspapers which are saving the honor of the French press, we are not too surprised at the timorous and kindly measures taken by the *Commissariat à l'Information* in Algiers against the North African papers, which continue to appear after having served the enemy. . . . No one would like to believe that our friends in Algiers are contemplating a procedure for France which only the confusion of the first few months could explain in North Africa." This criticism suggests a possible conflict in liberated France between the active leaders of the underground and those sincere liberals, like M. Henri Bonnet, Commissioner of Information, who have been spared the struggle against internal treason and Nazi occupation. The former will demand that *L'Oeuvre, Le Matin, Le Petit Parisien, Le Nouvelliste, Le Petit Dauphinois,* and all the other papers which have followed the orders of Berlin or Vichy be ruthlessly eliminated on the day of liberation. The liberals here, on the other hand, shrink from measures likely to menace in any way the fundamental freedom of the press.

The underground press makes it clear that the resistance movement is not too busy sabotaging communications and printing newspapers in cellars to think of larger matters. "The temporary government," says *Le Franc-Tireur,* "to fulfil the unanimous wish of the people, must take revolutionary measures as soon as the country is liberated. These measures will not frighten our real friends. Others had best remind themselves that the attempt to maintain a status quo profitable to any special interests would provoke reactions which we would support with all our strength." In its February issue *La Revue Libre* competently and dispassionately tackled the thorny problem of the nationalization of vital industries, drawing valuable conclusions from such past experiences as the nationalization of the French railways in 1938.

A PROGRAM OF ACTION

But the most interesting document of all, I think, is the "Program of Action" of the National Resistance Council in France, which is quoted at some length in the April issue of *Le Franc-Tireur.* Its purpose is summed up in a short preamble, which says: "This combat mission [that of the resistance movement] must not come to an end with the liberation. . . . Therefore the representatives of the resistance organizations, of the trade unions, and of the political parties, making up the National Resistance Council, deliberating in plenary session on March 15, 1944, have decided to unite on the following program. It includes a plan of immediate action against the oppressor and measures designed to establish, when the country is liberated, a more just social order." The "plan of immediate action" contains the following specific provisions:

> 1. In order to assure better coordination, particularly between the military effort and that of the nation at large, the National Resistance Council will undertake to organize local resistance committees in cities, towns, villages, and factories to supplement the already existing departmental committees.
>
> 2. Auxiliary militias led by engineers, teachers, civil servants, and reserve army officers will be created to protect the French people from terrorism and to assure good discipline.

But the bulk of the document is devoted to measures proposed to achieve "the greater task of reconstruction." Among these are the following:

> 1. General de Gaulle's Provisional Government is temporarily to assume the administration of territorial France in order to defend the nation's political and economic independence.
>
> 2. Traitors are to be punished, and the governmental machinery is to be purged; the property of traitors and black-market operators is to be confiscated.
>
> 3. A wider democracy, based on universal suffrage, will guarantee (a) freedom of thought, conscience, and expression; (b) the freedom of an honorable and independent press; (c) freedom of association, assembly, and demonstration; (d) the inviolability of the home and of correspondence; (e) the respect of the person; (f) the absolute equality of all citizens before the law.

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*This refers, no doubt, to men like Peyrouton, Tixier-Vignancourt, Bergeret, and others now in North Africa.

4. Reforms are to be carried out along these lines:

(a) Economic: True economic and social democracy implies popular control of the national economy and the subordination of private to public interests. Therefore monopolies, the exploitation of natural resources, insurance companies, and large banks must be returned to the nation. Elsewhere worker participation in management will be assured.

(b) Social: Improved labor laws will guarantee the right to work and the right to rest. The workers' buying power will be protected by wage control and a stabilized currency. Unionization will be on a larger scale. The conditions of agricultural workers will be improved. Social security and educational opportunities will be expanded. Wider political, social, and economic rights will be extended to native populations.

This program is offered as a rallying-point for all Frenchmen who are behind General de Gaulle and the Committee of Liberation. At the same time the Committee is asked to take note of the program's aims, and it cannot be denied, I think, that it is doing so. Despite local obstructionists and the poorer elements in its own composition, the Committee, and of course the Consultative Assembly as well, is clearly taking its obligations toward France very seriously.

LIAISON BETWEEN ALGIERS AND FRANCE

Obviously, the Committee's most important task has been to maintain a close liaison with France in order to reflect as closely as possible the will of the people. This has not been easy. Communications with an occupied country are hazardous at best, but Algiers has encountered an additional difficulty. London is an essential link in the liaison between Algiers and metropolitan France, and the suspension of private diplomatic correspondence with London has virtually cut Algiers off from the underground. It is felt here that this drastic measure can only reduce France's effective participation in the war.

In addition to maintaining liaison, the Committee has tried to obtain material support for the underground. Although French troops have contributed notably to the victories of the Fifth Army in Italy, many people believe that the country's greatest contribution will still be made on what is known as the *front de l'intérieur*. They point with pride to the substantial accomplishments of the *Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur* (F. F. I.).

Many Frenchmen here insist that the damage which the underground is capable of doing is greater than that resulting from aerial bombardments and is infinitely less wasteful materially and in human life. They say that at Creusot, for example, more stoppage has been caused by sabotage than by bombing, although the bombings have cost several hundred lives. But if the operations of the underground are to be effective on a large scale, arms, explosives, and money must be got to the men of the *maquis* in still greater quantities. For this, France must rely on British and American assistance.

The government in Algiers, in response to the urgency of the problem, has created a *Comité d'Action* to supplement and coordinate the existing agencies dealing with the resistance movement. And on May 30 the Committee announced that it had fixed by law the status of the F. F. I. This law has not yet been made public, but if the combatant status of the men of the *maquis* is established, it will be a great asset to the resistance.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD

The Committee of Liberation, like the National Resistance Council, is concerned with the problems of reconstruction. Jules Moch has already analyzed the most important of these in the pages of *The Nation*. Although only a National Constituent Assembly, elected by universal suffrage (including women for the first time), will be competent to determine the future organization of France, the Committee of Liberation must undertake the immediate task of setting up a civil and military administration behind the Allied armies. Already the Committee, with the approval of the Consultative Assembly, has promulgated laws which provide the necessary administrative machinery. The law of April 21 will regulate the transfer of the Provisional Government and the Consultative Assembly to France, the convocation of temporary municipal and general councils purged of collaborationists, and the election of the Constituent Assembly. The role of the resistance movement during the transition period is defined by Article 19, which decrees that as each department is liberated, a departmental committee of liberation composed of representatives from each resistance organization, trade federation, and political party affiliated with the National Resistance Council will be formed to assist the prefect. In his address to the House of Commons on May 24 Mr. Churchill gave assurance that the administration of liberated France would be handled, under General Eisenhower's control, by the Committee of Liberation according to the terms of this decree.

GOEBBELS PLUS "READER'S DIGEST"

The failure of Britain and the United States to recognize the Committee of Liberation as the Provisional Government of the French Republic has caused great disappointment here. In France it has provided useful ammunition for German and Vichy propaganda. The men and women who are fighting the enemy both within France and outside are grimly determined not to admit any authority other than French authority. This spirit, which sometimes comes dangerously close to xenophobia, particularly when inflamed by unnecessarily wasteful bombing, can only harm Franco-American relations. And to make matters worse, our policy toward France, based on honorable, perhaps, though not very clairvoyant scruples, has used unworthy methods of justification.

No words are too strong to apply to the inspired campaign of defamation carried on against General de Gaulle in America. Our relations with France are poisoned—and to what end?—by articles like Kingsbury Smith's Spotlight on the State Department in the May issue of *Reader's Digest,* which charges De Gaulle with using "Gestapo" methods and with resorting to "suicides" and "brutal treatment" which "would shock the American people." The *Reader's Digest* is distributed to troops in this theater in the form of a free supplement to *Stars and Stripes* and other newspapers for the Allied forces. The impression created here by that sort of thing is painful in the extreme. Again, on May 3, 1944, the Algiers edition of *Stars and Stripes* reported that the State Department had refused to recognize the Committee of Liberation because of General de Gaulle's "dictatorial" tendencies. M. Hauriou, a delegate from the resistance movement in France, called the attention of the Consultative Assembly to this article, declaring: "We protest against this opinion. We wish to recall that the organizations of the resistance movement recognized General de Gaulle as leader only when he affirmed his determination to reestablish the Republic." As for the almost pathological pleasure which some American writers—Westbrook Pegler is one of them—seem to derive from burying France for good, nothing need be said, except, in the words of Talleyrand, *"Tout ce qui est excessif ne compte pas."*

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ON THE very eve of the invasion and even after it had started, the Nazi leaders were still keeping up their own and the people's spirits with their grandiose plans for the future. Each one of the gentlemen, it is well known, has his special hobby, and he has continued to ride it right through these critical days.

Herr Goebbels's love is the movies, and as head of the Reich Film Bureau he acts as their guardian. So in recent weeks he has been securing the future of the movies. Picture theaters are crowded today and box-office receipts incomparably higher than in peace time. In consequence the fees paid by the theaters to the producers on a percentage basis are running into enormous sums. Here, Herr Goebbels saw an opportunity to lay his hands on a few million marks. He issued a decree taking away this increased income from the producers. Hereafter they are to be paid only the amount they received in 1939. Everything above that is to go into a fund administered by the Reich Film Bureau. This fund will be used for great and far-reaching purposes—"to finance the reconstruction or restoration of theaters in Germany after the war, and particularly the erection of theaters in the newly acquired territories of the Reich."

Herr Himmler has a different hobby: instead of concerning himself with future theaters in the conquered provinces, he wishes to be sure that there will be future soldiers. Four weeks ago this column referred to the campaign for an increase in births suddenly launched by his organ, the *Schwarze Korps*, and quoted this arresting sentence: "Even if the present war is lost, tomorrow's war can be won by the children of today's soldiers." Since then the campaign has been pushed with vigor. In the issue of June 6—the day of the invasion—women were taken to task for considering themselves too old to have more children.

> No woman is too old to bear children. What a fundamental mistake! What a deviation from natural thinking! How could a woman ever be too old to be a mother as long as nature finds her young enough? Experience teaches us that older women who in their youth have given birth to one or more children find delivery very easy. It may happen occasionally, though certainly not as a rule, that older women have difficulty when giving birth for the first time; if so they are no different from younger women. But even this difficulty does not exist to the extent that widespread superstition would indicate. A woman who fails to fulfil her destiny will be treated far more harshly by nature than those who live in accordance with natural laws.

It is a merit of the "National Socialist reshaping of thinking," Himmler's paper declared, that these questions can now be discussed openly. Before Hitler they were taboo—but not in the usual sense. "What was taboo was their political implications. Today we can publicly discuss these questions as a political problem of the first magnitude, closely linked with the great problems of war and peace."

With Goebbels and Himmler making such farsighted plans for the post-war period, Hitler himself could not be found lacking. Knowing his passion for building, we are not surprised to learn from a story in the St. Gall *Tagblatt* of May 30 that a staff of 150 architects under his personal direction is occupied with plans for the "Berlin of the future."

> As might be expected, Berlin is to be built completely anew. It cannot be "mended." Patchwork would only make it grotesque and ugly; enough has been destroyed or damaged to justify the idea of creating something entirely new. . . . The problems involved are of course gigantic. How can the rubbish be removed, and where to? Where will the freight cars and the barges and the machines be found? Where will people live during the reconstruction of the city? Or will the new Berlin be erected on some other site? These questions cannot be answered for the moment. Only one thing is certain: the new Berlin will be a city of ten million people, the largest and most beautiful city of the Continent.

The Swiss reporter then added drily, "Of course these plans can be carried out only if the Germans win the war."

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Nodier After a Century

BY PAUL ROSENFELD

LONDON newspapers sometime in 1819 reported that Napoleon at Longwood recently had spent a night reading and annotating a French novel. This was "Jean Sbogar," the depiction in a romantic plot of the character of a sublime Illyrian bandit. It had been issued at Paris the year before. An English version appeared the following year; and two years after, an American one—"improved" by the interpolation of original pieces by the translator, Peter Irving, Washington Irving's brother. The author was Charles Nodier, subsequently famous as the link between French classicism and romanticism, who in the present year, the centenary of his death, must be the subject of commemorations wherever literature remains in honor and the love of French literature persists.

The truthfulness of the report about Napoleon and the novel was afterward impugned. The story was called a clever inspiration of the publisher's. Yet if indeed it was a lie, it was an artistic one. "Jean Sbogar" introduced readers of fiction to a new cause of action which might readily have interested the imperial *Realpolitiker,* the former ally of Babœuf. This new cause of action naturally was not a sublime motive for banditry, a passion for justice, say, leading to banditry. Noble banditti long since had become familiar figures in novels, dramas, narrative verse. Their line led back to Lope de Vega: Schiller merely had sensationally continued it in "The Brigands," Byron more recently in "The Corsair," Scott very lately in "Rob Roy." All these figures rose from the timeless conflict between law and liberty; the more recent from the interior conflicts of individualism, from the division and resentments in middle-class youth in a feudal society, tragic in the sensitive individual requiring freedom for work toward his goals. The crimes of which Schiller's Karl Moor boasts are significantly the slaughter of an absolute Count, that of a minister who had wormed himself into favor and risen "through the ruin of his neighbor and the tears of orphans," and of a financial counselor who "sold honors and posts to the fortunate and turned sorrowing patriots from his door"; the firing of a Dominican church "in a city of bigots"; and the assassination of a priest "who from the chancel mourned the Inquisition's decay." A picture of banditry—what it comes to is revolt—inspired by individualism, even the noblest kind, could therefore doubtfully have been of interest to Napoleon; nor was the cause of action introduced into fiction by "Jean Sbogar" individualistic.

It was social. In Venetian society of the opening nineteenth century, the fiction begins, there figured a handsome man of mystery. Actually he was the Illyrian brigand, Jean Sbogar, but the fact was unsuspected, and a young patrician, Antonia, fell in love with him. One day he dropped his notebook, which, most prophetically, was "bound in Russian leather." Peering into it, Antonia read this aphorism among others similarly colored: "The robbery of the rich by the poor . . . in the last analysis is nothing save a reparation, a just and reciprocal displacement of a piece of bread or money, returning from the hand of a robber into that of the robbed." Was Nodier's outlaw echoing Babœuf? We do not know. This however is plain: under romantic decorations Nodier here introduced to readers of fiction the idea of the social revolutionary in the epoch propelled by Napoleon; the source of his passion. Since the novelist endowed his brigand with chivalry, magnanimity, a sharp ethical sense, the introduction was ceremonious and serious. "Jean Sbogar" thus was the first socialist novel, by which name we signify a fiction honoring the social motive of revolt. In its wake streamed all the novels expressing popular sympathy, making for social justice—from those of the 1840's by Sue, Sand, Gogol, Dickens, through those by Balzac, Zola, Tolstoi, to grandiose records of the social struggle like "Pellé the Conqueror."

A real outlaw, who had revolted against Napoleon, had been captured and brought to trial in Laybach in Illyria in 1813 while Nodier was serving there as imperial librarian, and Nodier visited the man in prison. From his impressions and other elements—among them certainly was a memory of "The Brigands," which Nodier had devoured with other romantic German literature during youth in Strasbourg—he had "formed a new individual and bidden him 'Be!'" The feat was characteristic of Nodier.

He was indeed a creator in the Greek sense; consistently the inventor of the new in point of material or method; continually "forming new individualities from out a mass of scattered elements." In 1803, almost at the beginning of his career, he had produced a new method of fiction, the journalary form of the novel. He used it to present the type of the psychological solitary: so also have Hugo, Turgenev, Chekhov, Rilke, Bernanos, and almost all of the novelists who have followed him in using it. After "Jean Sbogar," in 1839, he revealed yet another important new material for fiction in his exquisite "Novena of Candlemas." This is the stuff of the pastoral novel—which is not to be confused with idyls like "The Vicar of Wakefield" or naturalistic and objective studies of peasants and provincial people. The content of the pastoral novel is the lyrical expression of the very peasant or provincial spirit. The country fictions of George Sand probably constitute the classic French representatives of the type; the characteristic fictions of the Swiss C. F. Ramuz and Jean Giono, and stories of Sherwood Anderson's like "I'm a Fool," its chief contemporary ones. Yet another of Nodier's volumes, the humorous and fantastic "Castles of the King of Bohemia," anticipated a modern mold of poetry's. The book features expressive contrasts and dispositions of typography creating a sort of supplemental poetry; on one of its pages an arrangement of words in lines evoking an image identical with the one formed by the words' meanings. Rabelais and George Herbert had made experiments of the sort: Nodier's, however, far surpass theirs in wit. The anticipated modern poetic mold of course is the typographic poem of Mallarmé, Guillaume Apollinaire, and E. E. Cummings—that encroachment of poetry on the domain of the sensuous arts.

There are still other instances of his invention of means and materials. Innovation in art, indeed, appeared to Nodier "the seal of genius": in particular, those "irresistible innovations which obediently conform to the progress of social intelligence" and "proceed like naive emanations from the practical inventions of civilization." "Such is the genius of societies," argued he, "that no fundamental change can occur in their antique organizations unless an analogous movement operate in their means of speech." And it is precisely this brilliant inventiveness of his and his steady defense of innovation that are responsible for the elevation of the tone in which we commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of his death over the one in which his contemporaries commemorated the actual event. Not that Nodier's personality and work were not much remarked on, much admired and praised, when he died. Long before, his apartment in the Arsenal in Paris had become "the little Tuileries," where not the fashionable but the literary world foregathered. There the young romantic school had grown conscious of itself under his paternal eye. But his innovations amused his contemporaries a little more than they impressed them. Sainte-Beuve, in the course of his famous, affectionate portrait of Nodier, a trifle patronizingly called him a *littérateur.* A *littérateur* of course is "an author without a specialty—whose talent, works, literary life resemble an army containing all banners, everything, indeed, save general headquarters."

Now, we do not deny that Nodier was a "polygrapher." Besides novels, he composed, in almost passionate excitement, poetry, criticism, and history; and was a philologist to boot, a bibliographer, and a student of botany and of butterflies, "whose brilliant hues he would seem to have transferred to his style." Neither do we in the least deny that Nodier excelled in nothing. His style, which was modest, sensitive, and charming, did want power.

It merely is that, looking back over the past century, we can perceive the startling results of the new methods and materials which amused his contemporaries; and moreover possess general reasons for seeing in all such inventions "the seal of genius"—reasons still other than those with which Nodier himself supplied us. One is the feeling that ultimately it is in forming new phenomena that art meets the many spiritual demands of society. For each vibration of the spirit has an appropriate form, and there always are new vibrations. Another is the feeling that we encounter the human spirit more purely, profoundly, thrillingly in what is fire-new and unprecedented than in what is influenced, imitative, and traditional. "Ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny!" We even suspect that without innovation there might not exist the possibility of tradition. To put ourselves in the way of understanding past men, it seems we must ourselves perform deeds in some way paralleling theirs: one can, it seems, understand only what in some fashion one is capable of accomplishing. And the past certainly generated the new. Hence, facing the fertile Nodier, we feel nothing save admiration, and revere his memory.

LEWIS MUMFORD

"For many years Lewis Mumford has been concerned with Man. His CULTURE OF CITIES and TECHNICS AND CIVILIZATION were fruits of this concern.... Now comes the book into which Mumford has put everything he has thought and learned about Man yesterday, today and—because there is a good deal of the prophet in Mumford—tomorrow.... If there has been written for the comprehension of the general reader a more significant statement of our condition—what it has been, what it is and what it may be—I don't know where you'll find it." —*Joseph Henry Jackson, San Francisco Chronicle*

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THE CONDITION OF MAN

HARCOURT, BRACE & COMPANY
383 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

Dr. Franklin

MEET DR. FRANKLIN. By Carl Van Doren and Eleven Others. The Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.

"MEET DR. FRANKLIN" is not an introduction: the authors take it wisely for granted that we have met him before. "How are you today, Dr. Franklin?" would have been a more accurate title, for this is a series of reports on the present state of Franklin scholarship. The tone is informal: lectures before an intelligent general public. The substance is learned. Dr. Carl R. Woodward, for instance, establishes very conclusively that Franklin's famous experimental farm never existed; the letter describing it, and printed in Franklin's works, was written by somebody else. The no less famous experiment with plaster-of-Paris may be a legend diffused by the great French chemist Chaptal. Franklin would have been an epoch-making printer, says Lawrence C. Wroth, if he had come round to it, but he retired from the business before reaching that stage. He would have been a great friend of the Indians if he had had a chance. At any rate, he proposed hunting them with dogs, and was a colonel in command of an expedition against them. He may have got his idea of federation, the seed of our mighty republic, from the Iroquois (Julian P. Boyd). But, says Dr. Robert A. Millikan, he did fly the immortal kite, and thus "wrested from the heavens their thunder and their scepter from the tyrants." I am glad scholarship spared that kite: I am getting too old to unlearn.

Because the book presupposes that we know Dr. Franklin, it does not suffer from the usual curse of collective works—fragmentariness. The pieces are disjointed; but they all fit into the picture which we all have in our minds. Some of the essays raise very general and very interesting questions. Carl Van Doren, the foremost authority on Franklin lore—Bernard Fay is morally dead—insists on the fundamental Americanism of Franklin: a truism so true that it can never become trite, in the way of old paradoxes and half-truths. But Conyers Read shows that Franklin was perfectly happy and thoroughly at home in England. Unfortunately, no essay is devoted to his sojourn in Paris, which Gilbert Chinard could have done so well: there again Franklin was a universal favorite and enjoyed life immensely. The meeting between Franklin and Voltaire is one of the richest scenes in cultural history: so full of grandeur and pathos, fraught with the destinies of our world, yet with delightful depths of irony. Conclusion, dedicated to Representative Martin Dies: the most American of us all is the most cosmopolitan.

Bernard Knollenberg establishes that Franklin was a "philosophical revolutionist"—cautious, shrewd, temperate, but not a conservative. He constantly challenged the status quo: "Is this logical? Does it hold water?" In other words, Daughters of the Revolution, there was such a thing as the American Revolution, and it was a radical one. We, and the European revolutionists, are the heirs to its spirit; even to the point of repeating after Franklin: "Private property, therefore, is a creature of society, and is subject to the call of that society whenever its necessities shall require, even to its last farthing."

The key to the paradox that Franklin was at the same time Americanism incarnate and also an excellent Englishman, and most of all a perfect Parisian, is that he was "first of all a typical eighteenth-century figure, and moved easily and naturally in an eighteenth-century world." There was an eighteenth-century world; the *period* is far more real than the *country.* In those days there was a great republic of free souls; its name was the Enlightenment; England, America, and France were among its chief provinces. That is why Crèvecœur, Lafayette, and Du Pont de Nemours were so much at ease with us, while Jefferson and Franklin throve in France as if it had been their native soil. We have sadly declined from "the eighteenth, greatest of centuries"; but there have been renaissances in the past, after long ages of bewilderment. Benjamin Franklin, as mirrored in this pleasant and useful little book, beckons us back to a more humane civilization.

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The Dominions and the Empire

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH: ITS PLACE IN THE SERVICE OF THE WORLD. By Sir Edward Grigg. Introduction by Lord Halifax. Liveright Publishing Corporation. $2.75.

THIS is one of those books which discuss matters of the first importance but nevertheless can hardly be taken as more than the expression of a minority point of view little likely ever to be more than that. Any other appraisal of it would unduly exaggerate its importance, for far from being a scholarly treatise it is rather a political argument on a high plane, though it may occasionally be represented otherwise for political reasons, or because of ignorance of the trends of opinion in British circles. Sir Edward Grigg, by his own statement, speaks for a section of the Conservative Party of the United Kingdom which is today tremendously concerned that the Commonwealth and Empire shall be much more tightly organized and integrated than has ever been the case in our time. Yet he is up against the indisputable fact that dominion nationalism is very strong and has been considerably intensified by the events of the present war. He is therefore at pains to protest that his schemes for imperial integration are in no particular intended to subvert the independence of the dominions. Nevertheless, it is plain as a pikestaff that Sir Edward's schemes, if accepted, would severely limit the power of the dominions over their economic and trade policies and, by organizing the Empire-Commonwealth regionally, implicate them deeply in colonial affairs hitherto solely the concern of the United Kingdom, with the immediate effect of making them responsible before the world for policies which, under present conditions, they would indorse—after their formulation in London—rather than initiate or administer.

Consciously or unconsciously Sir Edward and his like-minded associates are seeking a way of bolstering up the power of the United Kingdom vis-à-vis the world by bringing the power of the dominions more directly to the service of the United Kingdom than hitherto.

Though a careless reader might never perceive it in Sir Edward's book, so parenthetically does he introduce the matter, the real reason for making this effort is the deep conviction, supported by much concrete evidence, that this war has drastically weakened the power of the United Kingdom and that new sources of power must therefore be *directly* tapped if it is to maintain its world position. Sir Edward obscures the point with much political fustian and irritating moralizing about British virtues, but others as different as Lord Halifax and Professor E. H. Carr have stated it directly. Lord Halifax said his piece at Toronto last January. Professor Carr, in his "Conditions of Peace," declared: "At the close of the war, however favorable the issue, Great Britain will have little temptation to repeat the error of supposing that victory has enhanced her military or economic power. Behind the short-lived exultation of victory her self-confidence will have received a salutary shock."

The need for dealing with the difficulties thus posed is, from the British point of view, both immensely real and immensely important, and some solution is sure eventually to be worked out. The British community has lost neither its grip on political and economic realities nor its capacity to deal with them. But that is very different from saying that Sir Edward's solutions are apt to win general acceptance. In due course we shall know the answers. The whole question was just recently debated in London by the British Prime Ministers. It is significant of the drift of opinion that whereas at Toronto Lord Halifax definitely declared himself in favor of Sir Edward's general outlook, in the Introduction to Sir Edward's own book he backtracks a bit and somewhat wistfully remarks, "It may be that the basis of our relationship with each other calls for no more than the machinery of consultation." I think that is very near the mark and that Sir Edward's attempt to raise an elaborate structure on the foundation of this perception takes him farther and farther away from reality.

The temptation to debate many of the particular statements in Sir Edward's book is extremely strong, especially his implied views of American affairs, in particular his notion, shared with Professor Carr, that we Americans, like dutiful colonials, still await a British lead in world affairs. But a final observation: books like this one, founded on a point of view definitely oriented around the needs of the United Kingdom, should be balanced by constant reference to views originating in and founded on the needs of the overseas dominions. Only thus can the Commonwealth be seen whole.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

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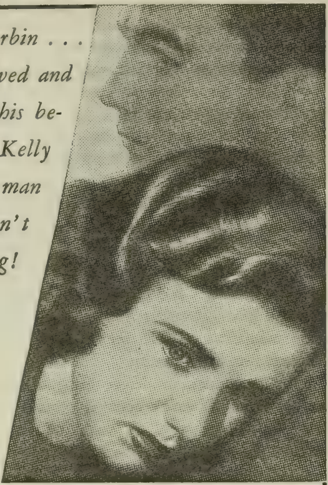

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GERMANY: A SELF-PORTRAIT. A COLLECTION OF GERMAN WRITINGS FROM 1914 TO 1943. Edited, with an Introduction and Chronicle, by Harlan R. Crippen. Oxford University Press. $3.75.

THIS anthology consists of more than 450 pages of reading, chiefly literary, in the history of Germany since 1871. It includes in this field several documents which it is good to have reprinted—letters of Rosa Luxemburg, the Spartacus Manifesto, Thomas Mann's letter to the Dean of Bonn. Nor does the book, like Klaus Mann's "Heart of Europe," lack theme. The selected pieces are connected by editorial narrative and arranged as a continuous chronicle. The theme is that of the Other Germany which has fought against every reactionary tendency and regime from Bismarck to Hitler. At a time when not only old buffers like Vansittart but men like Stout and Clifton Fadiman are declaiming both against the Nazi regime and the German people, a book like this is a contribution to enlightenment. All who read such books as "Germany, the Aggressor Through the Ages,"

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"Germany: the Black Record," and "Germany Will Try It Again" should also read Mr. Crippen's anthology, for it portrays Dr. Jekyll just as convincingly as they portray Mr. Hyde.

But it is not a very good book. Like many recent anthologists in this and kindred fields, Mr. Crippen has given us neither one thing nor the other. His book is not a collection of the best German writing, or even the best political writing, of the period; his choice of material would often be hard to defend on either historical or literary grounds; he omits many important authors, an omission which is not atoned for by editorial apology. He includes pieces—by Brecht and Becher, for example—which are far from being their author's best or most symptomatic work. The book consists chiefly of anti-Nazi writing; yet for some reason the program of the Nazi Party suddenly confronts us. The book consists chiefly of creative writing; yet suddenly we stumble upon the Weimar constitution. Above all, the book claims to be a self-portrait of Germany; but the only representative of Mr. Hyde is the prosaic Fritz Thyssen, whose "I Paid Hitler" may not be as authentic as Mr. Crippen assumes. Anyway, it is preposterous to quote such a work at length and not to quote at all the works of Hitler, Rosenberg, or H. S. Chamberlain.

Mr. Crippen assumes that Germany is Jekyll and Hyde, but does not find it necessary to strike up more than a nodding acquaintance with the latter. That is a mistake. But a deeper mistake is to accept the Jekyll and Hyde idea as more than a dramatic oversimplification. Like his antagonists, the Germanophobes, Mr. Crippen is utterly committed to this error. Are Jekyll and Hyde two sections of the German people? Are they two sections of each German? Some critics have followed one line, some the other; many have jumbled the two together. Would it not be wiser to abandon the somewhat boyish partisanship of such categories and consider Germany as a many-sided political and social problem which we must try to solve not because we are immune from hypothetically German traits but because we are citizens of the world? Of course every problem is to some extent a peculiar problem, but if we wish to find the peculiarity of German psychology through German literature, would it not be better to examine a really tough case of mixed mentality such as Oswald Spengler, Stefan George, or Thomas Mann?

The Germans are not a pack of blond beasts. Nor are they a band of victimized democrats. Nor are they divided into compact groups of each. Such neat categories can only lead to unrealistic policies. It is unrealistic to think that we might exterminate or sterilize the Germans. It wouldn't happen. It is unrealistic to think that we could reeducate the Germans, since imposed democracy is not democracy. On the other hand, it is equally unrealistic to hope that the Other Germany will snap into place, like a Reinhardt stage setting, once the present stage is cleared. A realistic policy will not be Germanophobe, nor will it be Germanophile except in so far as it is humane. And if we need a special understanding of German psychology we might read Franz Neumann on the structure of National Socialism or Konrad Heiden on Hitler. But we shall not need "Germany: a Self-Portrait."

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

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HARPER & BROTHERS

FILMS

ONLY one of the following movies seems to me worth more than a note, though three or four of them can be seen without more than a pint or so of anaesthetic.

The only one I really enjoyed was "They Met in Moscow," which, without seeming to take any trouble to do so, makes monkeys out of us in the field of musical comedy. It tells of the meeting, separation, longing, and reunion of a southern shepherd and a northern girl who herds swine. The songs they sing are excessive, vivid, pretty, uncommercial, and solidly rooted in alphabetic emotions. They are handled and photographed as if real faces and real fresh-air landscapes could not but be more pleasing than death masks peopling a vacuum-sealed magniloquence of scarlet linoleum and dry-ice mist. I wish I thought such a film could be made in this country; but our idea of "freshness" is pretty aptly embalmed, I'm afraid, in an inadvertent horror show about youth hostels called "Song of the Open Road," which made something so loathsome of youth that even "Home in Indiana" seemed comparatively harmless.

"Home in Indiana" is about adolescent love and harness racing. There are some half-appreciative Technicolor landscapes; there is about as little pleasure in horses as I have ever seen achieved in a horse movie. One of the female adolescents looks attractive in dungarees; another wears a couple of rather extreme bathing suits. None of them act their age or any other.

"Bathing Beauty" swarms with bathing suits and their contents; most often and most carnally in focus is Esther Williams, lolloping in a friendly way before under-water cameras. Above water level Harry James and Xavier Cugat play, and Red Skelton, for my leathery taste, is occasionally rather funny. I could not resist the wish that Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer had topped its aquatic climax—a huge pool full of girls, fountains, and spouts of flame—by suddenly draining the tank and ending the show with the entire company writhing like goldfish on a rug. But M.-G.-M. resisted it.

Why "Two Girls and a Sailor" is the hit it seems to be must be explained by those who mistake the all-American bitchiness of the heroines for all-American cuteness, Van Johnson for homely charm, and what seemed hours of suffocating boredom for air-conditioned summer entertainment. But Gracie Allen does a funny number in it, and I would recommend it to anyone who cares remotely as much for Jimmy Durante as I do. He ought to have a great deal more to do. But even as a stage corpse he would make me grateful.

"Christmas Holiday" is fair enough while Deanna Durbin sings a quiet arrangement of "Always"; aside from that it is pseudo-tragic mush, about a New Orleans cabaret singer, her weak husband (Gene Kelly, wasting his time), and an insipid officer on furlough.

In "They Met in Moscow" the Russians show us how to make a musical comedy; in "Days of Glory"—the Russian "White Cliffs of Dover"—we show them how not to make a Russian war movie. I have an unhappy feeling that Casey Robinson, who wrote and produced it, wanted to do something artistically first-rate about the guerrillas; but the film interests only as a possibly accurate image of the Russia which may exist in the minds of the more fatuous contributors to Russian War Relief. Aside from Robinson's sincere intentions, I can speak courteously only of Tamara Toumanova's anachronistic beauty, which, I imagine, might have wrung dithyrambs out of Lord Byron.

JAMES AGEE

ART

NATURALISM does not altogether explain the art of Thomas Eakins. The hard-headed, mathematically founded account he gave of what met his eyes when he looked at the model or scene was the framework on which he projected an ideal chiaroscuro, unobtrusive only because worked out according to nature but not found there entirely. Eakins's imagination realized itself in the disposition of values—darks and lights—which transfigured the literal facts without violating them. Often he insisted on contrasts not too far from the poetic effects of such of his American contemporaries as Ryder, Newman, and Fuller. Chiaroscuro was a characteristic expression of the American sense of the poetical in the nineteenth century. It appears in literature in Hawthorne, Poe, and Melville, even in James. (As instance: blackness and night are the dominants of the first few chapters of "Moby Dick": the hero, stumbling through pitch darkness, finds a Negro prayer-meeting going on behind the first door from which he sees a ray of light. All of which is to prepare us at long remove for the violent contrast of the whiteness of the whale.) This American version of chiaroscuro opposes the unexplored to the explored, the mysterious to the known; man is isolated in a universe he can only make meaningful through symbolic or esoteric experience.

A good deal in Eakins argued against such a romanticism. Particularities, observed facts of light and texture, elicited some of his strongest painting. He had to acknowledge and state the given material before he could project his imagination. And not only did he show a new sensitivity to local color; he even intensified the literalness of his art—in an actual if not, fortunately, in a painterly sense—by beginning to model volumes in degrees of tone and color rather than in greater or lesser saturations of black or brown shading. Yet his impressionistic tendencies were usually overtaken by a sentiment of the dramatic and the psychological which always involved chiaroscuro—even when, toward the end, he began to see colors in the background shadows and their opacities began to dissolve and gleam.

Eakins had almost no manner, which explains why his paintings so often lack immediate presence and require a longer gaze to make themselves felt. But he did have a style, and that style evolved. His earliest work is the product of French influence in the sixties. Curiously enough, he reacted to Courbet and Delacroix in somewhat the same way Cézanne did: by simplifying and summarizing forms, caking his paint, and opposing his values sharply. This freedom seems to have been soon abandoned for another. There come pictures in which local colors are permitted to assert themselves with an intensity new for that period—here Eakins and Homer approach closest to each other. The effect of the large uniform areas of high color in a painting of the artist and his father hunting reed-birds (1874) is modern; the "Biglen Brothers Turning the Stake" (1873), a rowing scene, is almost revolutionary in its vivid spots of blue and the throbbing, suppressed luminosity of its sunlight. But Eakins appears then and there to have lost the gift for the transparent shadow and the broken, traveling high light that made his interior pieces and female portraits of the early seventies so powerful. He showed other sides of his talent, a greater enterprise in the investigation of appearances, and he was always able to make a successful picture out of any subject that showed light falling on or through soft fabric, but nothing he gained quite redeemed this loss. No longer under the inspiration of the French, his development became one of private involution rather than of public expansion; he reentered academic painting, to destroy it by its own logic but not to add a new impulse to painting in general.

The ridges of paint which duplicate the flesh tones and follow the contours of a female nude done as a study in the early eighties are from the brush of a master. But many of the portraits of that time, especially those of men, show a mere pedestrian honesty, succumbing too frequently to the social or professional types of the sitters. Nevertheless, it can be held fortunate, I think, that the failure of Eakins's genre painting to win acceptance—or perhaps his own self-recognition—made him limit himself more and more to the portrait. For his later genre pictures, including those really original examinations of subject and atmosphere which are his prize-fight scenes, lack a final emphasis, some called-for tension between dark and light; while he continued in spite of everything to produce fine portraits to the end of his career, arriving at a way of defining variously lit planes in flat high tones with sharper divisions—as in the portraits of Mrs. Kershaw, Mrs. Eakins, and Ruth Harding. Here lighted surfaces *displace* rather than emerge from surrounding shadows. A synthesis of Manet's impressionism with Rembrandtian psychologism was pointed to, which no one after Eakins could sustain under the conditions of the twentieth century. Eakins's art, as Lloyd Goodrich says, founded no school. His realism caught up with that of the French and produced some discoveries tending beyond realism itself, but he did not change the basis of his painting on their account or incorporate them in a new style. He remained a realist, a profound one, and he also remained of the nineteenth century.

The present loan exhibition of his paintings and sculpture (at Knoedler's through July 31) is in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of Eakins's birth, and was preceded by a large centennial show during April and May in Philadelphia, the birthplace and home of the painter. Both exhibitions are on the way to establishing a canon of his masterpieces; but some of the best examples of his art are not included—the portrait in the present Museum of Modern Art show, and one of a woman in a blue dress which was displayed two years ago in the show of modern portraits at the same place—while four or five of the pictures now on view ought not to be put in any exhibition that intends to present Eakins at his strongest. CLEMENT GREENBERG

MUSIC

SOME time ago I discussed the changes which the late Frederick Stock felt free to make in the music he transcribed or merely performed with the Chicago Symphony. I spoke of the published edition of Griffes's "Kubla Khan," and of the transcription of Schubert's C major String Quintet that a Chicago reader had described to me, as well as of what I had heard myself—the performance of Schumann's Third Symphony, and the newly issued recorded performance of the transcription of Bach's Prelude and Fugue in E flat. Later I received from William R. Wambaugh, music editor of the University of Chicago's student newspaper the Chicago *Maroon,* a clipping of his review of the recorded performance of Chausson's Symphony, in which he pointed out a change in the last movement that I had not noticed because I did not have the score of the work: "In the twenty-two bars commencing at the *grave* at '0' our Symphony's organist has a lovely solo passage which the composer had scored for 4 horns, 4 trumpets, 3 trombones, tuba, and kettledrums. No doubt Stock knew better." And in his letter he added: "Unfortunately, in Chicago, we have long been exposed to such assaults on our intelligence."

As a matter of fact the Chicago musical public was exposed to Stock's mediocre and tasteless musicianship for thirty-seven years. And the reader who wrote me about the transcription of Schubert's Quintet gave me an account of what has happened since Stock's death. For a year his associate, Hans Lange, carried on while the Orchestra Association had a number of conductors come for visits and consideration as Stock's successor. "This Orchestra Association, like similar bodies elsewhere, is made up of the usual 'civic leaders'—business and society men without musical and aesthetic knowledge, interested chiefly in a smooth-working organization that will provide a season less notable for musical distinction than for social and chamber-of-commerce uses. There is no evidence that any musical or critical authorities were consulted. We had no visits from Toscanini, Walter, Beecham, or Koussevitzky; it was said that they were all 'too old' for the post—though, since it is likely that they will still be conducting for another five or ten years, it seems strange that a town and orchestra of this rank would not choose one of the undisputed leaders of the profession. Rodzinski and Stokowski were neither invited nor mentioned; it was rumored that these men, like Toscanini and Beecham, were 'too temperamental' for the trustees and musicians. As a consequence the candidates were a line of second-string conductors—Steinberg, Barlow, Defauw, Barbirolli, and Kurtz; and Defauw was elected almost immediately after leading a couple of concerts in which he offered a mussily sparkless version of Debussy's Nocturnes, a feverish account of Franck's 'Éloides,' and one of the bumpiest performances of Beethoven's Seventh on record—and even before four of the remaining candidates were given a hearing."

In estimating Defauw's work this first season my correspondent wrote that one had to make allowance for the unusual difficulties which he faced—"the local Stock hero-worship, the war conditions that are depleting the ranks of the players"—in addition to the "inevitable problems of mastering a complex instrument." But what also had to be recognized was "the superficiality of his discipline and the erratic individualism of his musicianship." In his performances "there seems to be no given standard of timing, tone, feeling, or interpretation. Most conductors, even minor ones, have recognizable principles that account for both their failings and their successes. But here we get eloquence and feebleness, hectic stridency

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and pallid languor, declamatory passion and mincing French delicacy in no discernible relation to the piece being performed. Sometimes we get them all huddled together by fits and starts. What happens to music and playing of that kind is soon evident: it lapses into muddle and inconsequence."

Discussing the effect of the war on the orchestra's personnel my correspondent wrote that in addition to the large number of players who had been drafted another large group had been told they would be inducted unless they took war jobs in factories in addition to their work in the orchestra. "I have been told on sound authority that in one gun-making plant as many as fifteen or eighteen orchestra players are on duty from midnight to eight in the morning, after which they must attend rehearsals, practice, get what sleep they can, attend to their practical affairs, play at concerts, and get back to the factory by midnight. . . . I wonder if the situation I have described here prevails generally in America—if trained musicians whose service to public morale no one would care to deny are being forced to work days and nights to justify their continuance in civilian life." Recognizing that under a system of compulsory war-service "discrimination among publicly necessary trades, crafts, and services is an almost baffling problem in values and claims," my correspondent asked: "But is any serious selection and discrimination being practised at all? Are competent boards, composed of other than military or political officials, in operation to exercise such judgment?"

Evidently not; since the most brilliant male dancer of today, Igor Youskevitch, is being trained for active service in the Navy. B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

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Letters to the Editors

Inexpedient Expedient

[We print below a comment on Alvarez del Vayo's article, No Unity with Fascists, which appeared in The Nation *of June 3. Comments by other political observers appeared last week.]*

Dear Sirs: In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred a policy of expediency turns out not to be expedient. If there can be an argument in the present period for exploiting conflicts within the fascist camp, there can be none for unity with fascists in any section of the anti-Nazi front. Mr. del Vayo has stated that convincingly for the Nazi vassal countries. What about the center of Nazism? What about Germany itself?

Oddly enough, for some people there seems to be a problem. Among certain circles in the United Nations preparations are being made for a policy of expediency toward Germany. Reliable sources report that plans for the administration of occupied Germany envisage extensive reliance on civil servants who have served faithfully under the Nazis. Moreover, speculation about the best candidate for a German Badoglio has led one crowd to favor Rundstedt, or even Rommel, another to choose the Junker general, von Seydlitz. To be quite fair to the officers around Seydlitz in the Moscow "Association of German Commissioned Officers," they have made statements showing a certain recognition of the destructive role of fascism. On the other hand, however, they have repeatedly stated that they hope to see the German army so used as to be an instrument for peace. This is certainly the one function the German army cannot be trusted with.

There are two explanations for such speculations. One is a deep suspicion that there are no genuine democratic forces in Germany. This results partly from insufficient knowledge of modern German history—which is not only the history of aggressive imperialism but also of the continual struggle waged against it by democratic forces—and partly from insufficient understanding of modern fascism's capacity to drive democratic opposition temporarily underground. The other is fear of exactly those elements whose existence the defenders of expediency deny—the potential revolutionary forces in the fascist countries. It is difficult for people in the Western democracies, with their relatively stable societies, to understand the urgent need for revolutionary social change in the countries where democratic development has been retarded. Until these fundamental social changes take place, the fascist countries cannot become partners in a democratic world and a lasting peace. To countenance any kind of German Badoglioism after Hitler will simply contribute to the reproduction of the evil which, more than anything else, has been the motive force behind aggressions in our time. Therefore the only expediency for progressive forces lies in fostering the completion of the democratic revolution after the defeat of Hitler. PAUL HAGEN

New York, June 7

Unheroic Hero

Dear Sirs: Diana Trilling, in her review of Anna Seghers's latest novel "Transit" in your issue of May 20, stated that the author dealt unsympathetically with refugees. I found no trace of such an attitude in the novel. Quite the contrary. In this book as in all her writing Seghers's creative urge springs from her deep solidarity with human beings, a solidarity that is to her the fundamental fact of social life as well as of her own political beliefs. Her attitude toward the refugees is certainly not "something between ironic superiority and a sneer." I would call it rather controlled pathos or grim pity. Mrs. Trilling is right in saying that the love story of the narrator is "a cruel joke of a plot," but isn't the fate of most of these refugees a cruel joke? Many such fates are woven into the complicated web of the narrator's reflections. What makes these scenes and characters unforgettable is the author's unrelenting compassion, even if the tragedy of people "caught in a terrible maze of transit visas, exit visas, and steamship accommodations" appears to her as narrator a bitter farce compared to the martyrdom of mangled nations and the heroism of active fighters. The narrator's report is indeed "a frightening statement," not of a special political morality, as Mrs. Trilling indicates, but of this transit world of ours.

The narrator depicts a type of refugee who has thus far not been described and is rarely mentioned in literature or films

—the refugee who in spite of having gone through the hell of concentration camps, of flight and disaster, is not able to depart from the soil of Europe, to cut the invisible umbilical cord that binds him to the old continent. So he can't make use of the accommodations which he has tried by every means to get and which are ultimately offered to him. That makes him hardly believable to people over here, who are daily pressed to do all they can to rescue the victims of Nazi tyranny, to make affidavits for them, and to grant them free ports. Since he doesn't want to remain in Europe for any political purpose—he has arrived at a state of political apathy—he cannot count on much understanding and sympathy. His seems to be a case of an emigration neurosis. His lack of decisiveness, his passivity, his fatalism are not attractive; they are even abhorrent. He would rather lie to himself about his chances to survive in a Hitler-ridden France than take a resolute step—which makes him look like a hopeless defeatist. Poor wretch of a man! He may perish, or he may be able to stall, as a farm hand or as a loafer, until the invasion by the Allied armies makes him active again and gives him, in the liberation of Europe, a real purpose.

I hope I have been able to convey in these few lines what seems to me the significance of this unheroic hero, this queer lover, and the value of this tormenting and tormented book by Anna Seghers. BERTHOLD VIERTEL

New York, June 11

Too Generous

Dear Sirs: Mr. Viertel reads Miss Seghers's novel generously but I think inaccurately. He implies that "Transit" is the account of a man at the mercy of fate, whereas actually it is the account of a man ruthlessly manipulating the fate of a woman. He says that the narrator of the novel is indecisive, passive, and fatalistic; actually, Miss Seghers's narrator is full of scheming energy in pursuit of his love. Mr. Viertel regards Miss Seghers's principal character as the object of his author's compassion, but actually this unheroic hero is his author's mouthpiece; no voice is raised above his voice, and it is only through his cruel eyes that we see the transit world.

I could wish that "Transit" had been written from the point of view Mr. Viertel finds in it.

DIANA TRILLING

New York, June 20

Brother Raymond's Conclusions

Dear Sirs: As the head of the Department of Politics of the Catholic University of America and the major professor responsible for the direction of Brother August Raymond Ogden's Ph.D. dissertation on "The Dies Commitee," may I thank you for the space which you have accorded to it in the two articles by I. F. Stone in the issues of May 27 and June 3. In justice to Brother Raymond, however, a sentence or two more of his conclusions should have been added to that quoted in the issue of May 27. As Mr. Stone indicates in his quotation, there still remain "many aspects of subversive activity that only a Congressional committee could thoroughly and completely expose." But Mr. Stone fails to report that Brother Raymond recommends that "a joint standing committee [of the House and Senate] be created to maintain a continual investigation of subversive affairs," furnished with "enough money to allow it to employ a staff of competent and disinterested investigators." Furthermore, "a method of collaboration with the FBI should be provided" to avoid overlapping and duplication. Also "certain rules would have to be adopted," not necessarily the "complicated rules of evidence as used in the courts," but "a system of procedure based on respect for the individual rights of all citizens and consonant with the American tradition of fair play." In the case of federal employees suspected of subversive activities, "the role of the proposed committee should be limited to the assembling of data," leaving to the Civil Service Commission appropriate action thereon, with the right of appeal to the duly constituted courts on the part of either the Congressional committee or the person investigated. Brother Raymond specifies some of these rules and concludes that "a joint standing committee set up under the conditions enumerated would be able to avoid many of the pitfalls met by the Dies committee and at the same time protect the nation from subversive activities by means more in keeping with the American tradition of respect for the rights of all. It would be American, not in its end alone, but in all the means employed to attain that end. . . . Especially after the war it would be a potent force for maintaining that American democracy for which so many true Americans will have sacrificed their all." HERBERT WRIGHT

Washington, D. C., June 15

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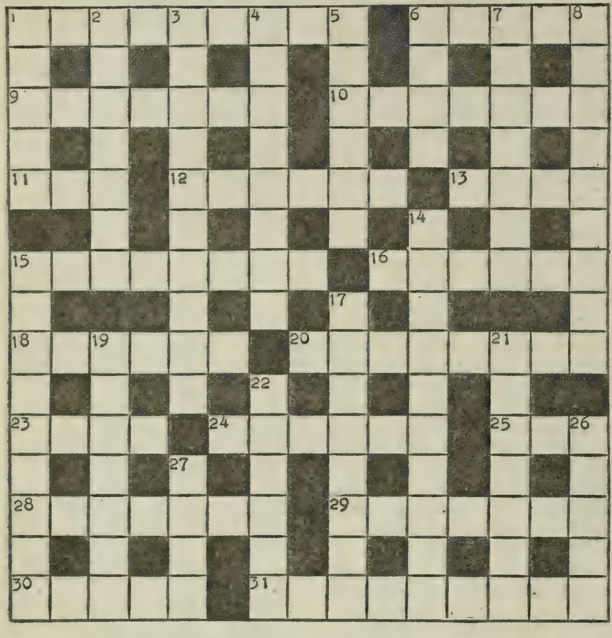
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 70

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Unprincipled hypocrite in *Martin Chuzzlewit*
8 An oar reveals his name
9 A petty quibble. Quell it!
10 Where it sounds like glasses, but is really jug (two words, 2 and 5)
11 Raised Cain
12 Women didn't dress in this when they asked for a vote
13 As a doornail
15 You have to close your eyes in order to see it
16 Engagement that isn't broken off at the option of either party
18 City of the King of Laputa, whose scientists tried to extract sunbeams from cucumbers and to convert ice into gunpowder (*Gulliver's Travels*)
20 "And -------- near a thousand homes I stood, And near a thousand tables pined and wanted food" (Wordsworth)
23 A fruit that sounds like more than one
24 Title, and heroine, of a Fielding novel
25 Out of town
28 "O, slap it!" (anag.)
29 There's room for a girl in this bread basket!
30 Flowers for sprinkling among others
31 Members of the press gang

DOWN

1 Ill-feeling you get on the top of a mountain?
2 Simple Susie used to think they were authors, since their tails came out of their heads
3 Anxiety for 101 in icy isolation
4 It was Constantinople when *we* went to school, but that was before 1929
5 Crusoe's faithful man
6 The Marble one in London *is* made of marble
7 There's a broken tear in the clothing
8 A bare headland?
14 A workman seems to interpolate a note with musical aptitude in Wagner (two words, 4 and 6)
15 Alter step (anag.)
17 Recline, do I? with ginger beer—that's sweet!
19 Horse, sheep and Manx cat in one creature
21 Nine wet (anag.)
22 What the horse we back usually turns out to be
26 Diet of Luther
27 Solon likened them to cobwebs—they held the powerless, but not the powerful

---

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 69

ACROSS:—1 COLD IN THE HEAD; 10 LAIRS; 11 NELL GWYNN; 12 OVEREATEN; 13 ESHER; 14 APPEAL BOARDS; 19 AFTERTHOUGHT; 22 AARON; 24 MODERNIST; 25 CRICKETER; 26 IBSEN; 27 GHASTLY DREAMS.

DOWN:—2 OLIVER; 3 DISTEMPER; 4 NINETIETH; 5 HELEN; 6 HAGUE; 7 ANYWHERE; [illegible] ELBOW; 9 UNDRESS; 15 LAUNDERED; 16 OTHERWISE; 17 VACANCY; 18 STARFISH; 20 LISSOM; 21 STONE; 23 NOKES; [illegible] METAL.

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The Shape of Things

THE BATTLE OF CAEN, MEASURED BY THE terrific scale of the Battle of Minsk, may seem a minor engagement, but its outcome is of crucial importance. The Germans have made this sizable Norman city the kingpin of their defense system. If it is lost and Montgomery's forces are able to reach the wide plain to the southeast where armor can operate freely, Rommel will have to pull back many miles. This would enable the Allies to establish their beachhead beyond dispute and give them the elbow room necessary for a deep drive into France. The British offensive, which opened while Cherbourg was still being mopped up, sought to outflank the city from the west. After a bridgehead across the River Odon had been consolidated, the enemy struck back with one counter-attack after another. But these blows, while very intense, were undertaken with small forces, and each was confined to a narrow front. Commentators have been puzzled by the piecemeal nature of the German tactics. One reason appears to be shortage of infantry, without which positions taken by armored troops cannot be held. Another factor is the ubiquitous Allied tactical air force, whose rain of punches makes any massing of troops unhealthy and keeps Rommel from building up dependable lines of supply.

*

GENERAL EISENHOWER IS WINNING NEW diplomatic as well as new military laurels. His appointment of General Pierre-Joseph Koenig, hero of Bir-Hacheim, as commander of the French Forces of the Interior is a really constructive step toward improvement of relations with the French Provisional Government. In the first place, it constitutes full recognition of the invaluable services of the French underground fighters since the beginning of the invasion. Secondly, the choice of one of General de Gaulle's closest associates to head this indomitable army is a tacit acceptance of the claim of the French Provisional Government to represent the forces of resistance inside France. General Eisenhower has also strengthened working relations with the French by an agreement which will enable 230 French administrative liaison officers now in England to proceed to France as members of General Koenig's staff. As a result there are good hopes of a *modus vivendi* being achieved which will satisfy the French desire to control civil affairs

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in the liberated territory. Meanwhile it is understood that progress is being made in the negotiations in London between Pierre Vienot, ambassador of the Provisional Government, and Foreign Secretary Eden. The British are clearly aware both of the strength of the Algiers regime inside France and of the absence of any competing group with a popular following. It is to be hoped that the pressure of facts is also being felt in Washington, where General de Gaulle is expected very shortly.

* * *

ALLIED CASUALTIES ON THE BEACHES OF Normandy not only failed to fulfil the scare rumors that were prevalent before the invasion but were extremely moderate for a military operation of such extensive proportions. The total of American, Canadian, and British casualties for the first two weeks of the invasion has been given as 40,549. Although this figure does not include losses resulting from the final attack on Cherbourg, it does include the high beachhead losses suffered by the First Division and the losses incurred by the paratroopers. It is probable that this total is somewhat higher than the actual casualties, since a fairly large number of the 12,000 listed as missing may have merely become separated from their own units and attached temporarily to others. In any event the total appears extremely small when compared with the Soviet Union's admitted losses of 5,300,000 in three years of war or with recorded losses in the major operations of World War I. In the First Battle of the Somme in 1916, for example, the British are believed to have suffered 750,000 casualties, as against German losses of approximately 500,000—for a net gain of 200 square miles of French soil. In the Battle of Verdun German losses amounted to more than 300,000, while the French lost at least 200,000. In the Battle of Arras casualties on both sides approached 700,000. In the severe fighting that lies ahead we may suffer far heavier losses than any that we have yet had to endure. But the precautions that were taken to protect the lives of our soldiers in breaching the Atlantic Wall justify high faith in our military leadership.

* * *

DENMARK, INVADED WITHOUT WARNING IN April, 1940, fell with scarcely a shot fired. A small, peaceful country with no more than a token army and without natural defenses, it had no way of combating the swarms of German bombers that flew over Copenhagen or the hordes of Nazi soldiers that emerged from the holds of "innocent" merchant vessels. But the Danes, with the exception of a handful of Quislings, never surrendered in their hearts. From the first they spurned German offers of Nordic brotherhood. Then they turned to sabotage showing remarkable ingenuity. Last week they took to the offensive openly, calling a general strike in Copenhagen as a protest against new curfew orders and the employment of Danish Nazis as police. For nearly two hours the city was paralyzed while armed patriots barricaded the streets and fought the isolated German garrison. Shortage of food and water finally made it necessary to call off the strike, but although temporarily defeated, the Danes have struck a blow in the Battle of Liberation. As outside pressure on the walls of Hitler's fortress grows, its defenses are being undermined from within by men who refuse to be slaves.

* * *

MR. HULL'S ACTION IN ENDING RELATIONS with Finland spells the failure of prolonged attempts by the United States to act as a bridge between the U. S. S. R. and Finland. Well-intentioned as this effort was, it is doubtful whether it has served the best interests of the Finnish people. The hope has always been that we could persuade the Finnish government to dissociate itself from Germany and make a separate peace. But the fact is that ever since the Finnish leaders entered into a pact with Hitler in the spring of 1940 they have been irrevocably bound to Germany despite all their protests that their war was a quite different war from the one the rest of the world was waging. Maintenance of relations with America has only encouraged them to believe that, even if Germany proved a broken reed, Finland could rely on our support to save it from the consequences of defeat. It is apparent that the Finnish people have long been weary of the war and, after the defeats suffered in the past few weeks, are more than ready to come to terms with Russia. But instead of sending emissaries to Moscow, President Ryti received von Ribbentrop in Helsinki and reached a "perfect understanding" with him which quickly brought German troops to the Finnish capital. The agreement was not submitted to Parliament, and even the Cabinet, it is believed, was not consulted. However, its members, after considering resignation, have decided to remain in office, and by so doing they accept the Quisling brand. Clearly, a necessary preliminary for peace and the restoration of democracy in Finland is the liquidation of the leaders who have reduced the country to its present plight. In Moscow the hope was expressed that America's severance of relations might lead to overthrow of the government, but with the Germans in full possession immediate prospects for revolt seem poor.

* * *

IT NOW LOOKS AS IF SENATOR NYE WERE the winner in the North Dakota sweepstakes. The race has been nip and tuck all the way, Stambaugh holding a slight lead at first, Nye coming up strong and winning by a nose in a photo finish. Usher Burdick ran a good race a few lengths behind, and A. C. Townley trailed far in the rear. They haven't seen a race like it in North

Dakota's history. Of course, the result will not be dead certain until the State Canvassing Board meets on August 1, and it is just possible that absentee ballots and soldiers' votes will eliminate Nye's lead of several hundreds. Burdick's failure to capture the race is a disappointment to those who have watched with growing confidence the effectiveness of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee. But North Dakota is a farm state, and its farmers are largely unfamiliar with and still distrustful of organized labor. Nye and Stambaugh, poles apart in their international outlook, vied with each other in attacking Burdick because organized labor, and particularly the Political Action Committee, was backing him. Stambaugh painted a dread picture of a resurrected I. W. W. spreading terror and revolution, while Nye flourished wildly a copy of the *Daily Worker* that contained a tribute (unsolicited) to Burdick. The most progressive farmers in the western section of the state, active in the Non-Partisan League and strongly behind Burdick, met an undeserved rebuff from the weather. A deluge of rain on Election Day literally washed out their vote and with it, perhaps, Burdick's margin of victory. The likely candidates of November are therefore Senator Nye, Republican, and Governor Moses, Democrat. It is still possible that when the Congress to make the peace assembles, America's isolationist number one will not be there.

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THE VIRGINIA DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, which meets at Roanoke on July 8, will have a majority unfriendly to the New Deal and the fourth term. Most of the delegates have been handpicked by the "courthouse crowd" which operates Senator Harry Byrd's well-heeled and strongly intrenched machine. Probably they will send to Chicago a delegation which is either uninstructed or pledged to support Byrd himself. It is unlikely, however, that they will join up with the Texas conspiracy. In the first place, Virginia's voting laws recognize that the "independent" Presidential elector is a constitutional fiction. The official ballot places the names of the Presidential candidates at the top with spaces for the voter's cross opposite: underneath are listed the Vice-Presidential nominees and the electors. Thus there is no doubt about the choice of the voters, and any elector who dared to flout it would have a hard time explaining. Apart from this technical obstacle, a strong opposition group was organized some time ago to support Roosevelt and nip in the bud any election-stealing plot. Known as the Committee of One Hundred, it is headed by Christopher Garnett, president of the Virginia Bar Association, and Rixey Smith, who has long been secretary to Senator Carter Glass. At least so far as its opposition to the Texas plot is concerned, it has the support of the state's leading editor, Virginius Dabney, who has denounced scheming to circumvent a popular vote for Mr. Roosevelt as a means of destroying constitutional government. It is therefore probable that the reactionaries of the Old Dominion, if they want to carry through with their bitter opposition to the President, will be forced either to support an independent Democrat—perhaps Byrd—or to bolt to the Republicans. They may split the Virginia vote; they are not likely to be allowed to steal it.

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THE COYNESS OF CANDIDATES IS AN OLD American tradition. Nobody is fooled by it but everyone expects it. Take Tom Dewey. He wasn't a candidate for the Republican nomination, but his mother was in Chicago in case he should be "drafted." He hadn't put himself forward, but a twenty-three-passenger plane was kept ready in Albany so that he could get to Chicago quickly in case the Republicans thought he was the only man who could beat Roosevelt. In his acceptance speech he said, "I have not sought this responsibility. . . ." At that point Mr. Dewey's coyness began to look to us like plain lying, his humility like cheap impertinence. But it's possible, of course, that we did him an injustice. It's barely possible that he meant what he said, despite the fact that even Republicans seem to feel that he wanted the nomination and worked like hell to get it. Perhaps Mr. Dewey is already looking forward to the first Wednesday after the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November when he can relax and say, "I didn't want to be President anyway. I told you so." We are sure that he can count on millions of voters to cooperate in saving him from the awful sacrifice of having to be Chief Executive of the biggest country in the world. We at least shall be glad to do our bit.

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SALES OF WAR BONDS TO INDIVIDUALS IN the Fifth War Loan drive have lagged dangerously despite the enthusiasm generated by the offensives in Europe and the Pacific. While there is not much doubt that the national quota of $16,000,000,000 will be surpassed through institutional subscriptions before the drive ends on July 8, it is possible that the $6,000,000,000 quota for individuals may not be reached. This is serious, because bank purchases are inflationary in effect, while purchases by individuals, through absorption of excess spending power, have an anti-inflationary influence. The lag in sales to individuals cannot be attributed to lack of money or lack of savings. Figures recently released by the Treasury show that the American people are saving at the rate of $38,000,000,000 a year, but that only about $13,000,000,000 of this amount is being invested in war bonds or other government securities. The unprecedented rise in the amount of currency in circulation in recent years indicates that a considerable amount of money is being hoarded in cash. Savings banks and commercial banks report huge increases in deposits. This money should be dug out and invested in war bonds, not because our boys need bullets—they will get them regardless—but to save the home front from the terrors of an uncontrolled inflation which would make the money hidden in trunks or deposited in banks all but worthless.

The Republican Platform

AFTER reading and rereading the platform adopted by the Republican National Convention we have been totally unable to find in it any coherent pattern of political principle. While one paragraph draws on Republican tradition, the next borrows freely from the New Deal; a bow made to free enterprise is followed by a salute to state intervention; states' rights are strongly upheld, and a promise is made to Negroes of legislation which must encroach on states' rights. According to their platform Republicans favor freer trade and the maintenance of tariffs; they are against subsidies for farm commodities but for support of prices and commodity loans, which, as the New York *Times* has pointed out, are subsidies in another form; they pledge themselves to maintain the value of the dollar and condemn the "freezing of wage rates"—an essential measure in preventing inflation. Here, indeed, is something for everyone, a lavish scattering of bait for voters, a bundle of contradictions held together only by a fervent desire for victory.

Republican commentators admit the catch-all nature of the platform but assert that platforms are not really important; what matters is the candidate's interpretation and expansion of the general line of policy approved by the convention. Of course, "as a matter of private honor and public faith" Mr. Dewey is pledged "to be true to the principles and program," but this undertaking should not prove unduly hampering in the circumstances. A much more exacting task will be to produce interpretations which satisfy the many conflicting interests within the G. O. P.

Consider, for instance, the tariff plank adopted at Chicago. It promises "to establish and maintain a fair protective tariff on competitive products," thus propitiating the farmers, livestock producers, and manufacturers of consumer goods dependent on the home market. But since the great mass-production and capital-goods interests, an important source of party funds, are anxious to find markets abroad, there is also an undertaking to "join . . . in every cooperative effort to remove unnecessary and destructive barriers to foreign trade." Then, evidently fearing they have gone too far, the writers of the plank hastily add that tariffs "should be modified only by reciprocal bilateral trade agreements approved by Congress."

At his first press conference after nomination Governor Dewey was asked whether he approved Mr. Hull's reciprocal-trade-agreement program. "That," he replied, "has always been a Republican policy which Secretary Hull has carried out ably and which I hope the Republicans will continue to carry out." Mr. Dewey either does not know or chooses to forget that in 1934, 1937, and 1940 Republicans in Congress almost solidly voted against the Hull program. Last year, it is true, a majority supported a renewal of the State Department's authority to negotiate reciprocal-trade treaties, but now their action has been repudiated, in effect, by the Republican platform. For an essential element in Mr. Hull's success in reducing tariffs has been the fact that his agreements *do not have to be submitted to Congress,* and are not therefore at the mercy of the log-rollers. Obviously, before we know where Mr. Dewey and his party stand on foreign-trade questions a great deal more elucidation and interpretation are necessary.

This is not a minor issue, and, apart from its intrinsic importance, it has a large bearing on a very major issue —foreign policy. As Ralph Robey, the conservative business editor of *Newsweek,* has pointed out, "a nation can follow a policy of economic isolationism and at the same time refuse to carry on political cooperation with foreign countries . . . but no nation can successfully be internationalist on the political level and isolationist on the economic level." It follows that either the Republicans are trying to square the international circle or that they are not sincere in advocating "responsible participation by the United States in post-war cooperative organization among sovereign nations to prevent military aggression."

It is to be hoped that in the course of the campaign Governor Dewey will find some means of unhooking his party from the horns of this dilemma. But in order to achieve this feat he will first have to abandon the tariff plank and then make over the international policy outlined in the platform by sharply defining its many ambiguous phrases. Up to now Republican interpreters of the foreign-policy plank, including Mr. Dewey, have been chiefly concerned to tell us what it doesn't mean. It does not provide for our incorporation in a world state, we are told; it does not commit us to an international police force; it does not deprive us of our sovereign power to make war. Very well, but does it mean that a Republican Administration would place its full weight behind an international organization to provide collective security, even though that involved some sacrifice of national sovereignty? That is the question which all who dread a third world war want to have answered.

Clearly, if Mr. Dewey provides a reassuring answer he will be in for trouble in his own party—the same kind of trouble that Wendell Willkie encountered. So long as the foreign-policy plank looks "satisfactory" to the

Chicago *Tribune,* it is going to appear a very dubious proposition to hosts of voters. There is no dodging this issue; yet every suggestion of campaign tactics so far indicates that the G. O. P. is going to try to dodge it. It would like to leave international questions outside the arena and concentrate on domestic affairs. That stout Republican columnist David Lawrence has remarked: "The Republican concept of the 1944 campaign has been to lay low and gather in the protest votes." The key word in their propaganda, it would seem, is to be "bureaucracy," and by its constant repetition they hope to rally all the discontents on the civilian front. Does the sugar ration irk your sweet-tooth? That's New Deal bureaucracy. Can't you get enough gas for your vacation? The bureaucrats keep it from you. Is your train crowded and late? Are you frozen in your job? Can't you get that rise in pay you think you deserve? Then vote for Dewey and crack down on the bureaucrats. It is hardly necessary to point out the dangers of such an irresponsible exploitation of civilian discontent. It encourages that slackening of effort on the home front against which the Chiefs of Staff have just found it necessary to issue a grave warning. This may seem a harsh judgment, but as Walter Lippmann has pointed out, "there is not one line, not one word, in the whole platform which recognizes honestly the need of civilian control and sacrifice in war time."

The Soviet Drive

THE world has become so accustomed to successful Soviet offensives on the eastern front that it was somewhat slow to grasp the magnitude of the great drive in White Russia. But it is now clear that this is no ordinary offensive. In size, power, coordination, and speed it transcends any effort yet made by one of the United Nations, even the invasion itself. In attacking the so-called Fatherland Line in White Russia, the Red Army struck at the most powerful defensive position the Germans had yet succeeded in establishing along a major sector of the eastern front. Its northern anchor, Vitebsk, had held out under almost continuous attack for the better part of a year. On a line stretching nearly 200 miles to the south the Germans had strongly fortified three other important railway junctions on the strategic Leningrad-Odessa railway—Orsha, Mogilev, and Zhlobin. These four great strongholds, together with Bobruisk to the rear, fell on four successive days. Within a week the Red Army had forged ahead almost a hundred miles, crossed the Berezina, and was approaching the old Polish border along the main Moscow-Minsk-Warsaw highway.

It is evident that this time the German "disengaging movements" have not proceeded "according to plan." Five Nazi divisions were surrounded and destroyed at Vitebsk; five more were cut off and destroyed at Bobruisk; at least one division was caught at Mogilev. Among the more than 25,000 Nazi prisoners captured in the five days between June 23 and June 27 were four German generals, the largest bag since Stalingrad. One of the generals was the commander of an army corps; two others were divisional commanders. Their loss can hardly be reconciled with any interpretation of a "planned withdrawal." The German defenses appear to have been cut to pieces so quickly that it was impossible for any large number of the defenders to withdraw to previously established lines in the rear.

A further indication of the growing power of the Red Army may be seen in the fact that it has maintained its triple offensive against Finland while conducting these massive operations in White Russia. The Finnish offensive has also yielded impressive results. After a fortnight of fighting, some 240 miles of the important Murmansk-Leningrad railway has been cleared of the enemy, and Petrozavodsk, the capital of Soviet Karelia, has been liberated. This triumph, coupled with the even greater achievement of freeing the last segment of the Leningrad-Odessa line, gives the Soviets a first-class railway roughly paralleling the front all the way from Murmansk to Odessa—an advantage they have not possessed since the early days of the war.

It may be some time before it will be possible to assess the full significance of the Soviets' White Russian offensive. Is this the main drive planned at Teheran, or is it merely a preliminary to greater blows to be struck in the south? That, of course, is the question to which the Nazi High Command must find the answer if it is to have any hope of stopping the Red Army. There is reason to believe that the Nazis have anticipated that the main drive would be in the Western Ukraine. If so, it presumably will not start until the White Russian offensive clears the area north of the Pripet Marshes. But the magnitude and power of the present offensive suggest that the more advantageous central route chosen by Napoleon for the invasion of Russia may be used by the Red Army for the advance to Warsaw and Berlin. In any case it is difficult to see how the Germans can hope to stop the Soviet offensive without drawing deeply on their strategic reserves. And if they draw on their strategic reserves to stop the present drive, they will have little left for use in the west or in stopping other possible Soviet offensives. The dilemma in which the German High Command finds itself is indeed an unenviable one. If it guesses wrong, the German military machine faces immediate, complete disaster. But can any action by the German General Staff stave off defeat for long? The fury of the White Russian offensive suggests that all the possible courses of action available to the Nazi High Command would turn out to be equally disastrous.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

Saipan and Hengyang

SAIPAN and Hengyang are the two critical spots in the Far Eastern war at the moment: Saipan where the Allies most seriously threaten Japan, Hengyang where the Japanese most seriously threaten us. As this is written, we are winning Saipan and they are winning Hengyang. The two battles are closely related, although they are more than 2,000 miles apart.

I tried to suggest the connection between these two battles last week when I said that our hold on Saipan puts us within striking distance of the Philippines, Formosa, and Japan (Saipan is roughly 1,500 miles from each), and that the Japanese drive along the Hankow-Canton railway was designed to secure overland passage of troops from Manchuria to the South China coast before the sea lanes are closed. I called this Japan's offensive of desperation, and concluded: "An offensive of desperation may win temporary advantage, but it doesn't win wars, or even delay defeats very long."

I don't propose to eat crow on that statement, but one of my Chinese friends thinks I may have to before long; so let's examine the situation more closely.

Japan won China's northern provinces in 1937, pushed inland to Hankow and landed at the south- and east-coast ports in 1938, and then became occupied elsewhere by greater schemes. These schemes boomeranged, in that United States aircraft, based in China, and United States submarines, based in the Pacific, began to prey on the coastal shipping which supplied the coastal garrisons and carried the material of war from the Indies to the home islands. In actions here and elsewhere Japan has lost more than 3,000,000 tons of merchant shipping since Pearl Harbor.

This attrition of Japan's war commerce was serious. Even more serious was Admiral Nimitz's threat: that our Pacific strategy was aimed at securing a foothold on the China coast from which our troops could engage the main Japanese armies.

The Japanese, according to the best-informed Chinese circles, hold scarcely more than the city limits of Foochow, Amoy, Swatow, and Canton, the ports behind Formosa where we would presumably land. There are considerable Chinese forces in the coastal provinces—not fighting major battles but actively harassing the enemy and potentially an aid for any landing force. Moreover, advanced bases for the Fourteenth U. S. Army Air Force's strikes at shipping are maintained here.

With this as background in China, and with the fantastically rapid advance of our amphibious troops through the Central Pacific as incentive, the Japanese counterplan was inevitable but ambitious: drive south from Hankow and north from Canton along the great railway (which has no rails—the Chinese have carried them away and destroyed the roadbed), establish the essential overland line of communication, split Free China in two, mop up the Chinese troops and the air bases in the coastal region, and prepare to meet the landings.

After a poor start in April, the drive gained momentum in June. Hengyang has fallen; from Canton, 250 miles to the south, word comes that Japanese sea-borne reinforcements and supplies are pouring in at an unprecedented rate. The southern arm of the pincers seems ready to move. We hear that the fall of Hengyang is the worst blow for China since Hankow fell in 1938, and General Chennault says a Japanese success may prolong the war two years.

Well, perhaps; but Chennault is in the middle of the terrible hardships of the Chinese, he is concerned about his air force, and presumably he has not seen one of our several Pacific fleets. Moreover, a Japanese success is not so easy. It is not a nice stretch of land, that 250 miles between Hengyang and Canton. From Hankow to Hengyang was river valley; at Hengyang the Japanese enter the mountains. In those mountains are the troops of Kwangtung Province. To the west, on the Japanese flank, are the troops of Kwangsi, tough and very good troops with high morale, commanded by two Kwangsi generals who are among Chiang's best.

And Mr. Wallace has been in Chungking on a political and military mission. If war is the extension of politics, politics continues to be the accessory of war. China is one theater in which military developments cannot be discussed out of their political context. If the Communists and the Kuomintang have been persuaded to turn away from each other toward the Japanese, a million men will have been freed to press against the Japanese flank in the north—the area which is shaping up as the final battleground in the Far Eastern war.

So the Japanese are faced with mountains and fine troops in the south, and a potential political-military blow in the north—not to mention the increasing possibility of eventual Russian action on the other flank of the same vital Manchurian position. And even without these threats, can their best efforts ashore counterbalance their failure at sea? Japanese naval strategy is traditionally based on the theory of the transport fleet, to carry the army, and the protective squadron, to convoy the troopships. Fleet action is always avoided: the fleet's function is to protect troopship waters. But Saipan is *in* troopship waters; in failing to prevent our lodgment there, the fleet utterly failed to justify its reason for existence.

Moreover, even the highly correct—from a Japanese view—tip-and-run aerial-naval raid proved very costly in the Battle of the Eastern Philippines: without being able to join surface action, we sank one, probably sank another, and disabled two of the four large new aircraft carriers the enemy sent to meet us. The fabulous Task Force 58, officially described as "the most powerful and destructive unit in the history of sea warfare," which can launch more than 1,000 aircraft, also destroyed 747 Japanese planes. This impressive damage was all gain: the Japanese failed to halt the Saipan operation and failed to reduce our relative combat strength. Thus the policy of avoiding risk in a fleet engagement has allowed us to build strength so overpowering that we have neutralized the Marianas, and, as Secretary Forrestal says, has opened the way to blows against the Japanese mainland, the Philippines, and the East Indies.

Things are moving fast in the Pacific, thanks to the fleet-train, which enables us to carry our bases forward with us in a great variety of supply and repair vessels; and it seems most unlikely that the Japanese can finish their big and desperate job in China before Task Force 58, aided by the Superfortresses, will provide a more crashing distraction than Saipan on the enemy's weak side—the sea, where lie the home islands of Japan.

A Soldier's Letter to Mrs. Luce

BY WILLIAM J. CALDWELL

THE night of June 27 Clare Luce made a lovely speech. It worried me to beat hell because of one ruthless political practice it revealed.

Mrs. Luce talked about some friends of mine.

She talked about a lanky kid from Kentucky who used to be my tail-gunner—until a Jap 20 mm. caught him in the stomach.

She talked about a Greek from Brooklyn—a cook who brewed coffee for us combat crews before an 0300 Take Off, until Washing-Machine Charlie dropped one square on the mess hall.

She talked about a fighter pilot whose name I never knew. This pilot gave our bomber fighter protection one day—until he had to bail out and was machine-gunned to his death in his parachute.

Mrs. Luce talked about these men—and hundreds of thousands of their comrades, the American War Dead.

William J. Caldwell was an Army Air Force sergeant at Pearl Harbor when the Japs attacked. As a radio operator and gunner he saw action at the Battle of Midway and on sixty-eight bombing missions in the Southwest Pacific. He spent nine months on Guadalcanal. He was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross, Air Medal, Purple Heart, and Presidential Citation. This letter, from a twenty-five-year-old veteran of this war, is intended neither as a personal attack nor as a partisan plea. It is irrelevant, he says, that he is a Republican.

I was glad to hear her talk about them. Too few people outside their "next of kin" even think about these dead ones. Too few people take time to plan to preserve the America they died to save.

But Mrs. Luce went one step farther; one step too far, for my money. And in that step there lies a threat that many other speakers may follow her dangerous precedent, for her speech was a powerful, vote-catching speech. And by the gods of many politicians, that's what counts.

The "step too far" was this. Politically, Mrs. Luce seemed to resurrect the men killed in action. And into their silent, cold mouths she stuffed words. For what purpose? For the purpose of supporting her own political party.

Mrs. Luce found a new kind of Charlie McCarthy. She went one better than a wooden dummy—she made her mouthpiece a dead soldier.

And a powerful mouthpiece a dead soldier makes—witness the potency of the speech he spoke for Mrs. Luce. A speech powerful enough to stir cheers and tears, a speech maybe even powerful enough to help swing an election—a brave requiem for soldier dust.

But, Mrs. Luce, is this right? Is this ventriloquism honorable and decent?

Or is it obscene prostitution of your dead?

Presumably your reply is, "Yes, it is honorable. My intentions were high. The end—the instalment of my party (the good of America)—justifies the means."

But upon your slim shoulders weighs a responsibility heavy with the grim burden of "the young bones that bleach on the tropical

BURLINGAME

roads of Bataan," that fill the earth beneath white crosses scattered the globe around.

You went on to say, Mrs. Luce, that "this convention is gathered together . . . to clarify what his [G. I. Joe's] wants are likely to be in the next four years and to plan to meet those needs . . . before this convention is done, it will clearly interpret his [the fighting man's] long-term wants in keynote and platform, and to the honoring of them our candidate will pledge himself."

Indeed a noble and praiseworthy sentiment. But, Mrs. Clairvoyant Luce, who besides your good self is at Chicago to reveal the fighters' "long-term" wants? Are you sure that sometimes *his* long-term wants may not be mixed up with *your* long-term wants?

A skeptical thought I admit. But what happened last time? Will no one allow the men themselves to decide what they want? Will no one give them time to *fight* and *win* and *come home?* And then grant them the American right of speaking for themselves. Please allow at least the living to talk for themselves, Mrs. Luce—if not the dead.

Do not cease, please do not anyone cease, from *planning* for the future of the veterans. But before these plans become actions, let the veterans look them over. Men who fight for their way of life and their country often think about them too.

Mrs. Luce is convinced that George Washington and today's G. I. Joe would prefer a gallery seat at the Republican convention to a gallery seat at the Democratic convention. Surely if heaven grants men peace and wisdom, our soldier dead would spend their days elsewhere than in the Chicago Stadium or the lobby of the Stevens Hotel.

While the blood is still wet on the beaches of France, upon the steeps of Saipan, politicians in foxholes from Pennsylvania to the Stevens Hotel are already making election propaganda out of their dead. Must the bones of our soldiers and sailors so soon be used as muck-shovels to sling mud from political party to political party?

Our dead belong first to themselves—and then to us, to America, not to this party or that. Let the *country* pledge faith, then, to the dead, and to the living who fight to protect it.

For the sake of those men who lie beneath the white crosses of our military graves, let there be an end *now* to this carving of campaign buttons from the young bones that bleach on the sands and rot in the mud.

It's in the Bag for F.D.R.

BY I. F. STONE

Chicago, June 29

CHICAGO is magnificent, a brutal force, an imperial city. Walt Whitman would have loved the splendor of its lake front, the skyline that challenges New York's, the luxury of Michigan Avenue and the flop houses of West Madison, the traveling salesmen and the tarts in the midtown hotels, the tireless human tides of the Loop. Little of that exuberant vitality was evident in the Republican National Convention, where droves of newspapermen foraged for scraps of news and delegates moved with bovine apathy into the Dewey camp. The Brickerites, with their boys' choir, lady cellist, and hymns, had something of the fervor of a Methodist revival, though with the sedateness proper in people from the right side of the tracks. The Stassenites were an isolated little band of Puritan internationalists, righteous, horrified, and impotent amid so much compromise with Colonel McCormick and sin. Willkie was only a voice offstage. The Dewey machine was modern, efficient, and triumphant, as slick as an advertising campaign by Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborn, proof to Chicago that politics is as susceptible to mass production as meat packing.

The convention itself required a strong stomach and a robust taste for humanity, not in the raw, where idealists may savor it, but in the pretentious and ribald package, human hamburger served up as Salisbury steak with a sprig of parsley. For this was country-club America gathering, respectable and prosperous America, the party of the small-town banker and lawyer as well as the party of Wall and State streets. Bald heads and well-lined paunches filled the rich lobbies of the Stevens. The pretty girl elevator operators got the libidinous eye of the men, the disapproving state of big-bosomed battle-axes accustomed to preside over the better women's clubs. The convention was no place for anemic prigs or pallid political moralists; it is a little late in the day to demonstrate that the Republican Party does not sincerely intend to build socialism in one country. The best guidebook to the spectacle was not Aristotle or Bryce but Balzac and Sinclair Lewis; here was the petty bourgeoisie in all its greed, cunning, caution, and stupidity; here also was Main Street, standardized but energetic, the horizons narrow but the faces friendly. The delegate's conception of politics may be cretinish, but he's a nice guy to drink beer with at a bar.

The most devoted were the Brickerites, good papas and mamas from small Ohio towns, likable people who trim their lawns and teach their little boys to wash behind the ears. Dewey's girls—he flooded the town with them Sunday—were cover girls, of a well-pasteurized loveliness, from the better agencies, and at least one of them confessed that she was a Democrat. But Bricker's were soulful young things who really thought the big, handsome, gray-haired ham a hero. I was at a Bricker rally Saturday night and heard the Governor's people cheer as he said, "I have been all around this country during the last few months. I know the longings of its people. I know their heart-beats. I know what they want. They want a *real* American for President." Bricker wears his hair like William Butler Yeats, but he's pure Throttlebottom.

No such evangelism was visible in the Dewey camp. Typical scene was that in the Missouri caucus over the week-end, as reported to me second hand. "Now look, boys," was the appeal, "we got to be practical. Remember last time when Pennsylvania missed the boat. One of the best newspapermen in America tells me Dewey already has 840 delegates. He'll be nominated before they ever get to the M's on the roll call. Now let's send our pledges up to Jaeckle and Sprague." So the pledges rolled in, and it was clear that the last possibility of hopeless battle was over Wednesday morning when Joe Martin hammered away with his huge burlesque-show gavel and shouted, "I introduce the Governor of Ohio." Americans like a good loser, and Bricker had the delegates as well as the galleries with him when he withdrew in favor of Dewey. Dewey's nomination produced a five-minute ovation; the delegates cheered Bricker for seventeen. The resentment of the convention broke through when Senator Ball, his face refreshingly different from the pompous statesmen and Honest Johns crowding the platform, withdrew Stassen's candidacy. "Ours," he said angrily, "has been a clean fight."

The formal addresses, interminable in the Turkish-bath atmosphere of the triple-tiered Chicago stadium, were an anthology of clichés; the nominating speeches an orgy of mixed metaphor. Joe Martin said the convention was meeting "in a solemn moment of our history" while we were "locked in a deadly struggle" with "a cruel foe" and "pouring out our treasure," the last being particularly irksome to economy-minded Republicans. Local talent won by a nose in the mixed-metaphor sweepstakes, a Chicago judge calling Dewey a Galahad in shining armor out to get the Holy Grail to perform the Augean task of smashing gang rule forever.

The only good speech of the convention was one made by Colonel Romulo, MacArthur's aide on Bataan, a Filipino with his people's gift for rhetoric, ". . . tell them how we starved . . . tell them how we made bombs out of pop bottles. . . ." Everyone mentioned the war, but no one else made it seem real. Hoover, when he spoke, seemed tired and old. When he finished, the sweat poured from his face under the huge klieg lights and his hand shook so he could not put his glasses in his pocket. Elderly men in sweaty shirts with big cigars waved and cheered the last Republican President with affection felt for a vanished moment in their own youth.

The other speeches, in their standard hollowness and uproarious illiteracy, were not offensive; they invoked the standard semantic symbols of the party. The one speech in bad taste—a feeling I found shared by people whose political views are quite unlike my own—was Clare Luce's bedtime story in the Orphan Annie manner of how G. I. Jim was haunting the convention, "Yes, maybe he was brought here by General George Washington. All Americans know that the General's spirit has watched over every gathering where Presidents have been picked for 147 years. . . ." This was applying whimsy with a shovel. Her attack on the President, leading any stranger to assume that the Republican Party had been the lonely voice during the '30's against the Axis and isolationism, was cheap and contemptible.

The stage managers of the convention, who seemed to have a gift for anti-climax, made Dewey's triumphal entrance a trifle difficult Wednesday night by having the crowd sing "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord," which was laying it on a bit thick. The nominee himself, sired by Horatio Alger out of Sullivan and Cromwell, looked young and vigorous, and he flushed red with pleasure on the platform. (My story wouldn't be complete without Mother Dewey's statement to the press, "I never thought of Tom's growing up to be President. I just wanted him to be a good boy and he was—most always.") Dewey was not turgid. He was brief, compact, and competent, but he didn't say anything, and I had the feeling that the crowd would have preferred the old-fashioned hooey. The reception given him was short and sedate and quite unlike that customary at conventions. The lack of enthusiasm was not a good Republican sign for November.

Nowhere was the rubber-stamp character of the convention more apparent than in the extraordinary session Tuesday afternoon to adopt the platform. Starved for a story, some of us had hoped that the Willkie statement and the Edge protest would stir a fight on the floor against the foreign-policy plank. But not more than 10 per cent of the delegates put in an appearance at the platform session. The plank against more than two terms for President stirred the most applause. The response was mild even to the promise of "rigid economy," an old G. O. P. standby. There was a sprinkling of handclaps for a permanent FEPC and against lynching. But for the most part the delegates listened unresponsively as Taft read the entire platform. He moved its adoption. The motion was seconded. There was a scattering of "ayes" and no "noes." The Republicans had a platform.

I don't know what the foreign-policy plank means, but I think its best exposition may be found in the radio address Bricker made last Saturday night. "And finally," Bricker said, "the people of this nation want a foreign policy which will afford them reasonable assurance that their sons and daughters shall not again be asked to lay down their lives on the field of battle. They want America to be helpful in the world. They want America to have a place in a cooperative organization of sovereign nations, but"—and at this point Bricker faced the other way—"but they want no dictatorial world state, no military alliances, no international police force, and no international diplomacy that would lower our standard of living or deprive us of freedom of action." This is the 1920 catch-all formula over again, and those who want a fairly enduring peace can hardly be taken in by it. The Democratic plank will probably be little better than that. But the difference between Roosevelt and the Republican nominees is the difference between a man who wants some international order but is trimming his sails to placate the isolationists, and men who are opposed to an international order but are throwing out a few coy come-ons to those who want peace and security.

"I smell New Dealers," pudgy, raucous, but shrewd Gerald L. K. Smith cried in a speech to his followers last Sunday after they forced their way into the Stevens ballroom. The smell is strong in the domestic planks of the Republican platform. Like every Republican platform since 1936, it accepts the basic principles and legislation of the New Deal and in effect criticizes only their administration. Dewey and the men around him, though they stand naturally with the haves against the have-nots of our society, have no government philosophy of their own. They know it would be politically unsafe to call for repeal of New Deal legislation and are left only with the issue of efficient government. This is not a very exciting issue even when dressed up in unpopular words like "bureaucracy." In normal times natural dissatisfaction with the "ins" would make this a good-enough lever for Tweedledum to oust Tweedledee with. But this is not that kind of a year.

I think the general feeling here among the newspapermen and, in private, the politicians is that the Republican Party will not make its come-back until 1948, and Mark Sullivan has hinted as much. The time spent by the Republicans in answering the old saw about changing horses in midstream indicates that it has them worried. If the war is going well, Roosevelt's chances will be helped. If it should take a turn for the worse, the atmosphere will not be conducive to an all-out partisan campaign against him. On domestic issues the Republicans are New Dealers in spite of themselves, and have no clear line on which to fight. The biggest issue of the campaign will be that of American cooperation with a new world order, and that is an issue on which enough Republicans feel deeply to win several million crucial votes for Roosevelt. The Democrats will make a mistake if they place too much stress on Dewey's youth; they have too many old fogies hanging around Washington. But the question of Dewey's experience and maturity in dealing with leaders of other countries and in coping with the problems of the peace is a real one and will also keep many votes in the Roosevelt column.

The Chicago convention was the convention of a do-nothing party run by say-nothing politicians hankering for the past but afraid to speak up for it—even Bricker attacked "reactionaries who would return to 'the good old days.'" With Willkie as its candidate, this party might have won enough progressives away from Roosevelt to win. With Dewey and Bricker, the party will only alienate enough conservative internationalist Republicans to lose. Mr. Roosevelt will win in November, and some chance of a decent world order will win with him.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

ON THE WHOLE, WE THINK the political prospect at the South very encouraging. The acceptance of Negro suffrage as the basis of the new political regime by the white Virginians and Georgians, who are in a majority, has set an example which Mississippi will probably follow; and we shall, within a year or two, see the colored men admitted to the political arena all over the South, and fairly engaged in the game of politics with their white neighbors. —*July 15, 1869.*

THE INCREASED FREQUENCY OF DUELS lately observed goes far to show that the natural character of the Italians is, like everything else in the Peninsula, undergoing certain changes, and it would be false philosophy to deny that, in history, change means progress, and that dueling is a vast improvement on the time-honored use of the dagger and the poisoned ring.—*July 15, 1869.*

THERE IS A VERY PLEASANT RUMOR afloat about "representation" to be addressed to the Spanish government by our own on behalf of the Cubans, looking to an amicable settlement of the present troubles and the concession to the Cubans, if not of national independence, of autonomy. . . . Nobody is so well fitted to play the part of mediator as the United States, and the exceeding courage, loyalty, and integrity with which she has enforced the neutrality laws will give additional weight to all she may say.—*July 22, 1869.*

FRANCE IS RESOLVED to participate in the work of the government; resolved, above all, not to let her money be scattered about, as it has been, wilfully, sinfully, and secretly. The Emperor, like all men who have wielded sovereign power in modern times, is ready to submit to the decrees of popular opinion in the last resort; but, like all his brother sovereigns, he suffers himself to be deceived as to the genuineness and intensity of the popular will.—*July 29, 1869.*

Sex and the Censor

BY PHILIP WYLIE

CENSORSHIP is epidemic at the moment. The long and absurd trial of *Esquire* magazine by the postal authorities was an early sign of this particular pox of priggishness. It has spread and taken several forms.

In the fall of 1943 the Concord Book Store in New York issued a mail-order catalogue of standard books. The New York Post Office sent word to the shop that the 35,000 catalogues were unmailable because they advertised titles that fell under the classification of obscene literature. The questioned titles were stated to be Voltaire's "Candide," Balzac's "Droll Stories," and Hall's "Well of Loneliness." The Postmaster asserted that the titles were on a forbidden list in the General Post Office in Washington. He refused to produce the full list. The Concord Book Shop, feeling that it could not fight the case, overprinted the offending titles and sent out the catalogues, purged of their obscenity!

The time-dishonored Boston farce was played again over "Strange Fruit," a fine novel which contains a dirty word. Bernard DeVoto bought a copy nearby the city that is full of beans and short of liberal stamina. He was brought to trial, and the sale of the book was enjoined. Word came from the Post Office that the trial was being watched as an example—and the publishers of "Strange Fruit" had a brush with these people, who apparently were considering a graft of Boston bigotry upon the whole nation.

On the complaint of John S. Sumner, secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, Magistrate Charles G. Keutgen of New York City has held the Dial Press for the Court of Special Sessions in the matter of "The First Lady Chatterley," by D. H. Lawrence. Magistrate Keutgen calls the book "clearly obscene" and defines an obscene book as one "which contravenes the moral law and tends to subvert respect for decency and morality."

Now there is no such thing as sex "moral law" in any legal sense. Free men differ greatly in their opinion of sex morals. Decency also is a matter of diverse definitions. If I understand Magistrate Keutgen correctly, any book could be called "obscene" and be suppressed which merely undertook to debate the moral pretensions of, say, middle-class American society. In the Chatterley book Lawrence tends to take the view that it is dangerous to the physical and mental health of his heroine to remain continent. This view Magistrate Keutgen evidently regards as obscene in itself—from which, I assume, he would also suppress all psychological, medical, and scientific works that present any evidence to support that opinion. It is a most extraordinary attitude, for this century.

I myself have recently witnessed a still more startling application of the prude's scissors and the prig's blue pencil—work done upon a splendid manuscript by the censors in the public-relations office of one of the services. The manuscript told a story of fighting men in naturalistic terms but with a reverential spirit. When the censors were done with it, there was no spirit left, and the fighting men talked in language suitable for the foyer of a Y. W. C. A. Fortunately, a higher and more discerning officer undid the desecration and restored the manuscript to its original condition. But it is no secret that, in this war, it is "policy" to hide so far as possible from the folks the fact that soldiers and sailors possess libido.

Incidentally, an interesting example of an official guardian's attempt to protect the morals of the troops was the banning of the book of soldier songs "Give Out," published by the Arrowhead Press. This book enjoyed great popularity in the camps, some 25,000 copies having been sold through post exchanges before the New York Postmaster sniffed it out. Then the mails were denied it. The publishers, acting with the American Civil Liberties Union, sued, and the case went to trial in federal court in the District of Columbia. The judge ruled that the New York Postmaster was quite within his rights in banning the book and that the evidence showed that his decision was not an arbitrary one.

The most recent case of an attempt to block books containing dangerous ideas or forbidden words has no relation to sex manners. It does, however, have the sound and smell of authoritarianism. A few weeks ago the Council for Books in Wartime, which has been publishing a special Armed Services Edition of books of a wide variety for American soldiers overseas, was notified by the Adjutant General of the army that several titles could not be included. Among them were "Yankee from Olympus," a biography of the late Justice Holmes, by Catherine Drinker Bowen, "One Man's Meat," a book of essays by E. B. White, and "The Republic," by Charles A. Beard. The Adjutant General decided that they came under Title V of the Soldiers' Vote Act, which prohibits distribution to the armed services of "books containing political argument or political propaganda of any kind calculated to affect the result of a federal election." Back to "Terry and the Pirates," boys; you can die for your country, but we can't risk exposing you to the idea books of this democracy of ours.

To these cases could be added the endless list of books Catholics are prohibited from reading and the books ministers indict, the books libraries refuse to house and the books the bookshops refuse to stock. Banning a book is the same as burning it, in the eyes of God—and we all know what became of the people who burned their books.

If this pernicious and regressive situation were to spread and increase, we ought in due time to regard it either as a most sinister social manifestation or as evidence that there is something rotten—and thoroughly organized—in the state of Denmark. Even so, I myself would confidently expect the American majority, as soon as it had the time and the opportunity to perceive the spectacle, to smite it and the sanctimonious prurience it connotes. For the censoring of "obscenity" is the work of the impure, to whom all things are impure; illegal dirtiness cannot be detected save by a mind in which subjective dirtiness has already been installed, organized, regimented, codified—and doted on, too, as the science of psychology has shown.

But I suspect that the present outbreak of senseless censorship is a hysterical expression, in part retrospective in nature, and in part anticipatory. The part that is memory refers back to the last war, at the end of which occurred a revolution in manners that resulted in a new candor, an educational step forward, and a fresh accessibility of good literature, both current and classical. Undoubtedly many persons in our society who regarded that step not as an achievement but as a mortal sin now automatically fear that it may be repeated at the conclusion of this war. Nothing could be more natural than that such persons would endeavor to block any putative river of change by raising dams in it ahead of the peace. And those who cannot even raise dams can throw stones.

I further suspect that enough unwished truth about the state of the world at this instant, of the people in it, of their sex morals and their sex manners has leaked out to the ears of prudes to put them on their guard—enough to throw them, indeed, into utter tizzie. Not only have about a quarter of the women in the world been steadily exposed to rape for the last half-decade, but vast sections of the so-called civilized globe have been given to a multitude of experiments in patriotic illegitimacy, forced breeding, and what not. Once peace is regained and communications restored, these conditions will have their effect on the behavior of us all—or, at least, on our thoughts.

Again, any person who has held much intimate converse with factory workers on the war production fronts will know that the invasion of the machine-shops by women has not made polite eunuchs of all male workers. Little has been published about this matter yet, and it is still largely confined to action, but I think it is not going too far to say that the very plain changes in the sex *mores* of the American people have reached all levels of our society and that such shifts in behavior cannot be arrested or even affected by the withholding of particular printed matter.

Moreover, some ten or eleven millions of young men, which is nearly all our young men, will come home one day with a marked enlargement of biological vocabulary and knowledge, as well as a statistical increment of experience.

These are facts. To all persons who regard a relaxation of sex taboo as essentially intolerable, such conditions must be most terrifying. Because these people react through fear, they do not examine any data, and they do not counter-propose any kind of teaching or education or even exhortation. They simply yell for the cops to put a stop to what evidence they do see—*Esquire,* "Strange Fruit," *et al.*

Since the Catholic church has been the most dogmatic group in these affairs, and the most high-handed in insisting upon a national application of its dogma, censorship has most often arisen in predominantly Catholic communities and has been invoked most often by Catholics. The Protestant church has followed as a sometimes more liberal second. But inasmuch as the majority of the American people do not belong to any church, the rules governing American sex morality are not by real right the business of any church whatever. Churches are free, under our system, to ask but not to demand or impose—which they have constantly done. Freedom of religion is not a blanket license of peculiar dogma, although it is quite possible for hysterical zealots to overcome and betray the common sense of the whole people in such a disheveling time as war. Passage of the prohibition amendment furnished an example of that kind of catastrophe.

However, I do not believe the censors will manage to prohibit sex. I do think it is unfortunate that current censorship should be so often indicated by the swinging censer of religion. The Catholic neutrals and the Protestant pacifists bear a grave if negative load of responsibility for this war; by insisting now upon the performance of their obnoxious Nice-Nellie-isms they only make themselves the more conspicuously tragic. They should, rather, face the realities with which we, all of us, are trying to deal nowadays. They should abandon the old disastrous policy of ignorance compelled. Where they are afraid they should honestly seek the reasons of their fear. Where they are uninformed they should be taught. Where they are full of arrogance and moral tyranny, they should be stopped, both in the name of democracy and in the name of truth.

The Record of the REA

BY JUDSON KING

AT THE ninth annual birthday dinner of the Rural Electrification Administration at St. Louis on May 11, Administrator Harry Slattery announced that more than 1,000,000 farmers and business and industrial consumers in rural areas who were unable to get electric service before the advent of the REA are now being supplied; also that plans are being perfected for a tremendous post-war expansion.

It is high time. Perhaps in another nine years, if the REA is permitted to function as originally intended, the United States will catch up with other advanced nations in this respect. That objective, however, will not be reached unless this splendid agency is kept free from politics and graft and is protected by federal and state law from strangulation by the private power companies.

A generation ago the idea of "area service"—that is, of making electricity as available in rural regions as in cities and towns—was scoffed at as a dream of impractical idealists. Today the REA, by making the dream come true, has captured the imagination of the American people and become universally popular. What is not understood in urban circles, however, and what needs sharp emphasis, is the fact that cheap electric *motor power* in barn and field, as well as lights, running water, and refrigerators in the farm home, is necessary for the rehabilitation of agriculture in this country. By "cheap" is meant an average cost of around 1 cent per kilowatt hour instead of the 3 to 10 cents now charged. Such a price would bring current within the reach of the pocket-books of the middle- and lower-income farmers, including share-croppers, who constitute over 80 per cent of our rural population. And it is not a pipe dream. Already some of the older cooperatives in the TVA region, as well as around Tacoma and in the Bonneville area in Washington and Oregon, are selling current at 1.5 cents or less. How can they do it? Their lines are being amortized, and they benefit from the very cheap wholesale rates of public-power dams.

Five years after the close of World War I only 177,000 American farms—2.6 per cent—were electrified. Thousands of progressive farmers were growing restless, and private industry moved to meet the demand. In 1923 the National Electric Light Association, representing 90 per cent of the nation's electric utilities, formed a "Committee on the Relation of Electricity to Agriculture," and started an impressive campaign to "electrify rural America." It invited and obtained the active cooperation of the national farm organizations, the agricultural colleges, the appliance manufacturers, the American Society of Agricultural Engineers, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and the United States Department of Agriculture, of Commerce, and of the Interior.

During the next eleven years some $2,400,000 was spent on research, experimentation, and an intensive advertising campaign to "sell" electricity to our farmers. By 1935 the industry's own statistics showed that 743,954 farms were being served. That meant only 11 per cent; some 6,000,000 farms were as yet without current—this at a time when from 50 to 80 per cent of the farms in the advanced countries of Europe, in New Zealand, and even in Japan were electrified. In the winter of 1934 the national farm organizations, discouraged and disgusted, withdrew from the Committee on the Relation of Electricity to Agriculture. The grand effort of free enterprise to solve this great socio-economic problem had failed.

It had failed because of the rates charged, which were so high that only the rich farmers could afford to pay them. At the start of the campaign the utilities asserted that rates were not an essential factor, and the cooperating agencies were silent on this point. Rate schedules were kept high in order to yield customary profits on alleged "fair values." When the campaign died down, the utilities, under stinging criticism from farm leaders, replied bluntly that the companies were "not eleemosynary institutions . . .; therefore, conspicuous advances in farm electrification must wait"—until farmers could afford it.

In the winter of 1934 the National Grange and the American Farm Bureau Federation applied to the national government for help. The Natural Resources Board and the Civil Works Administration investigated and strongly recommended federal aid. Progressives without regard to party affiliations supported the movement. Senator Shipstead, for example, promoted an electric cooperative in his own county in Minnesota in 1934, and declared that without federal-government leadership the task of farm electrification could not be accomplished within any reasonable time. In April the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act earmarked $100,000,000 for rural electrification, and on May 11, 1935, President Roosevelt by executive order created the REA. In 1936 its life was extended for ten years by the Norris-Rayburn Act.

The principal function of the REA was to make twenty-five-year loans to rural cooperative groups or public-power districts at low interest rates to enable them

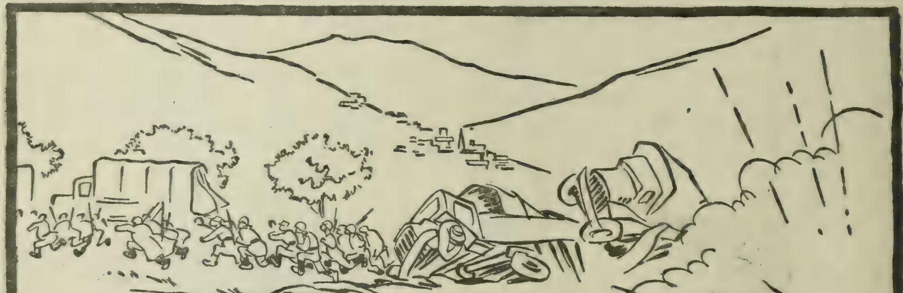
BURLINGAME PUBLIC LIBRAR

to serve themselves electrically. The present Congress has extended the term of the loans to thirty-five years. To date $382,600,000 has been lent out, at an average interest rate of 2.5 per cent. "Area service" is a different thing from the company practice of running a few lines into thickly settled neighborhoods, and to protect the government loans the REA set up legal, finance, engineering, research, utilization, and other divisions at headquarters. The job of the technical staffs of the REA was to make cheap current possible, and they did it.

A "co-op" comes into being about as follows. Farmers and others in an unserved area organize a non-profit cooperative under state law, with the aid usually of an REA field man. They hire an engineer, draw up plans, and apply for a loan. If investigation shows the project will pay and the engineering plans are sound, a loan is made by the REA. The co-op proceeds with construction, and presently the area has light and power, distributed by itself. Power is purchased wholesale from private utilities. If the price is too high, the co-op builds its own generating plant. Some co-ops cover a relatively small area with a few hundred members; others serve four or five counties with from 5,000 to 8,000 members.

Rural America eagerly embraced the opportunity offered by the REA. Though construction was abruptly halted by the war, there are now 812 cooperatives in 45 states serving 1,115,056 rural consumers. The essential test for the conservative mind is, are these co-ops paying? The answer is that on April 1 the total amount due on all REA loans, principal and interest, was $50,252,000 and that the government had been repaid $16,131,794 in excess of that amount in advance payments. Only 9 of the 812 co-ops, whose average age is four and a half years, were in real financial trouble. Social benefits are well and good, but it is this evidence of financial success that has brought the REA almost universal approval.

The continued hostility of the private utilities, which is intensifying as peace approaches, has puzzled many people. Why, they ask, should the utilities fight against the accomplishment of a needed task which they declined to undertake; especially when the REA Act of 1936 prohibits loans to farm co-ops in territory already served by private companies? The reasons are simple. The power trust knows that co-op rates are lower than company city rates and that this is bound to have a


To Marshal Kesselring
"Sir, Marshal von Rundstedt wants two of your crack divisions for Normandy"
"Tell him we're all coming"
LOW

"WAR OF MOVEMENT" IN ITALY

powerful effect upon public opinion. Like all big business men, utility leaders fear the spread of the cooperative idea. When the REA challenged the supremacy of the private utilities, their executives suddenly began doing what they had declared was impossible. *Since 1935 they have electrified as many farms as the cooperatives.*

The total effect, then, of the establishment of the REA is that today some 42 per cent of American farms are electrified as against 11 per cent in 1935. However, the job is not yet one-half done, and the rest cannot wait indefinitely. Medium and small farmers are threatened by large-scale mechanized farming today just as small business is threatened by big business, and competitive enterprise by monopoly. To meet this threat they must have adequate modern machinery and electric power.

If we take a broad view of it, the farm problem is the same that faces our people in every field of endeavor. The crux of it is whether dollars shall be placed above human welfare. All intelligent men and women are aware of the approaching crisis. Hence the encouraging multiplicity of post-war planning. The REA has something constructive to offer. When nineteenth-century banker-utility practices failed them, American farmers, with the aid of their government, started doing the rural-electrification job themselves. Encouraged by success, they propose to finish the task.

In response to the inquiry of a Senate committee on post-war planning, REA officials, after a careful survey, have stated that to meet rural demands a loan program of $500,000,000 will be required in the first three years of peace. The long-range job is much larger. There are more than 6,500,000 rural dwellings, farm and non-farm, without electric service in the United States. There are more than 5,000,000 farms and small business and industrial units which can be served without subsidies. Nearly 2,000,000 miles of line will be required, costing over $1,500,000,000. Wiring and plumbing will cost $1,300,000,000. Last but not least, the task will require more than 700,000,000 man-hours of labor for line construction and farmstead wiring and plumbing—a direct contribution to the menacing unemployment problem. In addition, this extension of plant will create a demand for more than $2,500,000,000 worth of farm and home appliances and equipment.

That is a healthy program, and, mind you, it is "feasible"—financially sound, self-sustaining, and self-liquidating. It is not a drain on the taxpayers, nor does it mean more bureaucracy, centralization, or dictation from Washington or St. Louis. The REA administrator said recently at a state Rural Electrification Association meeting: "The doorway of post-war opportunity through rural electrification stands open. But it is a doorway which each unelectrified community must enter for itself by accepting the initiative and responsibility for its own planning."

Unfortunately, the REA has troubles that arise from within as well as from without. Created as an independent agency, it was put in 1939 under the Department of Agriculture, with unsatisfactory results. Some months ago a Senate committee began an investigation to discover just how the agency has fared under Agriculture, and whether it should not be restored to its original independent status. The committee also wants to know what is behind the attempt to force the resignation of Administrator Slattery; are some persons trying to put the REA and the cooperatives into politics? The inquiry is not yet completed, but on June 23 the committee issued an interim report recommending that the REA be made an independent agency again.

[*This is the first of two articles on the REA.*]

In the Wind

AFTER MEDITATING UPON the nomination of Governor Dewey by the Republicans, the Louisville *Courier-Journal* reports, a Tennessee farmer made this observation: "It's never a good idea to change horses in the middle of the stream. But if I ever come to that pass where I've got to consider doing it, I will sure draw the line at changing to a Shetland pony."

ADDRESSING THE ANNUAL DINNER of the University of Chicago alumni, Donald R. Richberg, former NRA administrator, warned that a battle of the home front will come as soon as the war of liberation is over. This is all because the reaction to Nazi claims of superiority has produced "an equally insane line of thinking" in this country to the effect that persons "in obviously inferior positions must be given superior rights so that they can maintain their claimed equality with their actual superiors."

DEPARTMENT OF CENSORSHIP: According to *Editor and Publisher,* a human-interest story about a tank driver in Castelforte, written for the Chicago *Tribune,* was held up by the censor. When it finally went through, the fact was deleted that the G. I.'s wife back home was an expectant mother. Tracked down by an irate correspondent, the censor explained that he cut it out because the Germans would be able to deduce that the soldier had been home within nine months, and would know that "newly arrived troops were facing them in Rome." The over-zealous censor was shipped back from Italy to Algiers.

FESTUNG EUROPA: In the City Hall square of Copenhagen the Danish tourist association has a little wooden hut in which it sells lottery tickets. A citizen went over to one of the many German tanks kept in the square, knocked on the "window," and asked the astounded soldier, "Do you sell lottery tickets here?"

[*The prize for the best item received in June goes to Pfc. H. H. for the example of big-business logic which he extracted from a speech by Eugene Holman, vice-president of the Standard Oil Company. It appeared in the issue of June 17.*]

Allied Propaganda to Occupied Europe

[*As Allied armies advance against the aggressor in Europe from east and west, the trend of thought in the occupied countries becomes of increasing interest. Exact knowledge of the sentiments and aspirations of the Europe which is resisting Hitler is a prerequisite of effective political warfare. If anyone has believed that this section has exaggerated the strength of the underground, he has only to read the recent statements of General Eisenhower to be set right. Since the reactions of people in the occupied countries to Allied propaganda and political warfare are so important, we are happy to reprint here the report of a "correspondent lately in Norway," published in the London* Economist *on May 20.*]

IN THE free world Allied propaganda to occupied countries is discussed only sporadically. In occupied territory it has, at any rate until recently, been a subject of daily discussion. To the free world the subject is theoretical; critics and defenders alike lack first-hand knowledge of the conditions under which it is received and of its effect on its public. People under occupation know this, but for their part are in ignorance of the general background of events from which propaganda agencies select and adapt their material; nor do they know the policy guiding propaganda. In either case discussion of the subject is handicapped. Given good-will, some of the difficulties might be overcome, but it is necessary for people in the free world to try to acquaint themselves with the fundamental experiences and views of people living under occupation and to bring an open mind to the problem.

It is impossible in a short article to give people in the free world an adequate impression of the circumstances and attitude of the recipients of propaganda. It would involve trying to correct and supplement the picture the free world has constructed for itself of people under occupation, which on so many points differs from reality. Active patriots who come out from the stimulating, rich, and alert political and intellectual life in an occupied country feel astonishment, then consternation, and ultimately despair when they fully realize what assumptions neutrals and Allies have made about them.

Nazi occupation and democratic resistance form an experience with a deep and far-reaching effect on the community and on individuals. The citizen has had to face fundamental ethical and political problems, and individually to make up his mind about them; he has in consequence acquired a deeper insight and a clearer realization about what those values are for which we fight. Political consciousness is found in wider circles than ever before. And it is not merely a primitive, emotional, nationalistic attitude; there have developed a calm, reasoned, democratic conviction, an open mind, and a readiness to discuss fundamental and controversial matters without prejudice. It is true that the loss of normal, ordered society may give rise to moral problems, but it is overwhelmingly clear that the self-discipline, cooperation, and mutual helpfulness which have risen out of the background of official lawlessness give great promise for further constructive developments; official lawlessness has created a heightened regard for constitutional law. A characteristic feature is also a strong and growing internationalism. The problems of state sovereignty and of the sovereignty of the people are regarded with deep interest, and a constructive attitude is prevalent.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

The first of the four freedoms, that of speech and opinion, is at the center of interest. Circumstances have given an added perspective to the discussion, and the concept has received a twentieth-century interpretation. The primitive right to speak one's mind is not felt to be the central issue—experience has proved that it is difficult to prevent people from expressing an opinion—but the essence of the problem is felt to be the *right of access to information.* Even under oppression man finds ways of saying what he thinks and of influencing the views of others, even if it cannot be done publicly. But the use of power to withhold, or pervert, essential information is looked upon as the sin against the Holy Ghost.

Much disappointment might have been avoided if the policy behind the Allied propaganda services had been made available in a clear form. Recently *Time* described the function of the Office of War Information as being to supply "the truth, but not the whole truth." This tallies perfectly with the conclusions reached after four years' observation of Allied propaganda. Its underlying assumption is, presumably, that the whole truth would have a weakening effect. It is, of course, realized that some information has to be withheld for military and security reasons. But the restrictions operate more widely than that, with the result that people have to brave the Gestapo and listen in all day and night in the hope of collecting valuable items from all the different broadcast services. The answer to the assumption about the dangerous effect of truth on morale was given by an old politician, who said in a discussion of whether it would be wise to circulate secretly a straightforward statement about a patriotic reverse, "Truth has never weakened the front." His view was not followed, for fear of such a weakening, and the result was uncontrolled rumors which had a depressing effect.

NAZI AND ALLIED NEWS

In practice, war-time information, both of the Nazis and in democracies, has two aspects—the provision of news, and political influence combined with the stiffening of morale. News is given the greatest space, and it also serves the other objective. The Allied news services aim at providing a corrective for the Nazi news services by publishing true items. This corrective function had a complete success over two years ago in the field covered, which is mainly that of military news. Until nearly the end of 1941 the German news services provided communiqués and other information with fictitious items. But the German propaganda authorities came to understand that too wide a discrepancy between their news and Allied news was a bad thing for them, and were sufficiently realistic to act accordingly. The unrestrained flights of imagination were given up, and since 1941-42 German communiqués have been materially correct. It must be considered a real victory that Allied information has forced the enemy to a complete reversal of his policy with regard to facts. But it is precisely after this achievement that the importance of the Allied news service has been constantly on the decline. Until 1941-42 it was in combat with the Nazi service in the field of war news. Now the enemy keeps quiet, although he still continues to be a menace, and the Allied news service is in a situation similar to that of "a fleet in being," which by merely existing contains enemy forces. It is strange that the BBC should rest content with being a "propaganda machinery in being," and that no forward move has been made. Or has it not noticed the victory?

The principles of selecting news material have caused comment. The ideal has been to provide encouraging military news in every program, whether the whole of the news is good or not. The complete picture presented over a longer period may in consequence be distorted. Statistics about losses in Allied air raids made up of BBC figures can give curious results. It may happen that three raids are reported in the same transmission, and that the number of planes lost is mentioned for two where the figures are low, but passed over in silence for the third, where the figure may be high. The policy with regard to military news has a hand-to-mouth character. This has shaken confidence, not in the truth of the details given, but in the whole picture they present. The effect is illustrated in a remark by a shrewd peasant woman. When asked whether she had had the day's news she said that she had not, but that that did not make much difference, "for the London news is always good." The cumulative effect of these daily doses of "good" news, which do not add up to great achievements, is that people begin to wonder whether there are forces making the Western Allies hold back.

THE EFFECTS OF ISOLATION

Other types of news have been entirely put in the shade by the military news. On the political side the Germans almost have the field to themselves. Democratic institutions and functions hardly play any part in the propaganda of the democratic states. It is clearly impossible for those who have not experienced a long term of total isolation to realize what isolation means, or what the cumulative effect of omissions in Allied information can be. By these omissions four years of Allied information leave listeners under occupation with the feeling that in the fight for democracy, democracy itself has gone under. In the political field the right of access to factual information is denied us by our own allies and compatriots, who keep us under a total blockade of ideas. The picture of the free world inferred from this is that politically and intellectually it has grown stale. This again undermines confidence in the prospect of constructive cooperation afterward. We are becoming afraid of our allies.

The attitude of propagandists to their allies or compatriots under occupation causes concern. We are almost invariably talked down to. A recent report from a regular listener begins: "The circumstance which has caused the gravest difficulties in radio work is the feeling that they did not take their task seriously enough." Keen observers record that there is a remarkable difference in tone and frankness between the formulation of news in the BBC home service and in the European service. The motive for this must be that the European public is rated lower than the public at home. In occupied territory one has a feeling of being treated like a child—patronized, encouraged, and praised, but kept outside when serious matters are discussed. From one point of view the effect may be disastrous. In the propaganda directed to themselves occupied people are flattered more than they like, and nothing is revealed to them of the views held about them in the free world, as shown in a number of articles in periodicals and dailies. When the frontiers are opened, and the occupied peoples realize how their free allies regard them, their reaction may be violent.

It is true that Allied propaganda works under great difficulties. Propaganda to neutrals, to free allies, and to allies under occupation presents three entirely different problems. Contact with the public under occupation is meager. The Allied propaganda agencies do not have the advantage of daily free criticism and interchange of views, and thus come to work in a somewhat rarefied atmosphere. And in the loud exchange of opinion in the free world it is difficult for the still, small voice from inside occupied territory to make itself heard, even when

BURLINGAME

suggestions and requests have been got through the barrier. The result is that whereas as late as 1943 people were still eager to make and pass out suggestions and proposals for the radio, in 1944 there is a marked falling off. It seems as if information workers inside the barrier, who are as active as ever, have resigned themselves to obtaining their material in other ways. The BBC seems to have been written off as a constructive collaborator in the political war. Its importance for military news is recognized. But it is difficult to understand why Allied propaganda has no higher ambition than to remain "a propaganda arm in being."

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IMMEDIATELY after the opening of the "third front" a significant phenomenon was observed in Switzerland. The published account of it ran as follows:

> Reports from Zurich indicate that the Swiss banks are greatly disturbed over the enormous increase in the deposits of German-owned money in Switzerland. It is no longer a question of money brought to Switzerland by individual members of the Nazi Party for their own future use—a proceeding which has been going on for a long time. The sums flowing in of late are so large that they are believed to be funds which German Nazis expect to use to finance an illegal Nazi Party after the defeat.

This news, to be more specific, was printed in the Stockholm *Aftontidningen* on June 19. The paper added:

> It is an open secret in Germany that certain party members—in particular, members of the Gestapo and the Hitler Youth—are being trained in special schools for possible later underground activities. It can be assumed that the formidable sums now accumulating in or passing through Swiss banks are intended for the financing of such activities.

Attention is thus directed to another problem which will come up between the Allies and the neutral states after the war. Previously people have only asked what would happen to party members who succeeded in escaping to a neutral country; now we are reminded that the same question will be presented by the transference of party funds. The larger the amounts the plainer it will be that the "extradition," or at least the "internment" of these funds is scarcely less important than the extradition or internment of the Nazis themselves. Action against either will be difficult under existing international law—and little preparation for it seems to have been made.

Another financial consequence of the invasion was reported by a Swiss paper, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of Basel, on June 8: namely, that a few hours after the first landings the value of the German mark at the Swiss border dropped one-half.

> German railway men at the frontier stations complained to their Swiss colleagues about the drop. On Monday, June 5, they could buy a package of Swiss tobacco at the frontier buffet for four marks. On Tuesday, June 6—after the landings—they had to pay eight marks. "This is how the mark has slumped in one day," one of them said. "It started the same way last time."

It should be noted that it is a question here only of the unofficial rate of exchange of the "concrete" mark. The official rate of the "abstract" mark on the exchanges is regulated by the Reichsbank and has not changed for many years.

In November, 1942, after the Allied landings in North Africa, this column made a discovery which was soon talked about everywhere. It discovered Goebbels's invention of the slogan *Festung Europa*. The Allies, said the Propaganda Minister, could perhaps drive the Germans out of Africa, which was only the "glacis" of the fortress, but they would not succeed in breaching the *Festung Europa* itself.

The phrase entered into the world's vocabulary and retained a certain validity even after the landing in Italy. German propaganda treated Italy also as a mere glacis, and Fortress Europe, strengthened by the Atlantic Wall, remained a symbol of the Reich's invincibility.

Since this column was the first to note the birth of the slogan, it is only fitting that it should be today the first to record its death. *Festung Europa*, which for a year and a half has been the chief item in the German war catechism, has now, after a transition period of stammering vacillation, definitely disappeared. But of course the genius of Dr. Goebbels has not abandoned it without providing a successor. In its place he has produced—what a surprise!—*Festung Deutschland*. First mention of the Fortress of Germany was found in the *Völkische Beobachter* of June 18. The statement was made there that it was of course not hard for the enemy, under the protection of the guns of two fleets, to land on the "periphery" of the Continent, but that this did not really matter. Everything depended on whether the Allies could breach the Fortress of Germany—"and too much was accomplished by Germany in the earlier years of the war for it to be undone by Eisenhower; he will have no success in his announced intention of breaching *Festung Deutschland* by a coordinated attack from the west and the east."

In a word, the old theme has been transposed from the higher key of Europe to the lower key of Germany. One may hope that after *Festung Deutschland* a *Festung Preussen* will spring in due time from the fertile brain of Dr. Goebbels, and after that a *Festung Berlin*, and then a *Festung Wilhelmstrasse*.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The One and the Many

JOSEPH THE PROVIDER. By Thomas Mann. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

NOW that Thomas Mann has brought his Joseph cycle to an end, there can remain no doubt, it seems to me, that it is one of the great imaginative efforts of our time. I know there is a growing tendency in this country to disparage the work of Mann, partly as a reaction against his heavy Olympianism, and partly, I suspect, because of the national prejudice in favor of the homespun and the hard-headed. It must be admitted that there is some ground for such reaction, especially in Mann's political pronouncements, which are full of an overheated spirituality that is not only thoroughly platitudinous but also quite indistinguishable from the Sunday rhetoric of philistinism. Even in his fiction there are occasional lapses into a sheer posture of profundity; this concluding volume of the tetralogy is marred by many dreary passages of spiritual rumination. Mann, in an apparent effort to wind up the series, has overrun his subject. Still, despite these failings, he clearly towers over his contemporaries, and it would be nothing but a piece of provincial spite to deny Mann's central place in modern writing.

Mann is the only literary survivor of what might be called the period of the world theme, when art and literature tried to grasp the *whole* of experience, when the self-consciousness of the artist was expanded into a larger human consciousness, through some symbolic, or mythical, or technical means, or all three. I have in mind, of course, the period dominated by Joyce, Proust, Yeats, Picasso. And Mann, whose earlier writing definitely carried the pathos of this tradition, has now turned, in his latest work, to an even more generalized and timeless scheme, transforming the Biblical story of Joseph into an elaborate parable of the spiritual wanderer, exile, leader: of the artist and society, the chosen and those who are left behind, the one and the many.

The conception has a forbidding grandiloquence. Yet in the main the narrative is at once lively and tense, as Mann weaves the facts of the legend and their meaning back and forth in a highly sententious style that seems to take in the particular quite as easily as the general. Mann is, above all, a master—surely the greatest living one—of the grand manner. And if he has been able at the same time to preserve the charm and the forthrightness of the original tale, it is largely because of his flair for the ironic and his unusual skill at merging the possible with the actual in the life of his characters.

So far as the basic story is concerned, "Joseph the Provider" covers the second phase of Joseph's career in Egypt, from his imprisonment by Potiphar through his triumphal rise to fame and fortune and his reunion with his family and his people. Following pretty closely the familiar outlines of the Biblical text, the novel opens with Joseph on his way to an Egyptian labor camp, where the favored son of God soon establishes his superior tact and ability and becomes the assistant and companion of the warden, a stolid but not insensitive hireling who later exchanges roles with Joseph as he accompanies him in his climb to power. The turning point comes, of course, when Joseph prophetically interprets the dreams of Pharaoh's two functionaries who have been jailed and are placed in Joseph's care, and he is eventually summoned to analyze Pharaoh's famous dream about the seven rich and seven lean years. Shrewdly exploiting his gifts and his bargaining power, Joseph not only becomes, as we know, a kind of overseer of agriculture for all Egypt, but he also captivates the starry-eyed and infantile potentate. The dramatic climax, which by the way Mann seasons with a good deal of comic interplay, is reached in the revelation to Jacob and his eleven scheming though somewhat dim-visioned sons that Joseph is alive and is none other than the great provider of Egypt; and in Jacob's apocalyptic and semi-delirious blessing, on his deathbed, of each son, delivered with all the thunderous authority of the old patriarch.

On a relatively simple symbolic level, and one that is mostly within the spirit of the story as told in Genesis, Joseph typifies the destiny-laden man, the man of the ancient world who felt himself guided by the hand of God in the sense that he was able to make his way by means of his cunning, his wisdom, and his practical knowledge of good and evil. But on this primary and primitive myth, so to speak, Mann has superimposed a modern myth, that of the artist who is at once chosen and rejected by society, who stands apart from yet is implicated in its movement; and he has filled the original myth with a wide symbolism of association, analogy, and contrast. Thus Joseph is given the pathos of the modern intellectual in his role of the alien and the sage, thriving on his wit, his feeling for reality, and his imaginative powers. He is, to complete the picture, the spoiled darling of his father and his time, the engaging narcissist, the demonic youth who ripens without getting old. At the same time—and this is really a beautiful piece of historical transposition—Joseph occupies a position of superiority and alienation not as an artist but solely by virtue of the fact that he is the leader and provider of his people, the practical man with a prophetic sense. The artist in the ancient world "belonged," as Mann puts it, "to the tribe of whistlers and fiddlers."

I have scarcely been able to suggest the many intriguing turns and sideshows of the novel. And while I think it is something of a letdown as compared with the two preceding volumes, still the entire cycle is a masterly re-creation of the human and the historical, a "play and a pattern," as Joseph himself describes his life story.

There is, one should add, just one disturbing aspect of the tetralogy: namely, that its religious overtones and its somewhat static idea of humanity may well fortify the present trend toward God-seeking and historical smugness in general. The fact is, however, that Mann's religiosity, which is largely aesthetic, represents only one side of his work, hardly warranting an appropriation of it as a whole by our latter-day apostles. The ambiguities and interplay of meanings of the Joseph books reach far beyond any immediate social implications. WILLIAM PHILLIPS

Presidents Should Be Strong

THE USE OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER, 1789-1943. By George Fort Milton. Little, Brown and Company. $3.

"THE worst periods of our history have been when Presidents were weak and Congresses strong."

This conclusion, stated in the final chapter of Mr. Milton's case history of American Presidents, deserves to be underlined. It becomes evident in his book long before he puts it into words. It is not something he sets out to prove, in this simply written, scholarly examination of American executives, but is an inescapable deduction from a study of times, men, and events. The moral is not that Congresses should be weak, but that strong Presidents should be followed by strong Presidents.

The classic instance of evil combination, of course, is that worst of all periods, covering Civil War reconstruction, when a powerful Congress overran a succession of weak Presidents and immeasurably deepened the tragedy of that conflict. Again, the American people are paying today in death, danger, privation, and titanic money costs for the work of a strong Congress which vented its hatred on a strong President made weak by overwork and illness—Woodrow Wilson. Looking at Presidents alone, regardless of Congress, the weakness of Buchanan was the greatest tragedy in American history.

Mr. Milton measures the Presidents by their use of power in six capacities—as Chief of State, Chief of Foreign Relations, Commander-in-Chief of Army and Navy, Chief of Government, Chief of Party, and Leader of Public Opinion—and traces the growth of these functions. He puts the label of greatness on eight men who have held office: Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt. (In my opinion, the more common appraisal of Cleveland as strong but not great still holds good.) All these men, regardless of the theories they held, expanded the total power of the federal government as well as of its executive branch; few more notably than Jefferson, the states' righter. The author rates Washington as the outstanding chief of state and administrator; Jefferson, Jackson, and Wilson as the most effective party leaders; Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt as the Nos. 1 and 2 leaders of foreign policy and public opinion, but deficient as party leaders despite their political shrewdness.

Lincoln is presented as the greatest expander and user of war powers innate in the Presidency, Franklin Roosevelt as the greatest of all war Presidents by reason of his genius in the political aspects of military strategy—the over-all decisions—and his skill in leading public opinion. Yet "Franklin Roosevelt, as has been seen, makes sparing use of his almost illimitable powers of Commander-in-Chief, certainly less than Wilson, and amazingly less than Lincoln." The detailed comparative studies of Lincoln and Roosevelt reduce the cry of "Dictator Roosevelt" to childish absurdity.

This book is geared to today and tomorrow. A full third of it is a study of the Presidency during the two world wars. Structurally, it uses the Presidents before Wilson as a background for the extensive comparison of Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, especially in their relations with Congress, the public, and the world at large. Both are treated objectively, sometimes almost harshly. Their unlikeness reduces but does not remove the danger of both being followed by a weak President, for the forces opposing them are the same. I wish that Mr. Milton had developed the implications of his statement that "never for long can the country do without a strong Chief Executive." Applying the logic of his analysis of the past to the problems of the immediate future, he might have said that "never for two months" can the country do without one. IRVING BRANT

Winged Words

MORE BY CORWIN. Sixteen Radio Dramas by Norman Corwin. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

RADIO plays are written to be heard, not to be read; yet if stage plays can retain their essential qualities in book form, radio can do as well and possibly better. For radio has been moving away from the dramatic and nearer to the narrative and even the critical idiom. Or, more strictly speaking, it has divided into two schools: the highly compressed drama of suspense, of which Arch Oboler is the chief exponent and George Asness a rising star; and the literature of ideas, whether expressed in dramatic, narrative, essay, or poetic form. In this second field Norman Corwin is the acknowledged leader, though Orson Welles did pioneer work there. It was Welles who originated the revolutionary idea that a narrator should be used for narration. From that point on the author had a voice of his own, and radio became a worthy vehicle for the expression of ideas.

Corwin entered radio as a producer, and thus gained a first-hand knowledge of his medium comparable to Noel Coward's knowledge of the theater. At that time radio was still imitating the stage play, awkwardly trying to find substitutes for the visual impression which it could not supply. Corwin realized that it had no need for makeshift, that the very absence of the spectacle released it from the realism which bound both stage and screen, and that the producer's art could give support to imaginative material too elusive for the visual media to handle. As there was little or no such material available, Corwin set to work to create it, exploring the potentialities of his medium in a variety of new forms.

In one sense he is still experimenting. His new collection, like his first—"Thirteen by Corwin," published in 1942—includes satire, burlesque, poetic drama, radio essays, and fantasy. To these are added the documentaries which have been Corwin's most celebrated contribution since 1941 and one work which is nearer to lyric poetry than to any other form. There is less drama than in the earlier volume and more direct statement of idea; there is less humor and more irony, but there is also a dash of unblushing slapstick. The plays are very uneven in quality; conspicuous among the successes is the radio essay, which Corwin has now developed in a finished and highly individual style. It differs from the documentary in that it shares an enthusiasm rather than voices a conviction, using factual material as a springboard for excursions into half-serious speculation. "The Anatomy of Sound," for instance, is a lively treatise on the impressions which enter the mind by way of the ear; it is amusing reading even without the sound effects which must enhance it considerably in the broadcast. "Good Heavens" deals with the planets and constellations in a similar vein; it is of an entirely different species from the educational broadcast, though it is doubtless the product of careful research as well as of brilliant writing. It is rich in the kind of spoofing in which Corwin is so peculiarly adroit, taking the listener in a split second from the cosmic to the familiar and back again.

In the radio essay the narrator naturally carries the burden of the argument, but this method is not essential for the development of an idea in radio any more than in other kinds of writing. In the historical documentary on the Bill of Rights, now a classic in its field, Corwin weaves narration and dialogue into a pattern of bold, poster-like design. The war plays are debates, dramas, and symposiums. The satire on advertising reads like a short story, though it leans very lightly on narration. Several of the plays are cast in the most conservative form, using dialogue only. They include such widely different genres as the riotous burlesque "Double Concerto" and the serious poetic drama "Samson."

So much attention has been given to Corwin's form that the content of his writing has sometimes been overlooked, though not by potential sponsors, who feel safer with lesser men. His plays are shot through with social criticism; his production notes turn from a lament on the literalness of sound men to a caustic comparison of the musical judgment of musicians and sponsors' wives. His war plays, which make up nearly half the number, exhibit a brand of anti-fascism which is decidedly "premature," chronologically and otherwise, for his emphasis is on the issues of the war rather than the events, and his protest antedated Pearl Harbor by several years. His government-sponsored series "This Is War" was heard by literally millions of listeners in that critical period (early 1942), and actually shared the credit for the suppression of Father Coughlin's *Social Justice.*

But the war plays are even more variable in quality than the others. In some Corwin loses his spontaneity in an exaggerated effort to persuade; in others he appears to be fumbling for adequate expression of a theme which overwhelms his creative powers for the moment. In that case the same theme will probably emerge triumphant in a later play—for example, "Untitled," broadcast in April, 1944, too late for inclusion here. In one work, however, Corwin achieves real passion. This is "The Long Name None Could Spell," which begins as a grim epitaph on the betrayal of Czechoslovakia and continues as a hymn of homage to the people of the resistance movement. It is more timely now than when it was written a year ago; no utterance made on D-Day itself spoke more eloquently for those who were awaiting liberation. In production this piece achieves an emotional power seldom if ever equaled on the air. Much of that power will emerge in the reading if you keep "the ear as

How much better
will the new world be?

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attentive as the eye," as Carl Van Doren has suggested. But it is regrettable that the work appears here in a shorter version than that used on Corwin's magnificent broadcast this season.

Corwin enjoys a unique position in radio. As director of his own programs—usually running for thirteen or twenty-six weekly sessions—he has been able to write as he pleases and to produce what he chooses. In radio this is a rare luxury. Sometimes he presents the work of other writers on these half-hours, thus providing one of the few opportunities for the single-shot script of quality to get a hearing. In his present series he is still finding new fields to conquer. This is a strictly limited engagement; in all probability a sponsor is negotiating for the spot if it is not already signed up. The word to the wise is simply: CBS, Tuesdays, 10 p.m. EWT. BETSY HUTCHISON

Kierkegaard

EITHER/OR: A FRAGMENT OF LIFE. By Soren Kierkegaard. Volume I: Translated by David F. Swenson and Lillian Marvin Swenson; Volume II: Translated by Walter Lowrie. Princeton University Press. $7.50.

TRAINING IN CHRISTIANITY. By Soren Kierkegaard. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Walter Lowrie. Princeton University Press. $3.

FOR SELF-EXAMINATION and *JUDGE FOR YOURSELVES!* and *THREE DISCOURSES, 1851.* By Soren Kierkegaard. Translated by Walter Lowrie. Princeton University Press. $2.50.

WITH the publication of these four volumes Kierkegaard's major works—save for "The Works of Love," which is in process of translation—have all been made available for American readers. "Either/Or," Kierkegaard's first work, now appears in English for the first time; "Training in Christianity" and the shorter works, "For Self-Examination," etc., were issued in England some years ago and are now offered here in an offset reprint. The achievement of the translators—mainly Dr. Lowrie, the late Professor Swenson, and Mrs. Swenson—and of the publishers—chiefly the Oxford and Princeton University presses—is a remarkable one. In the space of a few years they have done for Kierkegaard what others have failed to accomplish in the course of generations for Kant, Hegel, Marx, and others.

It is unlikely that the effect of these volumes will be as spectacular as their publication has been, though doubtless a little Kierkegaard cult will spring up and perish after awhile. Kierkegaard, like Socrates, whom he venerates, imitates, and resembles most when he does not imitate him, will influence all sorts and conditions of men. Modern cynics will derive joy and aid, though no inspiration, from the first part of "Either/Or" with its aphorisms, its Diary of a Seducer, and other essays; amateurs of literary method will admire, when they are patient enough to grasp, the cunning artifices of the writer; the exponents of an ethical life-view will be confirmed and instructed by the splendid second volume; religious men will feel the powerful impact of "Training in Christianity" and of such essays as the one on Becoming Sober; traditionalist ecclesiastics will make use of incidental statements to fortify what Kierkegaard calls "Sunday twaddle about Christianity's glorious and priceless truths." But despite rather than because of all this, the man who appears in these writings, the man in the thinker rather than the thinker in the man, will make his way, as Socrates did, into the conscience and the consciousness of his readers.

It is wrong in a sense to speak of the man who "appears" in these writings, for he is often hidden. "Either/Or" purports to be a collection of papers and letters written by two men and edited by a third, with none of whom Kierkegaard identified himself. Yet it is evident that the hedonist of Part One and the moralist of Part Two set forth what has been a "lonely debate" in the author himself. In "Training in Christianity" and "For Self-Examination," which belong to the final, explicitly Christian part of Kierkegaard's work, as "Either/Or" belongs to the beginning of his career, the author speaks directly and in that sense does not seek to hide himself; yet here he is so objective in seeking to bring his reader into direct relation with Christ, the contemporary, the sign of offense, the pattern, that he seems hidden in another way: he has achieved his great desire of becoming transparent—a medium which does not call attention to itself. But hidden or not, the man is there in all he does and says as a man of passionate honesty who will not let himself or others be fobbed off with half-truths or who for the sake of consistency will ignore stubborn facts of existence. These stubborn facts of Kierkegaard are not those to which an objective view calls attention but those which man meets in his own subjective life; they are the facts of the self, with its desire and its inability to escape from the self, the fact of the quiet desperation which underlies both the frivolity and the melancholy of life, the fact of hypocrisy or of the contradiction between the verbal and the "existential" affirmations of men. In the explicitly Christian writings Kierkegaard, the great subjectivist, is again concerned with the complete objectivity to every individual of Jesus Christ, the sign of offense, the absolute contemporary, the pattern and way, and what he seeks to achieve here first of all is the admission on the part of Christianity that it is not Christian.

In his Journal Kierkegaard wrote of "Either/Or": "They cannot get rid of me just because everything began so happily, so happily with 'Either/Or.' They might like to let go of me; they might kill me; that does not help them, they have got me in their blood." That is the way he works—he does not convince but makes men convince themselves; he gets under the skin. H. RICHARD NIEBUHR

Mr. Tyler's Hallucination

THE HOLLYWOOD HALLUCINATION. By Parker Tyler. Creative Age Press. $2.50.

HENRY MILLER says of this nightmarish little volume that "it was always my intention to write a book about Hollywood. Since reading this book by Parker Tyler I know I shall never do it; the job has been done in a way beyond anything I could ever hope to accomplish." These remarks could, of course, be taken as praise from a diffident gentleman, which Mr. Miller is not. Undoubtedly, the job has been done in an extraordinary fashion.

I quote at random from the "Hallucination."

"The scandalous sway of Miss West's hips—it reminds me of nothing so much as the motion of a cradle; it is hypnotic, soothing, a finished and flawless equilibrium." Of Charlie Chaplin's mustache Mr. Tyler says: "That fat eel . . . frantically imprisoned in the fishbowl of his face." Then there is this: "After fire, after burning faggots, had served all the practical needs of his life, man cooked his mind over the symbolic fire of the night and achieved the *concept.*"

This last statement is taken from a fearsome chapter called The Daylight Dream. It was while reading this section that I found myself screaming, "I want out!" I had come across the following: "The ritual of the daydream at night, of which artificial illumination is the symbol, cannot be abandoned merely because of the 'daylight-saving' philosophy of bourgeois capitalism. What is religion? Is it not . . ."

Finally, I give one instance of Mr. Tyler's humor. In discussing the film "King's Row" he writes: ". . . all is not hotsy-totsy on the right side of the old town—you can bet the Judith Anderson in your home on that."

This is a Serious book. Among the chapter headings are: The Play Is Not the Thing, The Technicolor of Love, and To Be or Not to Be; or the Cartoon Triumphant.

VICTOR WOLFSON

China's Great Past

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE. By L. Carrington Goodrich. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

AUTHENTIC Chinese history from the Neolithic Age to the present is here compressed into a short volume by a scholar who knows his subject, and who also knows how to write. There are many helpful sketch maps, a supplementary reading list, a chronological table, and a chart comparing China's different historical periods with those of the West. The fifteen pages of photographs of China's art works and scientific inventions are beautifully done.

The West has unfortunately known China during a period of decline—and has contributed basically to that decline. For thousands of years, however, China was a progressive, adventurous, inventive country with contacts of every conceivable nature with the known world. Not only did many of the great civilizing inventions come from China, but China enriched its own culture by importing animals, plants, and scientific and philosophic discoveries from other countries. Its emphasis upon the cultivation of the human mind and spirit is indicated by its invention of printing with movable type and of rag paper (150 A.D.), as a substitute for wood and silk. From its earliest days China used silk, the compass, the sun dial, water clocks, water mills. Our "China-ware" indicates its origin.

The cultivation of tea, with its therapeutic values—as a cure for burns and intestinal diseases—was known to the early Chinese, and the porcelain industry developed at about the same time and in the same regions. In the first century after Christ the scientist Wang Ch'ung, who among other things combated superstition, wrote these pregnant lines:

> On an average there is one moon eclipse to about 180 days, and a solar eclipse in about every 41 or 42 months. Eclipses are regular occurrences and are not caused by political action. All anomalies and catastrophes are of the same class and are never dependent upon political events.

Galileo, it may be remembered, published his discoveries of sunspots in 1613, whereas Chinese astronomers observed and recorded them in 28 B.C. In 132 A.D. a Chinese scientist invented an instrument which registered earthquakes so slight that they could not be felt in his observatory.

These pages unroll a majestic panorama of the great dynasties under which Chinese civilization reached a level unknown in any other part of the world save for a brief period in ancient Greece. There was the classical age of the Chou dynasty (1027-256 B.C.); the exciting age of the militant, creative Ch'ins (221-207 B.C.), when the founder tried to destroy feudalism and develop a centralized state—the word "China" comes from that dynasty; the imperial, learned age of the Hans (202 B.C.-220 A.D.), with a continuous expansion of territory and a culture so impressive that present-day Chinese call themselves the "sons of Han"; the renaissance under the T'angs (618-906 A.D.), known as the golden age of literature and the arts, when "whoever was a man was a poet"; the Sung period of ripe maturity when lyric poetry gave way to learned prose, to great compendiums of history and works on natural science and political economy. There followed a period of decay, enabling the Mongols to found the Yuan dynasty—and the Mongols were absorbed and eventually overthrown by the Mings, who became the exquisites of the Eastern world—until they repeated the

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mistakes of their forbears and were conquered by the Manchus. They grew soft and decadent, became tools in the hands of the Western capitalist powers, and were overthrown by the Republic in 1911.

One of my favorite Chinese statesmen, Wang An-shih, occupies a few paragraphs in this book. He is shown instituting great social, political, and military reforms, among others the organization of public schools in each prefecture and subprefecture in the empire—until the reactionaries drove him out and allowed the country to be conquered.

The section covering the Chinese Republic is brief but on the whole good. The Chinese Academia Sinica to promote research in modern science is described and analyzed, but all too briefly. "China has had difficulties with many foreign powers since 1912," writes the author, magnificently understating the fact. The Chinese people, he says, are essentially liberty-loving, industrious, and passive; I disagree with the last word. "Sharp cleavages between political groups may necessitate an oligarchy," he writes—just as if an oligarchy had not ruled since 1927. The government has remained in power, he states, with the apparent "support of the majority of the people"—though the people have nothing to say about it. Not even Dr. Hu Shih, whom he rightly quotes as an authority on Chinese history and thought, can vote in China. Only if the Chinese people had the right to hear all political ideas and choose between them in secret ballot should we know whom they would support. In our admiration of China we must not forget that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has been elected President by about a hundred men.

AGNES SMEDLEY

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FILMS

TO "The People's Avengers" eighteen Soviet camera men contribute their records of guerrilla life and warfare, and Norman Corwin contributes his commentary and his voice. Mr. Corwin, in spite of being a radio man, lets gratifyingly long stretches of film run by without saying a word; when he does speak, the words are generally continent. The voice itself has, it seems to me, a slightly officious resonance, and I don't think he should be forgiven the remark "One down" when a German sentry falls dead, or the remark "Reluctant superman" as partisans drag a frantically abject German soldier from his hiding place in a haystack. (Just before this shot ends or is cut, by the way, there is a sudden clenching of people round the prostrate soldier, ambiguous but horribly suggestive, which makes the crack still more off color, and tempts me to wonder how global the anthology of post-war atrocity films might be, if every nation has the historical conscience to preserve its stock.)

The harvest of the cameras is fascinating even when it is tacky—some intensely rhetorical filter shots; or suspect—some silhouettes, before a dawn attack, which could easily have been discarded from "The North Star" but which may easily, and disconcertingly, be straight records. Some of the shots imply first-rate poetic foresight and imagination—most impressively, those of a German train, visible above rich deep-country foliage only in its soft walking tower of smoke as it moves slowly toward ambushed dynamite. Even shots which are heavily posed or reenacted—a newly decorated hero with the prettiest available girl—break the boundaries of faking; they betray, between subject and photographer, an unaffected quality of comradeship which is also seen sometimes in English films, almost never in ours. To me some of the most interesting moments showed the guerrillas at rest rather than at work—deep in the woods with their women, their stew kettles and pecking hens, and their death-experienced little boys—the faces all deep-rural, bottomlessly and naturally resolute, and incomparably secure. They reminded me, sharply, of people in parts of the back country, and of tag-ends of frontier, here. I felt reasonably sure that under similar circumstances such American civilians would react as well, and wondered how many of that kind are left.

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"Marine Raiders" is a formula war movie (Pat O'Brien versus Robert Ryan and Ruth Hussey, all versus the Japanese) which mildly transcends its formula through bits of truer-than-average dialogue, studio combat, acting, and direction, and an occasional flexibility of insight or camera work which seems to distinguish RKO pictures as political decency distinguishes those made by Warner Brothers. (There are some moments in San Diego—notably in a crowded, forlorn record-your-voice joint —which I thought very good even though they misfired.) Robert Ryan, if he is allowed to forget about Gary Cooper, may become one of the few good leading men. "Secret Command" is about shipyards, saboteurs, and saboteur hounds. It contains two pieces of melodrama which set records for wilful denial of suspense (more frequent cutting-in of a loosening bolt in one, a dial-and-needle in the other, would have fixed everything); aside from that, and another of Pat O'Brien's experienced soft-shoe performances, the film is in no way memorable.

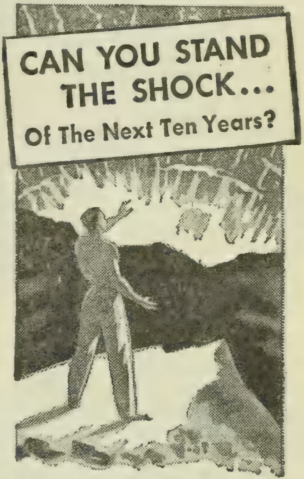
Two weeks ago in this column I wrote telescopic lens for telephoto. Three weeks ago vivacious roles were recommended for Susan Hayward. The word should have been vicious.

JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

IN A recent article on modernism Virgil Thomson observed that "the leading masters of it, Arnold Schönberg and Igor Stravinsky, are now elderly gentlemen. Their precepts and practices are expounded at all the music schools and colleges; their followers constitute practically the whole pedagogical wing of contemporary composition. All this represents a consolidation of past gains for the modernist movement." And "since modern music itself has come to be a conservative and well entrenched institution, the opposition to it no longer represents an intellectual position of any strength at all"; which is like saying that since Alcoa has come to be a conservative and well entrenched institution the opposition to it no longer represents an intellectual position of any strength at all—the "intellectual" being an example of Thomson's use of language for much the same purpose, and with much the same result, as Father Divine's.

"The estimate of how much modernism, and in what degree of dilution, a given audience will take at a given time," he continued, "is purely a consideration of practicability. Few real disputes about aesthetics have been active since the modernists came into command of all the positions of intellectual eminence by winning, a full generation ago, all the chief arguments about aesthetics. That is why open compromises on practical policy are possible today without any loss of dignity to any-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body. Etc., etc." What victories and so on those portentous-sounding words and phrases refer to I don't know; but the general music-loving public doesn't even care: it dislikes the music, and therefore objects to hearing it; being as strongly entrenched in the concert hall as the modernists are in the music schools and colleges it can make its objection effective; and no amount of verbal abacadabra about its having lost the aesthetic battle and about compromises without loss of dignity will fool it into doing anything else.

Not that the general public hasn't read about modern music. Others have had my experience: when, as a member of the general public, I began to listen to the music twenty-five years ago with ears and mind that were open and receptive, I also began to read explanations and discussions of it, in the hope that they would enable me to perceive the new artistic beauty or potency in what impressed me as hideous or feeble; but nothing I learned from reading about it changed the impression I got from listening to it. And in time what I heard made me increasingly impatient with what I read. The music was bad; but the talk about it was worse; and not just the talk of Paul Rosenfeld and the writers in *Modern Music*, but especially the talk of the composers themselves about their works that was printed in the program notes. Others, I say, have had my experience, and have reached my conclusions. The Boston correspondent who last summer wrote me that devastating analysis of Stravinsky's "Pulcinella" Suite had, he said, no respect for Stravinsky as an artist; and what produced that attitude was not only Stravinsky's succession of styles but his succession of pronouncements about them.

Recently this correspondent sent me the Boston Symphony program notes for the concert that Stravinsky conducted of his own works. The impressions he got from the most recent works were of continuing decay, ingratiating sterility, and harmlessness. "He no longer has the power, it would seem, to write music that is sustainedly vicious. The program book is another story; it I do find vicious, as so much pro-Stravinsky propaganda is—particularly the essay on the Symphony in C major (1940)." This was reprinted from the *Musical Quarterly;* and in it a Mr. Sol Babitz gave the results of his study of the score and his conferences with Stravinsky. My correspondent was infuriated by "this sort of thing, which one is always finding in Stravinsky criticism:

> The death rattle of the sonata form having been audible for some years, and official obituaries printed, it is rather awkward at this time to have to acknowledge the existence of a master of that form.

You know what I mean: The sonata form is dying, but lo! here is Stravinsky to make it live. The ballet is on its last legs, but Stravinsky arises and it is recreated anew. The art of making pasticcios is dead, but Stravinsky raises it to its former glory. You get more of this arrogance in the following section on the orchestration:

> Yet the page as a whole reveals a visual difference portentous of the new sounds contained. The manuscript is quite white, perhaps whiter than any of Stravinsky's scores; an unforgivable sin in the eyes of the pedants who have been held spellbound by the increasing blackness of symphonic scores during the last one hundred years. There is none of the conventional doubling, no outward attempts at tonal balance. Etc.

Completely ignoring the last hundred years of French orchestration, which has done just what Stravinsky has been turning to. Forgetting the best of Honegger's scores; forgetting Ravel. And to speak of no outward attempts at tonal balance is to speak nonsense: as great an orchestrator as Stravinsky would never make such a mistake."

It isn't only the arrogance, it is also the verbal churning up of nothing into something that I find infuriating—the hullaballoo about the number of black spots on the page, to transform a work whose musical contents the ear discovers to be ingratiating sterility into one which brings the dead sonata form to life again. And that is not found only in the writing about Stravinsky.

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Letters to the Editors

Ethiopia's Future

Dear Sirs: Ethiopia's friends are anxious about its future. Both for prosperity and for safety it requires access to the sea by recovery of its former territories, which Italy annexed at the end of the nineteenth century and twice used as bases for prosecuting wars of conquest as well as for minor invasions and intrigues with the purpose of disturbing and weakening the country in order to conquer it eventually.

After the Italian declaration of war on Britain and France in 1940, the time came for British help in liberating Ethiopia. The stiffest fight was in the north—in the mountains of the Gojjam and at Keren in Eritrea.

At Keren great use was made of propaganda, by radio and by leaflets showered from R. A. F. planes. Captain Steer, in his book "Sealed and Delivered," has given a lively record of it. A proclamation of Emperor Haile Selassie's, prepared in consultation with the British authorities, was reproduced in Tigrinya, an offshoot from the Gheze, or Ethiopic, spoken in the northern part of Ethiopia. This proclamation declared that the future of Eritrea lay with the rest of Ethiopia. Leaflets reproducing the Ethiopian flag conveyed the message, "Fight for your own king and your own flag." After a description of the many injustices they had suffered under the Italians, the Eritreans were assured, "The day when you will be delivered of all this has come." All these appeals urged Eritrean soldiers to desert the Italian ranks and either return home or come over to the British lines to fight the Italians. As Captain Steer has recorded, the Eritreans responded to these appeals in thousands, and thus materially contributed to the Italian defeat.

Both Ethiopians and Eritreans anticipated that the defeat of Italy would be followed by the immediate restoration of Eritrea to Ethiopia and the expulsion of the Italians, but after the victory they were informed that consideration of their claim must be deferred till the general peace settlement. Meanwhile Italian laws and color discriminations have been maintained in Eritrea, as well as Italian officials, with only a few British in the highest posts. The British and Italians consort amicably, while the Eritreans are still a subject race, debarred from the hotels and restaurants used by the Europeans.

Consternation has recently been caused in both Eritrea and Ethiopia by an article which received considerable prominence in the *Sudan Star.* It not only argued against the restoration of Eritrea to Ethiopia, but advocated restoring a new frontier made by Italy during its occupation of Ethiopia—a frontier which extended Eritrea and thereby robbed Ethiopia of the Tigré province, including Adowa and Axume, with St. Mary of Sion, the Obelisk of the Queen of Sheba—the very heart of Ethiopian history and belief.

The fact that such plans have been repeatedly discussed in some British political circles and in the press occasions anxiety also to British friends, particularly in view of the growing favor shown in Allied official circles to Italy, and the fact that no formal renunciation of Italy's aggressive claims on Ethiopia has been made by its present spokesmen.

Eritrean desire for reunion with Ethiopia has lately been manifested by striking incidents. At the festival of the Epiphany, on January 20, the children of Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, carried Ethiopian flags and sang Ethiopian patriotic songs.

On January 31, the date on which the Anglo-Ethiopian agreement of 1942 terminated, many Eritrean dwellings displayed Ethiopian colors. It was found that Ethiopian flags had been hoisted during the night to the electric-light standards in the principal street of Asmara, and even to the two flagstaffs of Government House, as well as to the minaret of the mosque. The chief of police found an Ethiopian flag covering his desk and a portrait of the Emperor Haile Selassie on his chair. Portraits of the Emperor had been posted on the walls in all parts of the town, accompanied by statements that the British, when desiring Eritrean help in fighting the Italians, had promised reunion to Ethiopia. Fulfilment of the promise was now demanded, with a warning that trouble would follow if it were denied.

On February 26, 2,800 Eritrean police proclaimed their intention to resign unless Italian law was abrogated, and their refusal to continue in the position of inferiority to Italians.

Ethiopia's southern frontier, contiguous to the ex-Italian colony of Somalia, which fronts on the Indian Ocean, is also a source of anxiety. Here also Italy made a new frontier after the conquest, and in this case British negotiators insisted upon retaining the new Italian frontier. The Ethiopians accepted this with reluctance, but only for the term of the two-year agreement.

Thus, instead of getting back the territority fronting on the Red Sea that was lost in 1890, Ethiopia has also been deprived, for the time being at any rate, of a substantial wedge of the adjacent Ogaden province, which it possessed until the Italian conquest of 1936.

Moreover, in order to obtain resumption of its self-government Ethiopia was prevailed upon to concede to British military occupation a further area of the Ogaden bordering French and British Somaliland.

Here too the propagandists of dismemberment are at work, suggesting that Ethiopia should not recover that part of its national territory in the vast province of the Ogaden which has been taken into Italian Somalia and should even lose more of that province, and that a new state under the rule of Britain or some other European power should be created there. Having regard to the current talk about Italy's "earning" better terms by assistance to the Allied forces, and the too common and most dangerous war-time practice of making ill-judged promises to those whose aid is desired in battle, it is important to insist that no bargain be made with Italy at Ethiopia's expense.

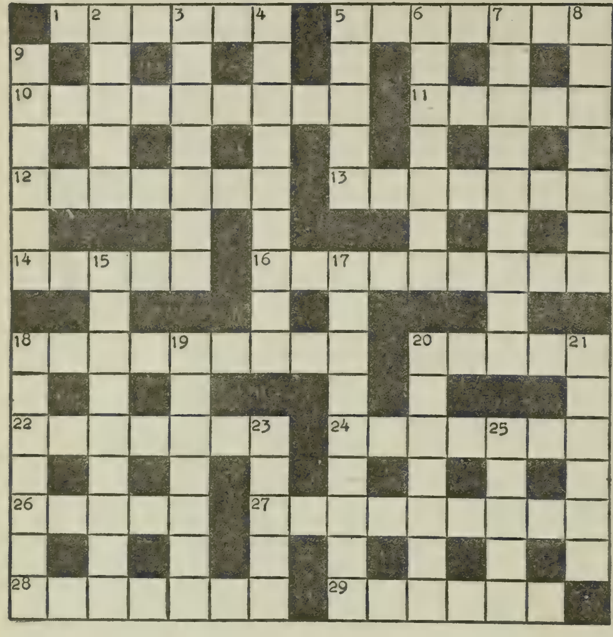
Various glosses have been devised for recommending proposals which would involve the unprincipled robbery of a brave and loyal people, whose homelands are the only substantial territory remaining to any African race. Enlightened British and American opinion recognizes that the colonial era must give place to African progress and self-government, but the spectacle of Ethiopia developing into a modern, self-governing democracy, with a parliament elected by popular franchise, with industry and agriculture promoted by cooperatives, with sick insurance, modern primary, secondary, and professional schools, and so forth, is not welcome to those who desire to keep the African people in perpetual subjection.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

Woodford Green, England, June 10

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 71

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Fancy finding him in the R.A.F.!
5 Literature of the ancient Moroccan
10 Cruel dons (anag.)
11 A dead donkey is rare, but this is rarer
12 Air tent (anag.)
13 At all
14 Suggesting that women's make-up is largely superstitious
16 Patronizing people, relatively speaking
18 Where Haroun al-Raschid dined
20 Breeziness?
22 "I will kill thee a ------ and fifty ways" (*As You Like It*)
24 Vegetable that may suggest what people do who want beer
26 O to make this a river of France!
27 Italian composer the French call Gray, we Green
28 Not a favorite son, as a rule
29 May mean a tie sooner or later

DOWN

2 Make amends an hour after midnight
3 Where the aircraft get hung up in bad weather?
4 Fictitious land of historical romance in S. E. Europe, discovered by Anthony Hope
5 A sail as seen from part of an island
6 English sea captain and novelist; author of *Mr. Midshipman Easy*, *Diary in America*, etc.
7 Became so enamored of his own image that he pined away and was metamorphosed into a flower
8 "Carved with figures strange and sweet, All made out of the ------- brain" (*Ancient Mariner*)
9 So Mike is in the North
15 Prioress in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* ("full pleasant and amiable of port")
17 Burns likened them to poppies—you seize the flower, its bloom is shed
18 Here in lettuce
19 His changing King Atlas into a mountain was no mean feat, as feats go
20 One whom "we see through a glass, darkly," perhaps
21 A donkey turns up in a Black Sea port
23 Couch large enough to hold a prima-donna!
25 City of Ohio

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 70

ACROSS:—1 PECKSNIFF; [illegible] AARON; 9 QUILLET; 10 IN CLINK; 11 EVE; 12 CANVAS; 13 DEAD; 15 SPECTRUM; 16 BATTLE; 18 LAGADO; 20 HOMELESS; 23 PEAR; 24 AMELIA; 25 TOW; 28 TOPSAIL; 29 PANNIER; 30 ROSES; 31 REPORTERS.

DOWN:—1 PIQUE; 2 CHINESE; 3 SOLICITUDE; [illegible] ISTANBUL; [illegible] FRIDAY; 6 ARCH; 7 RAIMENT; [illegible] NAKEDNESS; 14 WAGE-EARNER; 15 SALTPETER; 17 LOLLIPOP; 19 GRAMPUS; 21 ENTWINE; 22 AMBLER; 26 WORMS; 27 LAWS.

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The Shape of Things

THE VISIT OF GENERAL DE GAULLE WAS a skilful job of diplomatic engineering. Obviously an agreement between him and the President could not be delayed. The practical problems created by the invasion had to be met in practical political terms; no longer could French claims be dismissed as "irrelevant." The Committee of Liberation is functioning as a government on French soil to the apparent satisfaction of both the people and the Allied High Command. The British have hammered out a series of agreements governing the administration of freed areas similar to those made with Belgium, Holland, and Norway. Mr. Churchill dramatically revealed his dissatisfaction with the American position by begging the Commons not to debate the matter. Obviously the stupid stalemate had to be ended by some maneuver which would save Mr. Roosevelt's face and yet give to the French Committee the substance of its demands. As we go to press, no announcement of the results of General de Gaulle's meetings with the President has been issued. But the emphasis in the press on the friendly nature of the talks and the desire of both men to avoid issues which might impede agreement provide a good clue to the result. General de Gaulle will take back to Algiers the de facto recognition of the government of the United States. It will not be called that. But the sort of working arrangements that have doubtless been arrived at constitute de facto recognition. As for Mr. Roosevelt, he has at last withdrawn from an untenable position, however he may have screened his retreat with diplomatic reservations. For this we must be thankful; but it is an unhappy fact that this country has again been driven by events to adopt a policy that political wisdom dictated from the start.

*

MR. CHURCHILL'S STATEMENT ON THE ROBOT bombs makes it clear that London is once again on the front line. The number of deaths among civilians caused by the robots is actually greater than the number of fatalities suffered by British soldiers in Normandy during the same period. While casualties to date are far fewer than they were in the first months of the 1940 blitz, the ceaseless, indiscriminate nature of the attack places a heavier burden on the civilian population than the earlier raids inflicted. Spells of bad weather, instead of impeding the robots, actually permit an intensification of the terror. Despite the vast amount of destruction that is undoubtedly being done to civilian property, the robot bomb has as yet to prove of value as a military weapon. The quotations from the Nazi press cited by Argus elsewhere in this issue make it evident that the robots' primary purpose is to demonstrate to the German people that their government is capable of retaliating for the destruction suffered from Allied air raids. Wreaking vengeance upon a civilian population is of course not new to German practice. The original blitz on London was of the same character, and for months after the Nazis had suffered defeat at Leningrad the population of that city was subjected to shelling at least as severe as the robot attacks on London. Leningrad survived, and so will London.

*

THE REPLACEMENT OF VON RUNDSTEDT BY von Kluge as Supreme Commander in the west has been interpreted in various ways, but the most plausible explanation is that at this critical moment Hitler does not want to pit against Eisenhower and Montgomery a general he does not entirely trust. On several occasions the cold shrewd judgment of von Rundstedt, who is considered the ablest chieftain of the German army next to Brauchitsch, has been known to conflict with the emotional convictions of the Führer. Even two years ago von Rundstedt was reported to have given up hope of a German victory. But apparently, his replacement involves something more than conflicting temperaments. Reports from neutral countries have implied that the Marshal, who has never been a party man and whose hostility to party control is a matter of common knowledge, had established contact with people who have easy access to Allied commanders. Talk of peace feelers has been in the air, interlarded with references to German generals of the old school. To a nation which "has burned its boats and has nothing more to lose," as Dr. Goebbels put it in his last article in *Das Reich,* a General who had not yet burned his boats and who thought that something could be saved by a timely capitulation was bound to seem an untrustworthy leader of the army in the west. This interpretation is far more credible than the official stories of ill health and the rumors that von Rundstedt was ousted because of his failure to halt the invasion. If it is correct, it would prove that Hitler still has the last say, and it would negate many theories about the comparative strength of the Wehrmacht and the party.

*

REPORTS OF THE MASSACRE BY THE NAZIS OF from 1,500,000 to 1,750,000 Jews during the past two years have been received from several apparently authoritative sources. The murders are said to have taken place at two "model extermination camps" at Auschwitz and Birkenau in Upper Silesia, and the information about them, which was obtained from survivors, has been carefully checked by the Very Reverend Paul Vogt, head of the internationally known refugee organization, the *Flüchtlingshifte,* of Zurich. The reports, well documented though they are, seem too terrible for credence. Yet the evidence is overwhelming. Speaking before the House of Commons, Anthony Eden confirmed earlier stories of the deportation of 400,000 Hungarian Jews, of whom 100,000 have already been slain in the Silesian camps. And official Soviet commissions have confirmed similar mass executions of Jews in a number of Russian cities. In many instances the names of the individuals who are directly responsible for these murders are known, and these men will unquestionably be punished as provided in the three-power statement issued last November in Moscow. But these are not crimes for which a few individuals alone are responsible. Blame must also be placed on the German people for tolerating, without visible protest, a government which has gloried in its ruthlessness toward the Jews and other minorities.

*

JESSE JONES'S FRONT-PAGE EDITORIAL IN THE Houston *Chronicle* ever so gently chiding Texas anti-fourth-termers was a minimum gesture for a Cabinet officer, a political necessity rather than a sincere expression of loyalty to his chief. "Usually well-informed political gossip" is cited by the New York *Herald Tribune* as the source of the report that Jones was given "anything but gentle treatment" at a recent conference with the President and that he disclaimed any knowledge of the Texas revolt. The disclaimer, like that made by Jones's associate, Will Clayton, is incredible. Jones's nephew, George Butler, is chairman of the Texas State Democratic Executive Committee and a leading figure among the anti-fourth-termers. Lamar Fleming, one of the principal executives of Clayton's cotton concern, was one of the framers of the plan to free Texas electors from their traditional obligation to cast their votes as directed. Clayton, under pressure, at least issued a forthright statement—"I do not approve." But Jones merely said that "on reflection there is good reason to believe that the [Texas State] convention acted in the heat of political controversy." This may be read either as a statement of fact or as a mild rebuke, and is hardly sufficient amends from a Cabinet officer who has been linked to an intrigue against his chief.

*

THE JONES-CLAYTON STATEMENTS REFLECT the collapse of the anti-Roosevelt movement in the South, which now hopes only to block Wallace and to prevent the party from matching the Republican planks on FEPC, poll-tax, and anti-lynching legislation. Assorted forces supporting Rayburn, Douglas, Truman, and

McNutt for second place on the ticket seem to be ganging up on Wallace, and there are reports that the President, while still in favor of the Vice-President's renomination, will not attempt to dictate it. We hope those reports are untrue. The future of the New Deal at home and of international cooperation abroad may rest on a wise choice for Vice-President, and the only wise one we can see in this perspective is Henry Wallace. The Southern anti-New Dealers are licked anyway and have nowhere else to go; their hopes of a coalition with the Republicans were destroyed at Chicago. We hope the President will not only throw his weight behind the Wallace renomination but do what he can to see that the Democratic Party matches the Republican Party's stand on the Negro. That much is due in all justice to the black man. Politically, the South must vote for Roosevelt in any case, but a strong and honest position on the FEPC, poll taxes, and lynching would be of crucial importance in several key Northern states.

*

GOVERNOR DEWEY'S FIRST PLEDGE TO THE nation, in his acceptance speech at Chicago, was "that on January 20 next year our government will again have a Cabinet of the ablest men and women to be found in America." The emphasis he gave to this promise and the manner in which it was hailed in the Republican press both suggest that it is to be featured in his campaign. However, a pledge of this sort remains unimpressive until it descends from the general to the particular. Voters are likely to ask just what men and women Mr. Dewey has in mind: they will want to see whether his definition of ability coincides with their own. It is doubtful whether this legitimate curiosity will be satisfied, since Mr. Dewey told reporters at Chicago that he was not picking his Cabinet at this time. Yet it would be unfair to make the broad accusation that the G. O. P.'s candidate is selling pigs in pokes, for the platform on which he stands gives us a strong hint about the identity of one future Cabinet officer if there is a change of Administration next year. The Department of Labor, it declares, should embrace all agencies dealing with labor and should be headed by a real labor representative. We assume this is a pledge that the post will be given to a union leader if Mr. Dewey wins the right of appointment. But what leader, and from which of the four major labor groups in the country? There are circumstantial rumors around that the answer may be "Big Bill" Hutcheson, septuagenarian boss of the A. F. of L. Carpenters' Union. Hutcheson, long the G. O. P.'s tame labor leader, is not only prominent in A. F. of L. councils but close to John L. Lewis. True, nobody would pick Big Bill as among the "ablest" men in the country, and he is neither young nor vigorous. But the Republican range of choice is so limited that Mr. Dewey may have to overlook these defects.

ALTHOUGH THE ARMS PROGRAM IS LAGGING in some sectors, cutbacks have resulted in idle men and machines elsewhere. This has increased the pressure for immediate reconversions of unemployed facilities to the production of much-needed civilian goods. It has also led to a tense situation in Washington, where Chairman Nelson of the War Production Board is at loggerheads with most of the vice-chairmen, with the army and navy, and with the War Manpower Commission. On June 19 Nelson signed orders making available materials for the construction of working models for post-war production, canceling limitation orders on the use of aluminum and magnesium—now plentiful—and permitting manufacturers to purchase machinery, tools, and dies wherever possible without interference with war production. Shortly afterward the WPB chairman became ill, and in his absence these orders have not been put through. According to Senator Truman, who is strongly supporting Nelson's proposals, the opposition from within the board is inspired by the large corporations which are still fully engaged on armament work and fear small competitors may be allowed to get ahead of them. The army, navy, and War Manpower Commission are concerned with the severe labor shortages in certain vital production fields, including foundries, coal mines, tank arsenals, tire plants, and shipyards. They believe that unemployment elsewhere might be a helpful factor in steering labor to the shortage areas. It is not clear, however, that aircraft workers who lose their jobs on Long Island can be persuaded to migrate to Akron to make tires. And it is certain that the problems of reconversion will be multiplied if we wait to start until all war contracts are completed and everyone can turn to civilian production simultaneously.

*

SO THEY SPRAYED PARAFFIN ON THE BIG TOP after they had dissolved the paraffin in gasoline. It was fine for waterproofing canvas, they said. And it was the biggest big top in the world. But it didn't rain that afternoon in Hartford. It was hot with midsummer heat. Circuses are for summer time and all the kids were there. The fire, they say, took about three seconds to climb from near one entrance right up to the top of the center pole, and in ten minutes it was all over and a hundred and forty-odd people had been burned to death—most of them children. We thought we had grown used to death and disaster; they are part of our tragic era. But this was close. These were not statistics transmuted into the costs or rewards of victory; they were burned bodies in a gray armory in a New England town. Perhaps our grief and horror relate us more closely to the suffering of our devastated world. That is not enough. For these deaths in Hartford were needless. Let us say it. Whatever the court may decide, we say these deaths were due to criminal negligence. If the law was violated in a failure to provide a fireproof tent, then those responsible should be punished with severity. If the law permits an unfireproof tent, saturated with paraffin, to house six thousand people at a circus, then we all share in the criminal negligence that holds human life so cheap. It is poor atonement for this crime to insist now that by law, and by the enforcement of law, we make impossible a repetition of the tragedy.

The Monetary Conference

BRETTON WOODS," says I. F. Stone in an article on another page, "is a historic battle." So it is, but it is only one engagement in a war of political and economic ideas which is being fought on many fronts. The prolonged struggle between internationalists and isolationists, the bitter conflict between the advocates of a planned economy and the champions of laissez faire, the renewed fight between free-traders and tariffists, all these campaigns are part of the same war. If international political relations remain in a state of anarchy after the war, what hope is there of economic cooperation? Or if commercial relations between nations are allowed once again to degenerate into a game of beggar-my-neighbor, how secure will be any organization to maintain peace? Finally, if the great industrial nations permit their domestic economies to collapse, what is there to prevent another and worse world depression breeding dictatorships and wars?

"Peace is indivisible," Maxim Litvinov once said at Geneva, and Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, in his opening address to the United Nations Monetary Conference, echoed: "Prosperity is indivisible." The truth is that peace and prosperity are indivisible and to secure either we must concentrate on establishing both. That, in itself, is not a hard idea to establish in the minds of the citizens whose votes are the decisive weapons in this battle for the future. But many of its implications are, admittedly, difficult to grasp. We are grateful, therefore, that the Bretton Woods conference has been flung open to the press and that the American delegation is making conscientious efforts to assist reporters in making the issues clear.

The basis of the conference discussions is a draft proposal for an international stabilization fund drawn up by the technical experts of some thirty of the participating nations. It is not necessary, as Mr. Harry White, the American delegate who is acting as spokesman for the conference, has pointed out, for all the forty-four countries represented to ratify any agreement reached before the fund can be set up. It may begin operations when approved by governments contributing 65 per cent of the aggregate quotas. However, agreement between Britain and the United States, the two greatest trading nations, is absolutely essential. And these two countries, the one representing international debtors, the other international creditors, tend to suspect each other's motives.

We have for so long been accustomed to think of Britain as the international money-lender par excellence, that it is perhaps hard to realize how fundamentally its position has changed during the course of this war. From one point of view, it is today a bankrupt nation. Not only has it spent a large part of its international resources—gold and foreign investments—in prosecuting the war, but it has had to give I. O. U.'s to countries supplying it with goods for which it could not pay by means of exports. By the end of this year blocked sterling credits belonging to other nations will amount to $12 billion—not far short of Britain's total foreign investments before the war. These credits will eventually have to be paid off in the form of British services and goods. But that is not the only reason why Britain will have to expand exports far above their pre-war level. Before the war it consistently bought from other countries far more than it sold and settled the balance by means of shipping and other services and the proceeds of its foreign investments. As we have already noted, these investments have been largely liquidated; hence, in order to maintain its international balance of payments, Britain will either have to sell still more goods abroad or curb imports drastically. The second alternative would mean a terrific cut in the British standard of living and would have catastrophic effects on the economies of the many countries that have relied on the British market to absorb their surpluses. Consequently, if ways cannot be found to develop an expanding economy for the world, thus enabling it to enlarge its exports sufficiently, Britain is likely to be forced to adopt an elaborate barter system and organize its chief suppliers and customers as a closed sterling bloc. It is hardly necessary to point out how adversely such a development would affect American interests or how little conducive it would be to world peace.

A post-war expansion of exports is not such a critical necessity for the United States, but it may have an important bearing on our prosperity. The heavy industries, whose capacity has grown so much under the pressure of war, will not be able to find an outlet for all their production at home. And there will be eager buyers in the war-devastated countries for our capital goods. But if we want to expand exports we must also increase our imports to an even greater extent or, as Britain did throughout a large part of the nineteenth century, add constantly to our foreign investments. In any case the provision of credit to foreign customers will be necessary in the immediate post-war period, for until their economies have recovered they will not be able to sell us their goods. Therefore, unless we want to isolate our economy, we shall have to provide loans in one form or another. Is this job to be left to the haphazard operations of private bankers, as it was in the twenties, or are we to cooperate in constructing new channels of international credit less liable to choke just when they are most needed? The proposed International Stabilization Fund—really a device for providing short-term credit—and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development—a plan for making available long-term loans—offer a means of putting surplus American capital to work both for our own good and that of the world. But before this hope can be achieved the *Panzers* of Wall Street must be overcome. Bretton Woods is the first skirmish; the final battle will be at the polling booths.

Inside Red China

FOR the first time since the establishment of the Chinese Nationalist government a party of regularly accredited representatives of the foreign press has been permitted to visit the areas controlled by the Chinese Communists and to cable dispatches abroad. The report of this group is especially significant since it is the first occasion on which neutral observers have been able to check on the favorable picture presented earlier by several travelers who, whatever their competence, could be said to be predisposed to see the best in "Red China." It is important also in view of the negotiations said to be under way at Chungking looking to a war-time settlement of the long dispute between the Kuomintang government and the Communist regime in the northwest.

So far most of the dispatches from the correspondents visiting in Yenan, capital of Red China, have been necessarily brief. Having passed through Chungking's rigid censorship, they may be somewhat incomplete. Yet enough has already come out to dispose rather effectively of the persistent Chungking reports that the Communist areas were an "economic vacuum," that the Communists had taken advantage of the united front to undermine Chiang Kai-shek, and that the Red Army had refused to fight the Japanese.

The report on the economic achievements of the Communist regime is particularly striking in view of the conditions of acute poverty described by all the earlier observers. It has been generally assumed that conditions had further deteriorated under the impact of the war and Chungking's economic blockade. Yet the New York *Times* correspondent reports that "the formerly barren north Shensi country, which previously had not recovered from the devastation and depopulation of the great Mohammedan revolt of the eighteen sixties . . . has been transformed into an area of intensive cultivation, stock breeding, and handicraft industry." He adds that "the area has created sufficient food and clothing for the Eighth Route Army units . . . who are among the best-clothed and best-fed the writer has seen anywhere in China." Harrison Forman, writing for the New York *Herald Tribune*, describes in some detail how the soldiers of the Chinese Red Army have reclaimed tens of thousands of acres of mountainous, wild wasteland and transformed it into a "patchwork quilt of fields of wheat, millet, cotton, and corn."

Despite the blockade, the effect of which has been felt primarily in the shortage of medicines and heavy munitions, the reports show that the population and troops in the Communist areas are enthusiastically loyal to the Chinese government and the United Nations. The *Times* correspondent speaks of "a realization of the nearness of the counter-offensive against Japan, in which the Communist armies and guerrillas want to participate to the fullest," and adds that "there is no doubt that the Communist armies . . . are valuable allies in the anti-Japanese war." Mr. Forman quotes Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Communist Party of China, as stating that it was the purpose of his party "to support Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, to persist in Kuomintang cooperation as well as cooperation with the whole people of China, to struggle for the overthrow of Japanese imperialism, and to build an independent and democratic China." The charge that the Eighth Route Army has refused to fight is refuted by the fact that nearly all its weapons have been captured from the Japanese.

It seems hardly likely that the Chungking government would have permitted these reports to be cabled to America unless there was definite prospect of an early reconciliation between the Kuomintang and the Communists. But as yet there have been no reports from Chungking to indicate that progress is being made in the protracted negotiations. On the contrary, little more than a week ago the Chinese Minister of Information repeated the charge that the Eighth Route Army had refused to attack the Japanese when ordered to do so. This charge may be technically true, for it is obvious that relations between the Kuomintang and the Communists have disintegrated to a point where little active military cooperation is possible. As Americans we are not concerned with the charges and counter-charges made against each other by these two powerful Chinese factions. What does concern us is an ending of the internal struggle so that all the resources of China can be turned against our common foe.

Freda Kirchwey will be the guest of honor at a Bastille Day celebration next Friday evening, July 14, at Hunter College, in New York. France Forever, under whose auspices the meeting is being held, has announced that Henri Etienne Hoppenot, minister plenipotentiary and delegate of the French Provisional Government, will be present.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

Break-through and Break-out

BREAK-THROUGH on the east, break-out on the west: those were Germany's two bad breaks last week. Earlier, Adolf Hitler had said at General Dietl's funeral: "How could a struggle which has behind it all the fanaticism of a nation end otherwise than in victory, quite irrespective of what the situation may be at the moment?" Fanaticism was not enough between Polotsk and Kovel, or between Caen and La Haye du Puits. Mountains and lengthening Allied supply lines might aid the defense in Italy, but in the east and west overpowering strength, superior generalship, and command of the air answered Hitler's desperate question.

By last Sunday the break-through on the east extended some 375 miles, from Polotsk southwest to Kovel and beyond it to the line of the Polish Bug. Sixteen days of whirlwind fighting on the White Russian front saw the Red Army advance as much as 225 miles—14 miles a day, which means a broken and disorderly German retreat: five major fortresses, from Vitebsk 160 miles south to Zhlobin, were taken in six days from the opening of the offensive. Not only were these fortresses reduced on four successive days, but the defenders were largely killed or captured where they fought, so that there was no chance for effective rearguard action covering the retreat to previously prepared positions in the rear.

One result of this was that the Russian rate of advance hit thirty or thirty-five miles a day in some cases, as good as anything the Germans did in Poland or France. Another result was that the two Russian armies on the flanks of the break-through, Cherniakovsky's Third White Russian Army in the north and Rokossovsky's First White Russian Army in the south, were able to execute a classic pincers against Minsk. Last winter one would have expected Minsk to hold out for weeks or months; instead, it was a matter of hours. And the slower advance of Zakharov's Second White Russian Army from Mogilev directly toward Minsk paid a good dividend in the form of a considerable encirclement *east* of Minsk, which cost the enemy several thousand more troops.

This is the true aim of Allied strategy—to destroy the enemy where he stands, rather than to drive him back to a new line where he can fight another day. In this, of course, the Germans have aided by their policy of holding ground instead of attempting to cut their losses. From June 23 through July 8 the Germans lost 275,000 men on the White Russian Front, according to Soviet communiqués; and even after adding a pinch of salt and subtracting *x* thousand, this is a tremendous loss.

Nor is that all. As fresh news of German disasters came in day after day, I moved my little red pins across the map and guessed at probable new lines on which the enemy might hold for a while. Bagramian's drive in the north from Polotsk toward Dvinsk threatened to cut off all the Germans in Latvia and Estonia; obviously Dvinsk would be defended strongly, and the line would run southwest through Vilna and Grodno to Bialystok, thence south through Brest-Litovsk to Lvov and the Carpathians. A good holding line in front of this strong position would have been Vilna-Lida-Baranovichi; but Baranovichi fell Saturday, Vilna was entered the same day, and Lida fell Sunday.

The military experts of the German High Command, luckily, are having a worse time than the military experts of the American press, because a wrong guess for them means another five divisions lost. In the case of Vilna, it may mean twenty-five or more divisions. Strategically, the denial of rail transit through Vilna is almost as serious as the loss of Dvinsk: the German troops in the north can now get home only via the secondary line west from Dvinsk through Lithuania to Tilsit, or via the coastal line through Riga.

Faced with the terrible pressure of three fronts, the Germans have begun showing a tendency to cut their losses, as witness the evacuation of Kovel and the reported withdrawal to the Bug—the line from which the great Russian misadventure started three years ago last month. Perhaps a similar decision is already being taken in the north, and the enemy's army group will be pulled back before Bagramian reaches Dvinsk.

Russian strength, speed, skill, and strategy make one hesitate to predict a stopping-point for this rapidly developing German disaster. Behind Vilna lies Kaunas, from which the Niemen runs south to Grodno; but the Red Army crosses big rivers without drawing breath. Brest-Litovsk is an exceptionally strong fortress; but so was Minsk. Granted that the Germans get fresh troops into position and that the Red Army outpaces its reinforcements and supplies temporarily, we may see a halt on the general line Riga-Brest-Litovsk-Lvov, with the Germans withdrawing from the north and from the Pripet salient thrust between Baranovichi and Kovel. Then there is Zhukov's massive First Ukrainian Army waiting south of Rokossovsky; and westward for the Germans, a much shorter line from Königsberg through Warsaw to Krakow. Behind lies Berlin.

The break-out in the west, presaged by the week-end fall of Caen and La Haye du Puits, is on a smaller scale but will prove as decisive. The Allied story has been one of hard fighting and sound preparations; the German, one of missed opportunity. The British and Canadians on the left flank defeated superior German armor piecemeal, which means that the strategic counter-attack to drive the Allies into the sea will never come. American troops showed their flexibility by turning amphibian on the right flank, and wading across flooded ground to seize important communications centers.

The beachhead battle is over; the man who failed to prevent the establishment of the beachhead is unemployed, his place taken by a good defensive general apparently more acceptable to the Nazi Party and to the "suggestions" of his underling, Rommel; war of movement in the west is about to begin. The rumor that Hitler has taken personal command in the west is a source of modest gratification to the Allies, who have four-to-one superiority in fire power and overmastering strength in the air, while the Luftwaffe and the German ground forces fight over gas and oil already cut 70 per cent by Allied air attack. Berlin is not much farther from Caen than it is from Kovel.

The Cross of Gold

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 6

MAY I offer a few tentative observations toward an understanding of what is happening at the United Nations Financial and Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire?

1. The United States, with most of the world's gold, must find some way to revive the gold standard, or see this metal lose much of its value.

2. Its only major ally in this is the Soviet Union, a large gold-producing country.

3. But the Soviet Union, as a Socialist country, is interested in gold only as an export commodity, whose value it wishes to maintain. As a Socialist country, it is largely insulated from the difficulties created by an international gold standard and the necessities imposed by such a standard on domestic policy.

4. That these difficulties are enormous is shown by American experience under the New Deal. Though the world's richest country, we were forced to suspend the gold standard in order to be able to embark on a program of deficit financing, credit expansion, unemployment relief, and public works for economic revival.

5. Had Mr. Roosevelt not suspended gold payment, these measures would have brought about a flight from the dollar that would have further depressed prices and intensified the economic crisis.

6. The crisis itself was largely due to the fact that poorer countries had to dump their products on the world market at any price they would bring in order to obtain gold to pay their debts.

7. Revival of the conventional gold standard would again subject other nations, and our own, to these cyclical disturbances in all their intensity, and make it impossible for them to use monetary management and spending to cushion the effect on the domestic economy.

8. Just what this means may become clearer if we look at the case of Britain. Britain, with little gold left, is no longer the traditional citadel of the gold standard. The extent of the revolution which has occurred in British financial thinking may be seen from the fact that J. M. Keynes, once a heretic for his opposition to the gold standard, was forced to defend himself in the House of Lords last May from a charge that he was trying—by his negotiations with the United States Treasury—once more to link Britain with gold. "I confess," said Lord Addison in that debate, "I have never been convinced that to dig gold out of the ground in South Africa and to bury it refined in a cellar in the United States is, in fact, adding to the wealth of the world."

9. Closely linked with this new British attitude toward the gold standard is the new and equally revolutionary British attitude toward the problem of post-war employment. The official Report on Employment Policy presented by Lord Woolton as Minister of Reconstruction states: "The Government are prepared to accept in the future the responsibility for taking action at the earliest possible stage to arrest a threatened slump. This involves a new approach and a new responsibility for the state. It was at one time believed that every trade depression would automatically bring its own corrective, since prices and wages would fall, the fall in prices would bring about an increase in demand, and employment would thus be restored. Experience has shown, however, that under modern conditions this process of self-recovery, if effective at all, is likely to be extremely prolonged and to be accompanied by widespread distress, particularly in a complex society like our own." That is the end of classical economics in Britain.

10. To carry out the purposes indicated, the British intend to keep the rate of interest low and prevent the flight of capital abroad. "We abjure," Lord Keynes said, in terms that must sound downright blasphemous in

Wall Street, "the instruments of bank rate and credit contraction operating through the increase of unemployment as a means of forcing our domestic economy into line with external factors."

11. This trend toward positive governmental interference to combat the trade cycle is world wide.

12. Only in the United States is there strong opposition to this trend. This comes from banking circles and their academic satellites. There is agreement (1) on the need to take some steps to revive international lending and (2) to help stabilize world currencies. But the American banker's approach is indicated in the hearings held here by the House Foreign Affairs Committee on the resolution by Representative Charles S. Dewey, Republican, of Illinois, for a central reconstruction fund.

13. What sticks especially in the banker craw is that the international stabilization fund and world bank proposed at Bretton Woods would considerably reduce the power of the private international banker. The present American government and any British government will be committed to a cheap-money policy, and the bank would give lenders a bargaining weapon with which to hold down interest rates. The proposal for the world bank says it "shall make no loans or investments that can be placed through the usual private investment channels at reasonable rates." The last three words are the key to that.

14. The Dewey hearings indicate that what the bankers want is a small central reconstruction fund, run entirely by Americans, without international interference, and able to dictate "sound financial policies"—that is, a balanced budget and no social experiments—to countries which want to borrow. The kind of program envisaged by the British is exactly the kind of "unsound financing" American bankers wish to prevent. Representative Dewey, an assistant secretary of the Treasury in the '20's and once financial adviser to Poland, reflects the conventional banking point of view. "If a country proceeds on an inflationary spending policy," he told the committee, "it results in injuring its foreign credit. When a country tries to live within its means, it will be able at all times to get credit throughout the world to assist in its normal development; but if it tries to lift itself by its bootstraps and tries to do everything that it would like to do before the economy of the country is sufficiently strong to support it, why it is going to collapse." Dewey's favorite anecdote in illustration of sound financial practice is the story he tells of how he prevented the city of Warsaw from borrowing $20,000,000 for slum clearance and housing. That, from a banking point of view, was an unproductive loan—though many of Dewey's banker friends were quite willing to lend huge sums at 8 per cent to Latin American dictators to build marble outhouses.

15. The main job of foreign lending, in Representative Dewey's view, which is the Wall Street view, must be done by the private bankers, though "they may have to come to some department of the government, such as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation . . . to get assistance when the period is a little too long or when . . . they themselves might be in straitened circumstances for working capital." In other words, they are quite willing to let the government share the risk, provided they have the power.

16. The United States Treasury is trying to work out a way to give our gold some value as a standard without crippling other nations economically. Wall Street, with the world's greatest aggregation of capital, is fighting to maintain its power after the war. The technicalities may be dull, but Bretton Woods is a historic battle.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT, we must admit the cold fact that the income tax has come, and probably has come to stay. Recognized by economists as, theoretically, a just and even an ideal tax, it has cunningly been put into a form to give it the greatest possible strength with the masses of a democratic country.—*July 5, 1894.*

THERE IS NO QUESTION that these men (Gilbert and Sullivan) have created a new school of English opera, the first since Purcell, which did not live long. Probably the new school will not live far into the next century, but even if it dies, it will have supplied an enormous amount of harmless entertainment and hilarity to hundreds of thousands of theatergoers, hilarity never aroused at the expense of propriety.—*July 12, 1894.*

THE COLLAPSE OF THE PULLMAN STRIKE is not the most important development of the week. Transcending this in significance is the demonstration that such a strike can never again be so formidable in this country. . . . It is now universally recognized that such a strike as Debs ordered is a rebellion, and that the people of the United States will promptly suppress rebellion. . . . The next upstart who orders the laboring men of the land to make a national boycott will fare about the same way as a man down South who should propose that his section secede from the Union.—*July 19, 1894.*

THERE ARE FEW NAMES in current French literature more popular than that of Guy de Maupassant. He belongs to that realistic school of novelists which had for its first leaders Flaubert and the Goncourt brothers. . . . On the whole, Maupassant's books will remain for a while as a curious document on the manners and thoughts of the end of the nineteenth century in France. Such men as "Max Nordau" will cite them as proof of the decadence and degeneracy of the Latin race. Though their form is sometimes very perfect, it is doubtful if they will take a permanent place in French literature.—*July 19, 1894.*

Goodby to the Revolution!

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

SINCE the dawn of June 6, when British and American soldiers stepped on the soil of France, victory has been the faithful companion of the Allies. On all fronts, with the single exception of China, the enemy is being beaten day and night, on land, on the sea, in the air. Even those who have been most cautious in their predictions have been impressed by the excellence of the preparations and the perfection in the execution of the plans. Military events could not move faster or better. The United Nations have enjoyed first-class leadership in the military field.

It was to be expected that with the approach of victory the disparity between the way the war has been conducted in the field and the way it has been conducted politically should become more striking. This disparity can best be visualized if we imagine two commentators, one military and one political, both writing on the outlook for the war. The military critic need not restrain his optimism, but even the most cautious writer runs the risk of sounding too confident when he discusses the political prospects. The capture of Minsk took only forty-eight hours. The recognition of De Gaulle has already been delayed for ten months, and though his visit to Washington may have proved useful in many respects, it did not produce recognition. The war is already five years old, and the true climate of Europe has not yet been grasped.

Militarily, the most daring expectations have been fulfilled. Politically, the most modest hopes have been frustrated. If there is a different policy for Europe from the one we have known until now, it is the best-kept secret of the war.

With regard to the enemy countries no plan has been announced beyond unconditional surrender. But already in Italy we have seen how inadequate this formula proved. It may be that there the Allies expected they would advance by taking town after town. Based upon that assumption, their program was very simple. In each town the Allies occupied, they would put AMG authorities to work and relegate broad political problems to the indefinite future. But when the whole fascist structure suddenly crumbled with the overthrow of Mussolini, a political vacuum was produced for which the Allies were entirely unprepared.

The same thing may happen with Germany. It is possible that the Germans will be finally knocked out on their own soil. But it is also possible that the collapse will take place outside the frontiers, through the defeat of the German forces in the east and in the west. Many situations could then arise. Suppose, for instance, that inside Germany *Arbeiterräte* (workers' councils) like those created in 1918 should spring into existence. In such a case, military occupation might prove a nebulous policy, incapable by itself of meeting the complex problems of German political and social revolution. Have the Allied strategists devised a policy to meet such contingencies?

FAILURE AFTER FAILURE

But if the need for caution in dealing with enemy countries sufficiently explains the tendency of the Allied governments to leave the entire political problem to military leaders, such an attitude is without justification for the rest of Europe, which is ready for democracy and which is dying for democracy, just as the Allied troops are doing. Wherever the anti-fascist forces in the occupied countries have scored a success, it has not been with the support of Washington and London, but against their will. In not one case has the official policy of the Allies led the process of democratic restoration. To what has this failure been due? Partly, of course, to the fact that what the tories of both capitals have in their hearts is the survival of the social regime of the pre-war era rather than a victory of the peoples. But it is partly due, also, to their inability to understand the political climate of the new Europe. To imagine, for instance, that the *maquis* forces were going to allow their conduct to be affected by the fact that certain outspoken opponents of De Gaulle had achieved social position and influence in Washington was to ignore what has been happening in France since 1940—indeed, since 1934. And to think that after three years of open war in Spain and five years of secret war against Franco, the Spanish people, in order to cater to the British love of kings, were likely to accept the elevation of Don Juan betrayed not only a diehard attitude but a stupid one as well.

Thus the reactionary spirit coupled with political misunderstanding has led the Allies from failure to failure. This long chain of political defeats has a common characteristic. In each case the Allied rulers have tried to support the right and have ended by being obliged to accept the left. It has happened again and again, from the attempts to create an atmosphere favorable to the restoration of the old monarchies, as in the famous episode of Otto of Hapsburg's Austrian battalion, through the support given to the King of Greece and Mihailovich, down to the attempts to build Allied policy in the "liberated" areas around Giraud and Badoglio.

In no case has the policy proved ultimately successful. The Hapsburg adventure fizzled out amid general laugh-

BURLING

ter; Mihailovich had to give way to Tito; Giraud disappeared from the political scene; while Badoglio could not spend one night in Rome as Prime Minister. Not even at the zenith of Allied military power have the peoples of Europe showed the least disposition to permit the policy of appeasement and compromise to decide their destinies. Even as a "hard-boiled," "realistic" policy—and to hell with the Four Freedoms!—it has been a failure, leading to nothing except the discredit of its promoters. If this has happened during a period of military triumph, one can easily imagine what will remain of the political authority of the Allies if they insist on the same course when the glamour of battle has faded and all kinds of annoying and thorny problems have replaced the excitement of the fight. It is therefore high time that the reactionary plans of the leaders be thrown aside as mischievous and unrealizable and that a policy based upon European facts emerge to fill the political vacuum which the lack of a responsible, democratic conduct of the war has created.

FIRST TASK: END FASCISTS

The policy of favoring the most reactionary elements has had as its basis two factors, one of them difficult to change, the other easier to overcome. The first is monopoly capitalism, whose power and future hopes are directly menaced by every swing to the left in Europe. It is difficult to come to an agreement with the representatives of those financial interests which plan to draw Europe into their cartels as a deaf and dumb associate. They know with which groups they can deal, and they will support every effort to keep, or put, those groups in power. But there is a second element that can be won and made helpful to the democratic cause: namely, that large section of Allied opinion, particularly American opinion, which has accepted the official policy of the Allies not because it wants to see monopolistic capital the victor but simply because it has not understood what has been going on in Europe during the last fifteen years and therefore cannot understand what is going on now.

These people do not realize that fascism has divided Europe into two irreconcilable camps, that long before hostilities with the Axis coalition had begun, the fight against fascism had assumed the character of a war. It was a fight to the death in which people killed and were killed. It was more embittered and more violent than many civil wars. It *was* civil war, and a war without truce, without any prospect of conciliation. To destroy or to be destroyed: no space for a negotiated peace. For an American liberal, even for an American labor leader, indeed for anyone who has lived in the free atmosphere of America, the intensity of that fight is difficult to grasp. Americans have not lived under terror, perceived the meaning of police rule, endured the torture and death of their closest associates, experienced the vulgar brutality of fascist agitation smearing everything noble in man. They could sympathize with us European democrats but could not share entirely our hate.

In Europe the anti-fascist masses had decided to put an end to fascism forever when the war broke out. The war concentrated the struggle on the defeat of Hitler and the Axis coalition, but the underlying nature of the fight did not change. The bitter political conflict which had divided Europe was incorporated into the war of armies and machines. Everywhere the fascists and appeasers of 1938 and 1939 became the collaborationists of 1940. A repulsive M. de Brinon who before the war was hated as fascist was now doubly hated as fascist and as Quisling. Europe has had thousands and thousands of De Brinons. But it is not the individual but the regime, the movement—fascism itself—that must be destroyed. The end of the armed power of Hitler and Mussolini is a prerequisite to all else, but it will not mean the end of fascism, not after the policy of temporizing with fascism that has been practiced in these last four years. For the peoples of Europe the fight against fascism will still be an unfinished job. In North Africa, in Italy, in France, in every land that has so far been liberated, the people have shown their determination to get that job done. The first principle of a new, genuinely democratic policy on the part of the Allies must be to permit the people to do it. This will not be easy. American authorities have a strong predilection for "order"—even at the expense of freedom. And without a clear understanding of the irreconcilable nature of the political conflict in Europe, the natural tendency of American administrators will be to put obstacles in the way of the democratic forces. This tendency must be restrained if the war against fascism is to be conclusively won.

FULL POWER TO ANTI-FASCISTS

In America democracy exists, at least it has until today. In Europe it must be re-created. The first thing, therefore, that Americans must understand is that in the Europe of today and in the Europe of after the war, the democratic process will be quite different from what it is in the United States. That is why the AMG cannot fill the vacuum produced through the destruction of normal and free political life. The people themselves, through their own authorities, must take charge of the situation. More concretely, each national government, provisional or not, in so far as it actually represents the elements of resistance, must direct the arduous process of reestablishing democracy.

It will be a hard task and not a very pleasant one, but it must be undertaken and carried through to the last consequence. It is very well for the honorable Signor Orlando, with his eighty-five years and his liberal ideas dating from the pre-Mussolini era, to oppose the eradication of fascism on the ground that "fascism was never strong in Italy and that there is nothing to eradicate"—as he told Herbert L. Matthews in an interview published in the New York *Times* on June 30. But the workers of Milan and Turin who, only twenty-four hours after the downfall of Mussolini, went into the streets to fight both German and Fascists, knew better. And the French anti-fascists who two weeks ago killed Philippe Henriot, the Goebbels of Vichy, also knew better. And they know too that even the elimination of all the Philippe Henriots that infest Europe will not settle the question. To destroy fascism is something more complex than a problem of justice or revenge. Even in defeat fascism will try to raise its head. The restoration of democracy in Europe requires more than pious words and noble wishes.

It requires political experience, moral authority, knowledge of the people, of the masses, of the corrupt machinery of the past that must be destroyed. It requires understanding of the organizations, the union leaders, the men in the village, in the town, in the nation, who can be trusted with the process of democratic restoration. The fight will not cease with the firing of the last bullet, with the expulsion of fascists and collaborationists from power, with the liberation of the entire country, not even with the proclamation of formal peace in Europe. A period will follow in which the forces of fascism under every disguise, even the democratic disguise, will try to survive and to prepare for the next coup. To face that danger we must have at the head of every European government, provisional or permanent, people hardened in the fight against fascism, alert to the desires of the nation but at the same time ready to resist the demands of irresponsible groups inside the country, conciliatory and responsive in their relations with the Allied powers but ready also to resist any pressure from outside which would substitute favored reactionary elements for representatives of the popular will. The creation and protection of democracy in Europe requires strong governments in the period of transition.

In the economic field the problems that every state will have to settle call for a great deal of imagination, of audacity, of readiness to break with the social conceptions and the social privileges of the past. All persons acquainted with the present European situation agree that the reorganization of Europe will demand many socialistic measures. The liberation forces in every country have come out strongly in favor of increased public control over major industries and the national resources. For that, too, a strong government is necessary. Both political and economic conditions point in the direction of increased executive power. How this power can be controlled by the popular will, how to combine collectivism and freedom—these are the great questions that will confront post-war Europe. They can only be answered by the people themselves. Interference from outside, however well meant, can only produce, in magnified degree, the "chaos" which the AMG was created to avoid.

WHY EUROPE MUST GO LEFT

Europe must go to the left for many reasons. The first is the treason of the right. Everywhere the right as a whole, out of hostility to any form of European New Deal and out of fear of Russia, sympathized with fascism, forced the Munich capitulation, and advocated an understanding with the Axis powers. It was the "two hundred families" who wanted fascism in France before 1939. It was again the "two hundred families" from whom the greatest number of Vichy collaborationists derived. This alone would have been enough to push the peoples of Europe to the left.

Then there is the immense appeal of the Russian victories. It may be easy for capitalists and politicians to draw a distinction, when it suits them, between Russia and the Russian regime; to acclaim the heroism of the Russian armies and the ability of the Russian generals as qualities inherent in a great nation which has always been known for its pride and its courage. But to the common man, whose century Henry Wallace has announced, the Russian victories are more than that: they are victories of the only proletarian state in the world. Neither the Bolshevik purges, nor Russia's pact with Germany at the beginning of the war against Hitler, nor the Soviet recognition of Badoglio, whether or not they momentarily dampened enthusiasm for Russia, have altered the fact that the present Russian state was born of a socialist revolution and that an economic system prevails in Russia today quite different from the capitalistic system. To the peoples of Europe, that Socialist Russia which has so ably organized production, which has created the best army in the world, which has drawn its factory foremen, its engineers, its generals from the working class, remains an inspiration. This does not mean that the peoples of Europe would welcome in their respective countries the introduction of a system exactly like the Russian. We have already the report from Oscar Lange that the officers and soldiers of the Polish army organized in Russia expressed their preference for a non-Communist Poland. But the example of Russia greatly encourages Europe to move in the direction of socialism, if not toward a proletarian dictatorship.

Thirdly, British-American policy in itself, by supporting the most reactionary elements everywhere, has produced a defensive move which, in practice, has become a further move toward the left. In 1941 De Gaulle, who never expected to be rewarded for his fight against Hitler with the hostility of Washington, surrounded himself with representatives of the French bourgeoisie. These were the men most easily available—young diplomats stranded in London by the collapse of France, refugees who had had sufficient means or power to escape in the desperate days after the surrender—and they represented the element from which De Gaulle himself emerged. Darlanist expediency led De Gaulle to seek support among the forces of resistance in France and encouraged their sympathizers in North Africa to resist the maneuvers of Washington. He found this support mainly among Socialists and Communists, who comprised the bulk of the resistance movement. By taking a position against him, Washington pushed De Gaulle toward the left and at the same time reconciled the left to him.

Nor did the warm-hearted words about Franco spoken by Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons have a different effect. The answer to that ill-inspired tribute was a stiffening of guerrilla activities and a call from the leaders of the underground to the Spanish people to "prepare for the coming rebellion." This was the first time since the end of the Spanish war that such an expression had been used in an illegal manifesto. That, inside Spain itself. Among the political exiles Mr. Churchill's speech resulted in a series of statements by the most temperate leaders of the Republican parties which even the left Socialists could not have strengthened. Thus in Spain as in France Anglo-American policy has succeeded in making the trend more radical.

For two years reports have come out of the occupied countries which have reflected very well the state of mind there. As early as 1942 André Philip, a moderate Socialist just escaped from France, a member of De Gaulle's committee, gave an impressive picture of the discussions that were going on in the French underground about the post-war world. He described a new Europe in the making. But to the State Department and the Foreign Office the view of diplomatic experts of the old regime like M. Alexis Leger, or of amateur diplomats like Señor de Madariaga, seemed more important than all the news coming from inside Europe. On the other hand, certain distinguished columnists like Anne O'Hare McCormick have interpreted the stories of the hungry and tired populations as proof of an apathetic Europe. We hope that they will pay equal attention, not only to the organized struggle of the people of France, but to the deep significance of the Copenhagen strike—a strike that symbolizes something more than natural patriotic hate of the invader. It clearly reveals how the very peaceable Danish worker has become a revolutionary through the development of the anti-fascist fight.

The mistake of not having seen clearly the dangers inherent in Hitler's rise to power has been paid for by a war. The mistake of not seeing the meaning of the war may be paid for by another war. But before that we may be confronted with a tragic and ironic situation—the liberated countries of Europe struggling to free themselves from their liberators.

Have Faith in France

BY JOSEPH CHAPIRO

IN THIS week of the great French national holiday, Bastille Day, which coincides with the first stage in the liberation of the old Norman soil and with the arrival in the United States of General Charles de Gaulle, it is well to reaffirm one's faith in France: in the France of Joan of Arc which drove out the enemy from abroad; in the France of 1789 which cleansed its soil of the enemy within and proclaimed the immortal principles of liberty, equality, fraternity; in the France which, plunged into the mire by its traitors, is now slowly emerging, purified by the blood of its heroes.

There is a well-known adage that every man has two countries—his own and France. That is why four years ago when France went to pieces militarily and even seemed to deny its moral self, every civilized man felt stricken in his most cherished ideals. This nostalgia, this insatiable idealism which we call the *esprit européen* is conditioned less by geography than by spiritual needs. For one can be a good American or a good Englishman and at the same time a "good European." Did not the insular Winston Churchill, in the course of his last great speech before the House of Commons, claim for himself the title of "good European"? But there can be no Europe without France, which is its essence, as Paris is the essence of France.

It is natural, then, that at many different times Paris has been considered the spiritual capital of the world, the source of its ideas and tastes. Yet Paris, in the course of its history, has often been occupied and sacked by predatory invaders. In the nineteenth century alone and in the space of less than sixty years it was taken three times by enemy armies. In June, 1940, the heart of France, Paris, was again struck a blow so violent that the whole nation was brought to ruin. A hysterical mistrust of France seized the world. "France is finished!" "France is dead!"—these words were on all lips. No one remembered that such charges were as old as France itself. They return to the lips and the pens of witnesses of French history as regularly as the refrain of old French songs. For the thousand-year past of France contains as many disasters as periods of glory.

No other great European nation has been, through the centuries, alternately so despised and so admired, so pitied and so envied; no other has so often been pronounced dead and then extolled for its vitality and overflowing youth. "I have been told that never before was there so much baseness in the world, so many crimes, so many sins, so many vices, as today in France," Henry V of England said to Charles d'Orléan, after taking him prisoner at the Battle of Agincourt in 1415. It may be argued that this severe judgment was uttered by an enemy. But it differs no whit from French testimony given in the same century. Indeed, is there any more poignant or more sincerely despairing account of the moral, intellectual, and material disintegration of France than that of the anonymous author of "Le Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris," covering the period 1405 to 1449?

Yet scarcely had Joan of Arc appeared and her work been completed when the country began to recover with astonishing rapidity. A new age was born—the age of the greatest French poet and the greatest French painter, the age of Villon and Fouquet. Less than a century later the spirit of the age was reflected in a very different book from that of the gloomy Parisian bourgeois. Ronsard's "La Franciade" presented a dazzling image of a happy France, the envy of all Europe, and Rabelais's ribald laughter shook the farthest corners of his country. But even in the sixteenth century this brilliant France was more than once darkened by disaster. Francis I was captured by the Spanish and to obtain his freedom had to sign in 1536 the famous Treaty of Madrid, which despoiled his kingdom of some of its richest provinces. Yet as always France recovered rapidly and again became so powerful that it could force Charles V to renounce the Spanish throne. But no sooner had it gained this victory than it was torn by internal and religious strife. The misery of the people mounted to a climax. Finally, Henry II established order again, to die at the hands of an assassin shortly afterward.

The *grand siècle* of Louis XIV, when France was the richest and most powerful country in Europe, also witnessed disasters rivaling those of preceding centuries. In fact, at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, during the War of the Spanish Succession, France was in such straits that observers spoke of it in the same terms that had been used by the contemporaries of Joan of Arc. Hardly one-tenth of the people had enough to eat. Even the king's ministers, we are told by Fénelon, were reduced to "living a *vie de Bohême* and not at all like men who rule the country." Nevertheless, France recovered, and the eighteenth century became the age of Rousseau, Voltaire, and Diderot, the glorious century of the Encyclopedists.

In 1789 the Revolution began; in 1793 France was invaded from all sides—north, south, east, and west. With magnificent élan the revolutionary armies expelled the enemy. In 1797 came financial bankruptcy. Two years later French currency was the most stable in Europe! Napoleon made the world tremble; then his empire crumbled and France was again invaded. During the nineteenth century collapse and recovery succeeded each other as before, the greatest disaster being the defeat of 1871 and the consequent territorial mutilation and economic ruin. But when the government launched a domestic loan a year later to obtain funds with which to redeem a part of the territory occupied by Prussia, the country was so far restored that within twenty-four hours the loan was oversubscribed fourteen times.

Thus the inexorable rhythm of French history has never varied. The lesson of that history, however, has not been learned. Funeral orations over France have continued to alternate with dithyrambic praises. The contradictory judgments of observers are not to be explained solely by the changing course of events. But the events do much to explain the individual and collective character of the French, which is the source of our faith in France. A contemporary French poet has remarked that his compatriots are the most open and at the same time the most enigmatic people in the world. Their frankness and their lack of hypocrisy make it easy to study them and lead one to believe that one knows them. Then suddenly a storm breaks, the Frenchman reacts in an unexpected manner, and one perceives a side he has not shown before.

This dual nature is the product of his native soil and his history working in opposition to each other but both fashioning him simultaneously and unceasingly. No people are a more faithful image of their country than the French. Observe them closely and you note the same proportion, the same gaiety, the same harmony as in the aspect and products of the land. But in each Frenchman is another man whom history has hammered rudely on its forge, repeatedly dealing him heavier blows than the people of any other great European nation.

The history of the French has developed characteristics which give sharpness to their criticism and gravity to their thoughts. A Frenchman knows how to be serious without appearing to be, often masking his earnestness with a gentle irony that borders on insouciance. In reality he is as thoughtful as he is gay, as profound as he is jolly. In France originated most of the currents of thought that have nourished Europe for the last four centuries. France is the home of fruitful skepticism and creative criticism. It is the home of the democratic revolution and of socialism, too, for socialism was formulated in France long before Karl Marx gave it a scientific base. France is also the country where racial equality was first proclaimed and *realized.* France was the first great power that allowed Negroes to take part in the government; a black deputy from Haiti was even elected vice-president of the Chamber of Deputies. And no one took umbrage when he married a white Frenchwoman.

These extremes in French character can be, one admits, most disconcerting. But if you look closely you will see that instead of being mutually exclusive they form a remarkable harmony, a harmony that is manifested in that common sense which, according to Descartes, is the most widely shared thing in France. A violent shock can for a brief period dissociate the elements in this harmony, but they are soon reunited. French stability and balance are shown in the way France remains faithful to tradition while constantly renewing itself either by revolution or by conscious evolution. It may be said that the French are the only people in Europe who without breaking with their past have been able to turn it into a revolutionary factor. I still recall the thunderous voice of Jean Jaurès, the great Socialist tribune, who was so thoroughly imbued with the French tradition. When his reactionary adversaries in the Chamber of Deputies accused him of betraying the French heritage, he turned the charge against them. "It is we who incarnate the true French tradition," he cried, hammering each word home with his fist. "You guard the ashes; we carry the torch."

Logically enough, these traits of character have produced in the French another characteristic of prime importance for their future—a passion for unity. Their regional diversities have made them a savagely individualistic people, while their history has endued them with a spirit of unity which has emerged each time it has been necessary to remake France. However quarrelsome and divided into bitterly antagonistic political parties, this people has always recovered its unity when the enemy dealt it a blow which the world thought mortal.

That is why, apart from the Revolution, the points around which its history has crystallized have not been great events but the names of persons who embodied French unity. Today this unity is forming around the name of Charles de Gaulle. In other times the General might not have been so much to the people's taste. For France has learned to distrust generals in positions of political power. Its experiences with Napoleon, MacMahon, Boulanger, and finally with Pétain were such that it has no wish to repeat them now. What draws the French irresistibly toward De Gaulle, and what France will never forget, is that in the midst of the most appalling confusion and the most formidable treason ever plotted on its soil Charles de Gaulle was the first to rise up and declare that the invasion was only a battle lost, that France was continuing the war at the side of its allies and would continue to fight until its liberation was complete.

Have faith in France! It is no older and no more effete than it was at the time of Joan of Arc. Let us recall how often France has aroused the admiration of the world after a collapse that seemed fatal, and how each time all humanity felt rejuvenated. It will be the same now. It is the rule with France, the rhythm of its history, the cadence of its national life.

Willkie's Choice

BY ARNOLD BEICHMAN

IN 1940 Wendell L. Willkie received 22,304,755 votes, an all-time record for a Republican Presidential nominee. Normally, an unsuccessful candidate remains titular head of his party, is its spokesman on major issues until the next convention. In Willkie's case his defeat ended his importance among the Republican Party political mechanics. Despite his personal popularity with Republican voters the G. O. P. bosses regard him as the little man who wasn't there, and how they wish he'd go away.

Willkie is an incubus weighing on the party councils. Governor Dewey, the party's Presidential candidate, dislikes Willkie personally—Willkie heartily reciprocates his feeling—but yearns for a kind word of indorsement. Willkie's credo is anathema to the McCormicks, the Hoovers, and the Deweys. Willkie is the Republican Party's "that man." The party leadership will damn him if he does and damn him if he doesn't.

The question is: What will Willkie do?

At this writing, the 1940 Republican standard-bearer has avoided committing himself to the Dewey candidacy. On the day of the New York Governor's nomination, Willkie offered his congratulations, and Dewey sent a cold thank-you reply. Since then, there has been a batch of stories inspired by Dewey forces that Willkie is getting ready to come over. Minor appeasement offers have been made by Dewey, all ineffective. Willkie is interested in principles and platforms, not in prestige or personalities. A yarn that Clare Luce had conferred with Willkie on the possibilities of a negotiated peace between the two men was killed by Willkie's statement that he hadn't talked with Mrs. Luce in several months.

Four courses are open to Willkie: (1) he can indorse Dewey and participate actively in the campaign; (2) he can remain silent until the very last minute and tell inquiring reporters on Election Day that he voted for Dewey; (3) he can indorse F. D. R., whose fourth-term candidacy is a certainty, and campaign on his behalf; (4) he can withhold indorsement of either nominee and carry on a needling "educational" campaign in line with his own views. Unless some major concessions are made to his forthright stand on international cooperation, I doubt that Willkie will actively campaign for the Republican ticket.

His only two public statements since June 26 have been a criticism of the Republican Party's plank on international cooperation, which he implied was both meaningless and a phony, and a few words to show his irritation at the expulsion from the post of G. O. P. national treasurer of his friend and supporter Sinclair Weeks, and at the election as vice-chairman of Werner Schroeder, a disciple of the Colonel McCormick school of isolationism and misanthropy.

Privately Willkie has been more outspoken. He is reported to question the political integrity of Dewey, the firmness of his belief in anything except the narrow toryism of his supporters. Willkie has made it clear that his differences with the McCormick-Hoover-Dewey school are not on foreign policy alone but on domestic affairs as well—labor, treatment of minorities, price control.

Even a cursory reading of Willkie's articles published before the Republican convention will disclose how vast is the area of disagreement between him and Dewey. Max Lerner has described Willkie's philosophy as "creative conservatism." I would go farther and say that Willkie's philosophy is rapidly developing into a creative liberalism. Whether or not you think Willkie means what he says, it cannot be denied that he has spoken incisively and in the best liberal tradition.

In their present state of mind, Dewey and his advisers feel little need for Willkie's support, although, perversely, they'd love to have it. They know his backing may well mean the electoral votes of California, Oregon, Washington, and several of the New England states. Willkie's price is not a Cabinet post, or an ambassadorship, or some other plum. Willkie simply wants to drive the primitives who control the Republican Party out of power. To him, they menace the party's future, and, more important, they menace the possibility of genuine contributions to a better world order by the United States.

But Willkie is a politician as well as a maverick statesman. Though party regularity is not the shibboleth to him it is to the ward-heelers and precinct captains, it is a weighty consideration; it *must* weigh with a man who still dreams of achieving the Presidency.

Willkie's political future is, *faute de mieux,* entwined with the future of the Republican Party. The defeat of Dewey by Roosevelt would strengthen Willkie immeasurably. On the other hand, if Dewey should be elected, Willkie would be *kaput.* Dewey's victory would be interpreted as a repudiation of his rival's principles, and Willkie's importance in the Republican Party would become minimal. Willkie is of course aware of all this.

The most formidable problem which he faces is the need to make a decision in the near future. A protracted silence on his part can only weaken the importance of his ultimate choice. His war of nerves on Dewey and his cohorts may be irritating to Dewey, but it can also become boring to the average American voter. Essentially, Willkie has made his decision, even though it may be as subconscious as it is unspoken. The course of the campaign can only strengthen his mistrust of Dewey, no matter how far over Dewey goes to escape the McCormick millstone around his neck. If Willkie finally breaks his silence and indorses Dewey, it will be the most reluctant and insincere decision he ever made.

I know Willkie. Whatever his weaknesses, insincerity and pussyfooting are not among them.

In the Wind

THE CREDIT GUIDE COMPANY of Marshalltown, Iowa, is circulating a "patriotic" leaflet advising all Americans to reject the "most sinister, dangerous, and revolutionary legislation ever introduced in the American Congress" —the Wagner-Dingell bill. "Do you want an 'OPA' to ration your medical care?" the company asks. "Do you want to wade through government red tape to secure medical supplies from some bureaucratic clerk who thinks in terms of cost rather than of your medical welfare? (Under similar systems, only those drugs listed by the government can be prescribed.)" The Credit Guide Company derives a good part of its income from collecting on overdue bills for Marshalltown doctors.

GOOD-NEIGHBOR NOTE: Some merchants in nearby nations, *Printer's Ink* reports, now advertise that their goods are *not* from Argentina.

COLUMNIST CEDRIC ADAMS, in the Minneapolis *Star Journal,* says that delegates, alternates, and speakers at the Republican convention were all schooled to make no mention of democracy. Republic is the word.

THE WASHINGTON *DAILY NEWS* sent six reporters with identical theoretical income-tax data to six different deputy collectors in the Revenue Building in Washington. They came back with six different answers. The returns were $17.39, $6.73, $12.15, $16.31, $12.20, and $16.77. Another reporter then went to the head of the department, who called in his super tax expert, who, after some time, emerged with what the chief said was the correct answer—$19.33.

ADVERTISEMENT IN THE *NEW YORKER:* In war as in peace McCall's is edited directly to the three primary interests of the American Woman—Her Heart, Her Home, Herself.

FESTUNG EUROPA: According to the Yearbook of the Bank of the International Settlements, Germany's foreign clearing debts for goods delivered up to September 30, 1943, reached 54,600 million marks. Creditors in order of rank were: France, 4,400 million; Holland, 4,010 million; Belgium, 3,845 million; the "Protectorate," 2,425 million; Italy, 2,000 million; Denmark, 1,890 million.

Those Gentle Danes

BY GUNNAR LEISTIKOW

IF THERE is any truth in reports from Stockholm, the Danes have won a major political and moral victory. The Germans must have suffered a tremendous loss of face in all occupied countries, for they acceded to Danish demands only after their threats to starve and bomb Copenhagen had failed completely to impress the strikers. Fantastic as this failure may seem to a world accustomed to Nazi ruthlessness, it is not entirely inexplicable if one reviews German actions in Denmark during the past ten months.

On August 29 of last year, when the Danes refused to make further concessions to the German will—to surrender Danish saboteurs to the mercy of German courts or to deliver Danish Jews to German executioners—the Nazis proclaimed a state of siege. They disarmed the Danish army after several days' fighting, dismissed the government, and made the king a virtual prisoner.

At that time everyone expected the Germans would carry out their threat to proclaim Denmark a "protectorate" and let the Gestapo rule it. But they did not. Instead they did their utmost to persuade the Danes to resume the administration of their own affairs. They went to the prisoner-King and asked him to appoint a new Cabinet, even one of his choosing. The King said that was impossible. In the first place, he was a prisoner; his hands were tied. In the second place, since he was a constitutional sovereign, he could not appoint a new government without accepting the resignation of the old—and by preventing the old government from functioning, the Germans had automatically deprived it of the power to resign.

All right, the Germans said, we shall see. They assembled, by force, the members of the old Cabinet and told them either to resign or to resume their functions. The ministers unanimously refused to do either. This, they said, is a meeting of Cabinet ministers, certainly, but it is not a Cabinet meeting because it has not been summoned in the proper way. The Prime Minister added that he was unable to summon a Cabinet meeting because the Germans prevented him from functioning by their extraordinary measures of August 29.

The Germans went to Parliament. Look here, they said, this is ridiculous. We want to play ball with you, and what does your government do but start a sitdown strike. Get another government, and we will be friends. The representatives of Parliament's five parties declared—unanimously—that Parliament still had full confidence in the old government. It was certainly not their fault that the Germans prevented it from functioning.

Exasperated, the Germans went back to the King. But he was a constitutional monarch, and he could do nothing against the advice of Parliament. The truth was that the Danish politicians were none too eager to assume further responsibility for what was happening in the country. They had actually felt a sense of relief when Danish autonomy was kicked overboard.

The Germans gave up. The Danes were given a good dose of the Gestapo. However, in comparison with the treatment accorded other German-occupied countries, they were handled gently: fewer shootings, fewer mass arrests, no interdiction of political parties or unions, no seizure of newspapers. The state and local administrations were allowed to function.

The Danish answer to even these half-hearted concessions was a wave of sabotage unequaled in any other occupied country. Two hundred acts of sabotage were reported in the last four months of 1943, ranging from wrecking of troop trains to destruction of well-guarded war plants—an average of fifteen to twenty cases a day in a country of less than four million inhabitants.

The Nazis answered in kind. If the Danes bombed factories, the Germans bombed crowded movie houses. If the Danes killed traitors, the Germans answered with the murder of well-known Danish patriots. To do the dirty work, they formed a special gang of a few thousand ruffians, the *Shalburgkorps*, named after a Danish Nazi who had fallen as a volunteer in Russia. This corps is advertised as a legion of Danish volunteers to fight bolshevism. Actually, it was commandeered from the German minority in North Slesvig, traditional Dane haters. After some toughening up at the eastern front, the corps was sent to Denmark on a "furlough."

Such is the background for the events which began on June 22 with the demolition by saboteurs of Denmark's largest machine-gun plant. The situation developed into a general strike when the Germans established martial law, made wholesale arrests of union leaders, and shot eight hostages. Unrest spread. Hundreds of people were killed. When the Germans shut off water and supplies and threatened to bomb Copenhagen, the Danes dared them to go ahead. The Nazis balked, as they had done the previous summer, apparently more jittery than their captives.

After August 29, 1943, the Danes interpreted the

Germans' vacillation as a sign of weakness—which it probably was—and acted accordingly. They will hardly interpret German hesitancy differently this time.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IN THE official bulletins of the German army command the winged one-ton bombs which have been shot into southern England since June 16 are called simply "V-1" (*Vergeltungswaffe No. 1*)—without further explanation. The bombardment is described, quite undramatically, as "harassing fire" or occasionally as "retaliation fire." No more than a few short paragraphs a day are given to the whole affair. As so often in the last two years, the generals are making an unmistakable effort to keep their record free of breathless exaggerations and boastings. They leave that to Goebbels's department.

The ecstasies in which the Propaganda Minister indulges and which he seeks to arouse are all the more colossal. His method at first was to try to convince the public that it was already in a state of tremendous excitement and bliss about the new weapon. The *Nationalzeitung* of Essen, for example, published the following on June 17:

> Newspapers can always gauge the degree of interest evoked by a piece of news by the number of inquiries received at their office. Judged by this standard, we must assume that yesterday's High Command communiqué has aroused more interest than even the news of the Anglo-American invasion. On Friday afternoon our telephones were not silent for a moment. People kept asking excitedly whether the news was actually true.

A newspaper in Pommern declared:

> The German people intend to savor the new facts about the retaliation weapon to the very dregs, like a delicious nectar.

A paper in Central Germany went into raptures:

> Retribution has come! The tension which we have felt for so long has found its outlet. The tremendous pressure of the period of waiting has been relieved. Retribution has come for our murdered workers! Retribution for the travelers killed in trains! Retribution for the men, women, and children slaughtered in the fields and on the high roads! Retribution for many tens of thousands of injured civilians! Retribution for gutted German towns and villages! Retribution for gutted hospitals!

In the succeeding days one new device after another was used to whip up the people's feelings. Horrible names were coined for V-1—"dynamite meteors," "hell hounds," and the like. How "the enemy was seized by fear," and why, was dwelt on voluptuously:

> England is exposed to the hell hounds without any chance of adequate defense. The effect of the new weapon is tremendous, and it may be assumed that its impact on the people, as on the buildings, is many times greater than that of the heaviest Anglo-American terror bombs. (*Nationalzeitung*, Essen.)

The alleged groaning and whining of the English and their despairing appeals to German humanitarianism were ridiculed:

> We expect that either directly or through intermediaries appeals will soon be made to our notorious kindliness, but we have lost all such feeling. As long as there are English towns, we will remember that there is not much left of many of our towns. As long as there are tongues to cry for mercy, we will remember that our hatred must outlaw all compassion. Recalling what the British have done to us, we will not have the slightest pity if the number of Britons killed vastly exceeds our own casualties from bombings. Now the enemy knows that the threat of retaliation was not propaganda but reality. (*Münchener Neueste Nachrichten.)*

Still more violent and decisive surprises than the hell hounds were announced for the future. In a speech delivered in Leipzig on Gutenberg's anniversary State Secretary Neumann of the Propaganda Ministry said:

> The V-1 is doing its work. More weapons, even more effective, will follow. All this is only the beginning.

And of course he seized on the opportunity to boast that here was one more proof of the truth of every promise and every announcement of the Führer's:

> We have not forgotten the mocking smile of many compatriots when we spoke about revenge. Some people regarded us as deplorable fools who did not realize that the Führer promised revenge only to keep bombed-out people in check during terror raids. Now it is our turn to look around with a mocking smile. Just as his promise of revenge was redeemed by the Führer, so also will be his promise that the enemy in the midst of his invasion will suffer an annihilating defeat.

One wonders what has been the effect on the public of this superhuman propaganda effort. The Swiss correspondents have the impression that the trick has once again been successful. The correspondent of the *Appenzeller Zeitung* wrote on June 21 that the German people for the moment were "drunk with the glowing reports of the terrible effects of the hell hounds." A dispatch to the *Sankt Galler Tagblatt* of June 25 also spoke of the undoubted temporary effect on "the childishly gullible German public of the huffing, puffing, screaming hellish concert of propaganda." But the grim reality is bound soon to darken the glowing visions of approaching victory. Six days after the start of this new period of delirium, according to the *Basler Nationalzeitung*, an ironical inscription was chalked on the walls of buildings in Hanover:

Jetzt zieht man schon Grossmutter ein—
Soll das wohl die Vergeltung sein?

(Now they are drafting even Grandma—
Is that what they mean by retaliation?)

BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

IN "A Walk in the Sun" (Knopf, $2) Harry Brown has written a vignette of the landing of an American platoon on a beachhead in Italy. The platoon has been assigned the objective of occupying a farmhouse six miles inland and destroying a bridge that lies just beyond it. The lieutenant in command is killed in a freakish way before the men land; the sergeant who takes over is killed immediately afterward. A second sergeant goes to pieces when half the distance is covered—six miles can be very long—but the job is completed under the direction of a corporal. The men meet with no real resistance until they reach their objective, but several of them are wounded or killed by passing planes.

Mr. Brown gives us a vivid picture of the behavior of a group of men set down in a strange country to carry out an isolated assignment which tends to seem unreal and irrelevant. The dialogue is good and often funny. The "lines" and jokes in these passages are reminiscent of the artificial patter one hears over the radio, but they are probably authentic. I have the impression that American talk, when other people are listening and especially when the talkers are under a strain, tends to be more and more an imitation of the radio and movie imitations of American talk.

"A Walk in the Sun," like the action it describes, is a small marginal operation successfully carried out. But it reads like a case history rather than an imaginative evocation. Mr. Brown writes within what might be called the *New Yorker* convention. His prose is deft. It is also self-conscious and self-protective. His is a behavioristic account of war and death as it might be recorded by a telescopic camera with a sound track attached. The *New Yorker* convention is an effective one. It is also limited. The writer who is so constantly careful to keep his distance from his material, whose restraint is a matter of convention rather than of feeling, is not likely to produce first-rate fiction; by the same token he may well produce, as Mr. Brown has done, an expert and ingratiating facsimile.

For the other kind of restraint read Flaubert's A Simple Heart. It is almost enough to compare the two titles. The beautiful story of Félicité is on my mind because I have just read it again in the most recent edition of "Three Tales"—a volume in the New Classics Series (New Directions, $1). Harry Levin has written an introduction.

N. B.: I am poaching on Diana Trilling's fiction preserve because she is taking a brief vacation. She will resume her regular comment in a few weeks.

Bernard Shaw is recorded as having said that when people ask him what has happened in his long lifetime he does not refer them to the newspaper files or to the authorities but to Upton Sinclair's novels—the latest one is "Presidential Agent" (Viking Press, $3). Mr. Sinclair must certainly have the complete files of the New York *Times* or at least the Index at his elbow as he writes. His energy and good-will are beyond dispute. So are his brashness and his naivete. And the uncomplicated, eager vulgarity with which he concocts bedroom scenes between his overworked robot, Lanny Budd, and President Roosevelt leaves me gasping.

> The President was lying in bed, wearing pajamas of blue pongee covered by a knitted blue sweater, crew-neck style. . . .
>
> So the two conspirators were alone. Lanny took the chair by the bedside, and the other coughed slightly and reached for his handkerchief. "I am supposed to have a cold," he said. "I am growing suspicious of my subconscious mechanism, for I notice that I develop the sniffles whenever I have a tiresome schedule like today."

Surely if Mr. Roosevelt reads this book he will have one, if not a hundred, of his most embarrassing moments.

Someone put forward the other day the common, always dubious argument that Mr. Sinclair's effort, while it may not be art, is nevertheless valuable. In this case the reasons given were that Mr. Sinclair is dispensing the accumulated knowledge of a long lifetime, that his point of view is "enlightened," and that a great many people will learn a lot about world affairs from the liberal point of view by reading his books. That assumes, in the first place, a capacity to put up with, let alone believe in, the peripatetic, ubiquitous, omniscient, and fatuous Lanny Budd which I for one don't possess. It also assumes the desirability of justifying everything that Roosevelt has done. I can't say I read the whole book, but what I did read of it was, among other things, a continuous apologetic for F. D. R. I'll take my history straight—though it should be said that any resemblance between this book and fiction is purely coincidental.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Deadly Praise

GIRAUD AND THE AFRICAN SCENE. By G. Ward Price. The Macmillan Company. $3.

GENERAL GIRAUD faded out of the French picture so suddenly that this book, which came to praise Caesar, serves instead to bury him. It does this job effectively—so effectively, indeed, that anyone seeking to resurrect the General will find this literary tombstone a heavy obstacle. For it proves, unintentionally of course, that however brave a soldier Giraud may be, he lacks the savoir-faire which is indispensable to a political leader. The very fact that he gave this book his official authorization is eloquent: did he not know that G. Ward Price, bright star of the London *Daily Mail*, was distinguished chiefly for his pre-war eulogies of the fascist dictators?

Mr. Price has, of course, ceased to extol Hitler and Mussolini, but he still seems to find their ideas attractive and looks with an approving eye on those men in the United Nations camp who are tainted with them. Thus we find him extolling such unsavory figures as Lemaigre-Dubreuil, the peanut king of West Africa, who recently fled from Algiers to Spain.

This notorious collaborationist is pictured as one of the heroes of the Allied landing in North Africa, although the most that can be said for him is that, having done well out of his business dealings with the Germans, he was smart enough to see the wisdom of reinsuring his profits with the Allies.

Mr. Price's account of the months immediately following the North African invasion skims lightly over the facts. He defends the policy of cooperation with the Pétainists on grounds of principle as well as expediency. He seeks to give the impression that only "Jews and Communists" supported De Gaulle and excuses the prolonged internment of the Spanish Loyalists—all "Communists" to him—and other anti-fascist prisoners.

Naturally Mr. Price is cool to the claims of the Committee of National Liberation to represent the French people and even goes so far as to imply that it has no influence within France. Frenchmen, he suggests, are likely to prefer, after liberation, a government headed by the almost forgotten President Lebrun, who could constitutionally summon a National Assembly composed of pre-1940 deputies and senators. Realizing, however, that such a solution would, in fact, be violently opposed, he hints that the Allied General Staff might seek to push General Giraud forward as a man "standing outside and above politics."

In a comparison meant to be flattering Mr. Price speaks of Giraud as a new Marshal MacMahon. After the defeat of 1870 MacMahon was elected to the Presidency by the Royalists, who hoped he would prepare the way for a restoration of the monarchy. "MacMahon's own instincts," says Mr. Price, "inclined him that way, but since it gradually became clear that the Republican Party was the strongest in the state, the Marshal's own sense of constitutional duty led him to resign his office." This quoted sentence represents British understatement at its worst. It pictures a conservative old soldier patriotically and gracefully submitting to the voice of the people, whereas MacMahon and his backers almost plunged France into civil war by their obstinate resistance to the mandate of the voters.

France does not want another MacMahon and will not thank Mr. Price for the offer. Yet we should perhaps be grateful for this book, which by its deadly praise may do more to kill the Giraud legend than a dozen deliberate exposures of it. KEITH HUTCHISON

How to Deal with Japan

NIPPON: THE CRIME AND PUNISHMENT OF JAPAN. By Willis Lamott. The John Day Company. $2.50.

SINCE Pearl Harbor the flood of books explaining how Japan "got that way" has given us the comfortable feeling that we now understand our enemy in the Pacific. This is an illusion. We don't really know so much about him, as Willis Lamott's thorough study of how the Japanese mind was molded during the thirties helps us to discover. For one thing, the language barrier is too difficult for more than a handful of Westerners to cross. We have never read Japanese fascist literature in its originals, nor even had a "Mein Kampf" in translation. It is significant that the only book comparable to the present volume in its intimate probing of the debasement of Japanese thought—D. C. Holtom's "Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism"—was also written by a man who had mastered the language and entered into the arcana of Japan's fascist ideology. Nor is it an accident that both men were professionally interested in religion and were, by their work, brought into direct contact with the Japanese school and classroom.

A psychological barrier also exists. The peculiar essences distilled from emperor worship lie outside the range of our normal experience. To dismiss them with the epithet "fantastic" is to turn our back on the path to understanding and effective post-war remedial action. Japan's present rulers, in Lamott's striking metaphor, have created a nation that is "physically . . . as modern as a two-man submarine but mentally . . . neolithic." More descriptively, they have found "in a primitive and archaic tribalism the sanctions for life in industrial society and the motivation for world conquest." But neither metaphors nor summary generalizations are a substitute for the tracing out of these patterns of thought in detail and for a demonstration of how they were coercively imposed by every device of indoctrination against stubborn popular opposition through a decade of effort. And Mr. Lamott has done an invaluable job of interpretation in this succinct handbook of Nipponese ideology.

Lacking such a picture as his of the concrete reality, we have too often sought to piece out our thinking by resort to supposed parallels which do not in fact exist. Analogies between Nazism and Nipponism are deceptive. Japanese ideologists wield a more potent weapon than any in the Nazi armory. The ruling classes are the same in each case: the giant monopolists, the great landowners, the military caste. The ends sought are the same. But to attribute to Nipponism, as a tool of Japan's ruling oligarchy, the characteristics of Nazism is to water it down. The Führer, the party, even the German absolutist state, German blood and the German master race, are secular far more than mystical instruments and concepts. Against these set an "unbroken" line of god-emperors, "bodily, biologically . . . the State" and descended from the Sun Goddess, whose blood is shared through a different lineage by all members of the nation-family living in the God-favored land of Japan. On this foundation the finished ideological structure of Nipponism was reared during the past decade. The completed apologetics "boldly identifies the living emperor with the soul of God and the unifying life or spirit of the universe and asserts that the emperor is the earthly manifestation of the Sun Goddess, 'the progenitress of the whole cosmos.' To Japan, the divine land, under the leadership of the Son of Heaven, is intrusted the divine task of creating a universal family comprising all mankind and of chastising perverse nations impeding the carrying out of this celestial undertaking."

This is the context in which the "holy war" in China must be viewed, and likewise the creation of a benevolently ruled *kodo* (imperial way) state in Manchuria. Japan's synthetic fascist party naturally becomes the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. And the supremely effective all-embracing slogan of *hakko ichi-u* makes "universal brotherhood" synonymous with "universal sway of the emperor."

The centrality of the god-emperor in this ideology of conquest by a master race is the inescapable finding of Lamott's study, as it was of Holtom's. Subtract the emperor, and the whole edifice collapses; keep the emperor, and the liberal, democratic forces in Japan are saddled with an enormous handicap, even if the "moderates" form the first postwar government. For the so-called "moderates," representing the court circle, the business monopolists, and the great landowners, also want the god-emperor as a buttress to their privileged minority rule. To keep the emperor in this "stabilizing" function also means to keep him in his conquering mission. "No liberal reformer of Japan should be trusted," writes Lamott, "who hesitates to deal radically with the problem of the place and person of the ruler. It cannot be reiterated too often or too emphatically that since the ideas of racial superiority, world mission, and the perpetuity and world-wide extension of the imperial rule are so closely tied up in the sacrosanct figure of the emperor, Japan will always be a menace to the world so long as the garments of divinity are permitted to cling to this particular specimen of the *genus homo.* If this ghost is not exorcised at the outset, it will rise up to haunt future generations."

How is the ghost to be exorcised? Lamott charts the only thoroughly adequate course. First, there must be an overwhelming military defeat; Japan's fascist oligarchs have provided for every contingency except total defeat. Second, the resulting "disturbances . . . will be salutary," and should not be curbed. "Social chaos may determine the course of constitutional changes more definitely than outside interference, and here it is possible that an army of occupation may defeat its own ends by curbing popular uprisings out of which change will be forced and new leadership emerge." Third, a new "moderate" government formed by "political scene-shifting" should not be accepted lest it destroy the possibility of advance. "The only safe rule to go by is one that no government set up by the ruling classes of Japan in order to deal with the victors after the war can be trusted. . . . Constitutional government superimposed from above has been tried in Japan and has failed miserably, because no people is ever appreciative of rights and privileges for which it has not struggled, fought, and died." Fourth, popular initiative should be encouraged, even if the results are temporarily chaotic. "Indeed, it is foolsh to assume that any effective degree of democratic government can be achieved in Japan without such a surge from below. . . . The realization of social and political democracy in the future depends upon the achievement of popular self-consciousness and self-realization, which can come as the result of a social and political overturning of the extent that may be expected only after a disastrous and overwhelming defeat in war. The power of the demonic national ideology, moreover, cannot be broken by any 'tinkering with the works' but only when the authorities can no longer boast that Japan alone among the nations of the world has never had a revolution, and that social and political rights have been gained not by popular demand but by imperial benevolence."

T. A. BISSON

RUSSIA
THEN AND
ALWAYS

What makes RUSSIANS act like RUSSIANS?

By Nina Verhovskoy Hyde and Fillmore Hyde

IN the new Russia of today, the old Russia of common land and cooperative effort survives and, in many ways, prevails. *Russia Then and Always* traces Russia's culture and traditions that are the heritage of the modern Russian and distinguish him from the modern American, Frenchman, or Englishman. It is a book that will enable Americans to understand the psychology, the beliefs and the prejudices of Russians today—and their role as a nation in the making of tomorrow. *Maps.* $3.00

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A Memoir of Duffus

THE INNOCENTS AT CEDRO: A MEMOIR OF THORSTEIN VEBLEN AND SOME OTHERS, WITH THE ADVICE AND CONSENT OF WILLIAM M. DUFFUS. By R. L. Duffus. The Macmillan Company. $2.

IN THIS charming essay in nostalgia R. L. Duffus of the editorial staff of the New York *Times* has tried to seize two moments: his germinal twentieth year in the neighborhood of learning at Stanford University, and a sense of the emanation of Thorstein Veblen. He has succeeded in recreating the first, and we experience his internal confusions and his reaction to his father and elder brother, to an ailing and sophisticated graduate student, a Marx-quoting cook, and perhaps the greatest economist of the Western Hemisphere. This was the undomesticated personnel of the community which Veblen assembled in 1907 with bohemian spontaneity and brooded over with his wit and eloquent silences. Bound by no "cash nexus," the inhabitants of Cedro Cottage live at peace with nature and the domestic animals and at war with the surrounding world of capitalism and convention, which they calmly analyze and refashion after dinner and in spare minutes during the day. Mr. Duffus longs to return to Cedro; his evocation of it is a labor of love, and we share his affection for the callow youth who was father of the man.

Young Duffus was molded by Veblen in a way that was necessarily vague to him at the time and, alas, also to us now. His memories of the institutional economist, who is "this book's reason for being," are too discrete and few to bring him to life again. The great man appears mostly as the socio-economic system of Cedro, in short abstractly. A sage and morose Thoreau, he moves in limbo, disemboweling sacred dogmas, doubting natural laws, smiling at the supposed superiority of Occidental man over Oriental, of civilized over savage, and insisting that business thrives on waste. The undergraduate felt his fascination, but what of the influence, then or later? The social-mindedness of Duffus seems to be an inheritance from the family background rather than from the master. The one passionate outburst in this urbane essay is a defense of social security, and it is occasioned by the death of the father from an occupational disease. The author lays claim to two legacies from Veblen—a skepticism of accepted values and an appreciation of good workmanship. Skepticism was hardly peculiar to Veblen, and the emphasis on the importance of the instinct of workmanship is but one of the various factors of his attitude. Is it irrelevant to ask where in the New York *Times* is the Veblenian influence of this member of its editorial staff? It probably is, for "Cedro" is romantic memory with little significance for our understanding of Veblen or of the fate of his thought. SOLOMON F. BLOOM

The Soviet Economy

MANAGEMENT IN RUSSIAN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE. By Gregory Bienstock, Solomon M. Schwarz, and Aaron Yugow. Edited by Arthur Feiler and Jacob Marschak. Oxford University Press. $3.

THE STRUCTURE OF SOVIET WAGES, A STUDY IN SOCIALIST ECONOMICS. By Abram Bergson. Harvard University Press. $3.50.

IN 1944 James Burnham published a tract on the shape of things to come, predicting the emergence of a new class, the class of managers, whose rise to power he considered inevitable because they are becoming, he asserted, the real controllers of the means of production in the large industrial states. The Soviet Union, according to Burnham, already is a managerial state. Its rulers, he said, "are, of course, the men who are running its factories and mines and railroads, the directing members of the commissariats and subcommissariats of heavy and light industry and transportation and communication, the heads of the large collective farms."

Needless to say, Burnham's thesis was properly excoriated at the time by democrats and socialists alike. Its methodological weakness and political irresponsibility could fool only the naive. Now we finally have an empirical study of Soviet management whose overwhelming evidence obviates Burnham's categorical assertions in this uncertain area of sociological inquiry. The decisive characteristic of the Soviet economy is not managerial rule but overall planning under the political direction of the Communist Party. The individual manager is merely a cog in the gigantic wheel of socialist planning. The manager participates of course in the making of the plan, and he necessarily plays an important part in adjusting the plan in accordance with practice. But for all practical purposes he has only one outlet for his independent energies—namely, the reduction of real unit costs of production. With regard to output, expansion, wages, and prices he is subject to the dictates of the planners.

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HEADQUARTERS Budapest

By ROBERT PARKER

Former Eastern European Chief of The Associated Press

FROM the powder keg of Europe comes this expert newspaper man's explosive account of current history in the making. Must reading for every American who thinks he knows or who wants to know what manner of yeast is responsible for the constantly bubbling ferment in the Balkans. Robert Parker was with the German Army on its march into Poland in 1939; he saw Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria taken by the Nazis; he covered the Russian conquest of Bessarabia. His headquarters in Budapest was one of the best listening posts in Europe, and from the spring of 1942 up to a few months ago he was OWI Chief in Turkey. His thrilling personal adventures and reports of intrigue make Oppenheim read like Mother Goose. $3.00

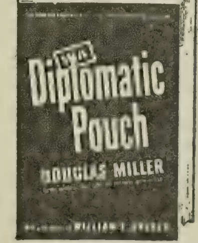
If earlier conflicts between managers and the Communist Party have been largely eliminated and the managers enjoy today a greater prestige than in the previous years of experimentation, this cannot be ascribed, as Burnham would have it, to managerial control of the means of production. It is rather due to the fact that most managers are party members. Already in 1936, 100 per cent of all chiefs of trusts, 97 per cent of all enterprise directors, and 82 per cent of all construction chiefs were Communists.

The Burnham thesis is tentatively supported by only one of the authors, Mr. Schwarz, whose hypothesis that Soviet managers might constitute the nucleus of a new ruling class was not found sufficiently borne out by facts in the opinion of the other authors. Inequality of educational opportunities would seem to be at the root of such a development. But as this inequality may be due to limitation of available state finances and the needs of war preparation rather than to a deliberate policy of fostering it, the hypothesis is open to question.

The study is not primarily concerned with the status of management at the present time, or rather at the outbreak of war in 1941, but traces the evolution of relations between managers, party, and trade-union committees. Nor is it exclusively concerned with management. It gives perspective to the particular problem of management by dealing with planning of industrial and agricultural production, banking controls, hiring and wage policies, procurement and sale, the questions of output, cost, price, and profit in the Soviet socialist economy.

WILLIAM L. SHIRER
reveals:

"I once urged Ambassador Dodd to pressure the State Dep't, or the Dep't of Commerce, or Pres. Roosevelt, or God—to get these reports published."



Douglas Miller blitzed Washington with his amazingly prophetic tip-offs when he was one of the unheeded few who saw at first-hand *why* "You Can't Do Business With Hitler." "VIA DIPLOMATIC POUCH", for the first time, breaks the secrecy which has hitherto concealed these, his confidential findings. "Actually," says Quentin Reynolds, "'VIA DIPLOMATIC POUCH' supplements all other books on Germany . . . The material is as new today as when Miller wrote it and even more timely."

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The almost simultaneous appearance of Mr. Bergson's careful study of Soviet wages is fortunate because the question of how Soviet wages are fixed is not fully answered in the management study. It will undoubtedly be seized upon by those who are anxious to prove that Russia has a non-socialist economy because of inequality of wages. It is to the author's credit, therefore, that he points out, as the full title of his book indicates, that wage inequalities are not contrary to socialist economics. Complete equality of income distribution as a criterion of socialism has been rejected by socialists ever since Karl Marx in his "Critique of the Gotha Program" (1875) suggested that in the earlier phases of socialism incomes might be determined on the basis of productivity.

If the Soviet planners found that wage scales, varying according to occupation, skill, and productivity, are necessary for maximum output and to avoid shortage of skilled labor and rapid labor turn-over, one may speak of "capitalist wages." But one cannot call Soviet economic institutions, wage structure included, "capitalist," as only recently the New York *Times* did in one of its most ill-informed editorials on what was alleged to be Russia's "new capitalism."

While the differential wage system distinguishes the Soviet economy from the ideal of communism rather than from competing economic systems, it is, as Mr. Bergson points out, socialist nevertheless for two reasons: first, the ownership and management of the greatest part of the country's industrial resources by the government; and, second, the direction and integration of this sector by a system of planning. Moreover, even if Soviet wages resemble capitalist wages with respect to inequality, Soviet profit is radically different from capitalist profit. It is the nature of profit, not of wages, which distinguishes the socialist from the capitalist system.

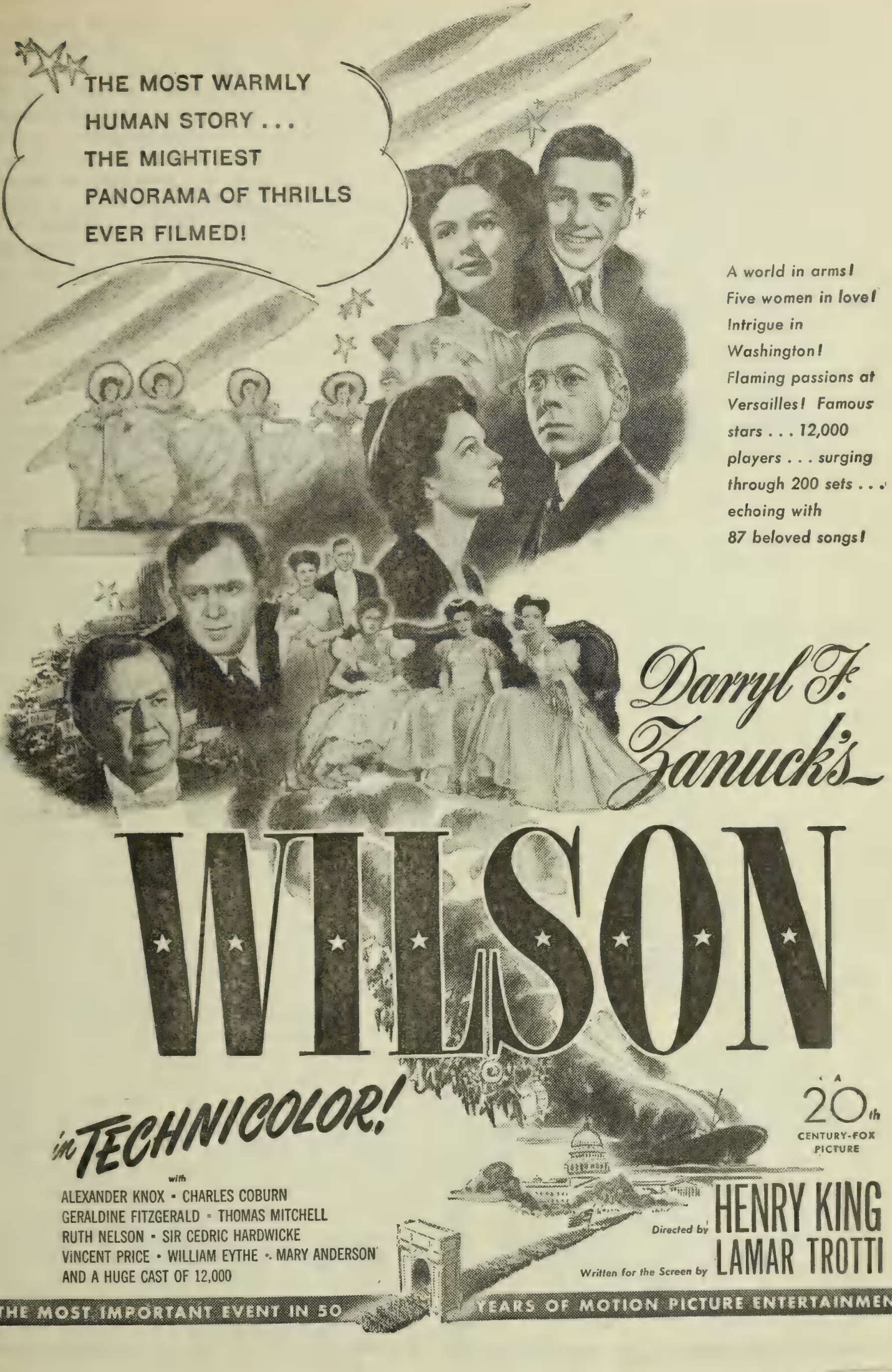
In the current epidemic of books on the Soviet Union these two scholarly studies are rare exceptions. Although limited in scope to particular problems, tentative in their conclusions, and frankly aware of the experimental nature of everything that goes on in Russia, they convey a more thorough "understanding" than the grandiose efforts of the so-called "interpretative" commentators in either the pro-Soviet or the anti-Soviet camp. HEINZ H. F. EULAU

Laws and Responsibilities

THE COMING STRUGGLE FOR PEACE. By André Visson. The Viking Press. $3.

THE title, inspired by John Strachey's challenge and prophecy "The Coming Struggle for Power," is not strictly accurate. This is not a work of political philosophy. Visson does not define "the coming struggle" in terms of a broad issue. The subtitle is far more to the point—Conflicting Forces and Aspirations Which the United Nations Will Have to Face. It is a case book, the clinical description of ailments which, as the author presents them, might have no connection whatever.

Let us accept it as such and be thankful. Even the conscientious and well-informed reader cannot keep in mind the morbid symptoms that torment forty separate nations.



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He will find them catalogued in these pages with two essential qualities of the reference book—lucidity and balance. Visson eschews the inevitable pedantry of the doctrinaire and the no less inevitable egotism of the correspondent: "Stalin told me . . ." He is fair, even in cases where fairness is almost a miracle, Russo-Polish relations, for example, or Zionism.

The very first virtue of a reference book is accuracy. Wherever I could check him, I found Visson reliable. This, however, applies only to the contemporary scene. His eyesight grows dim beyond the last decade. The First French Republic did not come in 1791, nor was the Third founded in 1871, after the Paris Commune. MacMahon was not in power "in the transition period between the Empire and the Third Republic (1871)." Boulanger did not "fall short of his political ambitions in 1892," but three years earlier; he committed suicide in 1891. The Entente Cordiale was signed in 1904, not in 1907. This is not carping: I appreciate the book, and should prefer to indorse it unreservedly. But a work of reference has to meet definite and exacting tests. Five dollars for an "Encyclopædia of World History" would be well invested.

The limits that André Visson set himself are rather hard to understand. He deals exclusively with the United Nations and a few neutrals. But the problems of Spain, Turkey, and Eire, for instance, are no less important to us than those of Sweden. He devotes much space to the Middle East and none to India. But Great Britain's policy in the eastern Mediterranean, Iraq, and Iran is still greatly affected by its desire not to sever connection with its Asiatic empire. Out of three hundred pages, less than eleven are given to the Far East: they might as well have been omitted. Above all, M. Visson plays Hamlet without the Prince: the problem of peace is the problem of Germany, which he leaves out altogether.

This is claimed to be "a book for diplomats, and in the years ahead every free man and woman on earth will be called upon to learn the laws and assume the responsibilities of diplomacy." Let me underscore two words—*laws* and *responsibilities*. Guiding principles do count; else we shall "muddle through somehow" into a third world war. The description of morbid symptoms, *per se,* will not lead to a diagnosis and a cure. The effect on the average American reader might be simply to revive isolationism: "These Europeans have always been fussing, and always will be. Let us stay at home and mind our own business." Such a book would be dangerous unless it were read in connection with Willkie's "One World." For the solidarity of nations is the first "law" to be mastered.

"Responsibilities": a durable peace will not depend on a purely empirical patching up between local factions, say Chetniks, Ustashi, and Partisans. It will depend on the solution of two great problems, each of which demands an act of will, that is to say, an act of faith. Will the United States choose world democracy, triple-headed imperialism, or isolation? Will Germany be integrated or caged? We must not, like Rousseau, "brush aside the facts." But the mere accumulation of unrelated facts, as in this valuable and intelligent compendium, throws absolutely no light on the fundamental issues.

ALBERT GUERARD

IN BRIEF

THE VOICE OF NORWAY. By Halvdan Koht and Sigmund Skard. Columbia University Press. $3.

Designed as a tribute to the unconquerable spirit of Norway, this book considers that nation's history and culture as a part of the heritage of mankind. Dr. Koht, former Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, sketches his country's history as a twofold struggle, for national organization and for individual liberty—a manifestation of the true Nordic spirit as opposed to the Nazis' caricature of it. The second half of the book, by a former assistant professor of comparative literature at the University of Oslo, provides a spirited panorama of Norwegian letters. The reader is offered some delightfully fresh views of Holberg, Ibsen, and Bjornson, both as artists and as human beings. Agreeably free from the academicism and complacency which sometimes mar such national efforts at self-evaluation, "The Voice of Norway" is a truly stirring account of a people who have stood from earliest times for freedom under law.

THE FRENCH COLONIES: PAST AND FUTURE. By Jacques Stern. Didier. $3.

In 1939 France and its empire had a combined population of 110,000,000—larger than Japan's and almost as big as that of the United States. M. Stern, former French Minister of Colonies, makes out a case for the French Empire as a factor in the making of the peace. Particularly disturbed by Wendell Willkie's notion that the colonies must be given back to their inhabitants, M. Stern expatiates on French efforts at education, religious tolerance, and political equality among colonials. As a history of France's possessions and its attitude to them, the book is clear and informative. Nevertheless, the reader cannot but feel that M. Stern's reiterated implication that France's only stake in its colonies is a detached passion for their good, is simply a duplicate of the Pecksniffian attitude long held by another nation of imperialists, across the Channel.

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McCARTHY OF WISCONSIN. By Edward A. Fitzpatrick. Columbia University Press. $3.50.

As the author of the celebrated "Wisconsin Plan" (1912), Charles McCarthy wrote a dedication to that volume which Sandburg might have signed, and was himself a character to inspire Dos Passos. Dying early at forty-four, he had applied the kind of will to succeed that we facetiously associate with Horatio Alger's heroes to a wholly selfless, un-Alger-like struggle for social betterment. The son of poor Irish immigrants, McCarthy took a brilliant Ph.D. in history and became a powerful social engineer and instigator of intelligent experimental legislation in Wisconsin during the era of the senior La Follette. His major contribution was the Legislative Reference Library, which made authoritative sources of political and economic information readily available to Wisconsin lawgivers—a brilliant innovation at the time and an important adjunct to the democratic process. McCarthy won the recognition of Lord Bryce; he assisted both Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt in the drafting of their competing Presidential platforms. But he sought nothing for himself except to serve his nation. Colonel Fitzpatrick's book is a dignified, vigorous, and always readable introduction to the career of an enlightened and warm-hearted man who might well serve as a model for the American public servant.

ONE HUNDRED GREAT YEARS. The Story of the *Times-Picayune* from Its Founding to 1940. By Thomas Ewing Dabney. Louisiana State University Press. $4.

The New Orleans *Times-Picayune* came to the fore by its coverage of the Mexican War. Ever since, it has been one of the most influential of Southern newspapers. Mr. Dabney's book is not what his subtitle would lead us to expect, the story *of* the newspaper; he has forgone this to write the story *told* by the newspaper. In other words, this is not a contribution to the history of journalism, but simply one more backward-looking volume of the "Only Yesterday" type. Unfortunately Mr. Dabney lacks the lively touch needed to keep that kind of book rolling; nor does he possess the incisiveness or the selectivity of details required of the soberer historian. But for all that, this stout, incoherent volume is engaging to dip into, as the files of any long-established newspaper usually are.

FILMS

IN Humphrey Jennings's "The Silent Village" Welsh miners movingly pretended that Germans had made a Lidice of their town. In Cavalcanti's "48 Hours" (from a story by Graham Greene) some very good professional and unprofessional actors pretend that disguised German parachutists try to capture a Gloucestershire village. The thing never seems really to have happened, as "The Silent Village" almost did; nor is the film the fanged masterpiece Hitchcock alone might have made it; but it falls on a very solid stool between. The village types are the sort of entomologically observed, remarkably lifelike, charming dolls which not only Greene but Coward and Waugh so often create instead of characters—a dear-old-boy rector, his passionate, constricted daughter, the merry, warm old woman who handles the switchboard and the mail, the robin-like lady of the manor, the marked-down Heathcliff who helps the Germans, etc., etc. Well written and directed and beautifully played, these characters are not to be scorned, even though they are the soberer, still self-satirizing and self-congratulatory grand-nieces and nephews of Gilbert and Sullivan; we have never yet managed to set up in films as good a portrait of an American small town, and there is poetic force in this puppetry though it lacks complexity and depth.

When men kill in this film they do it much more abruptly and simply than in ours; the reactions of women who kill or cause death—most of them have to use guile to get within striking distance—are seriously studied, and good and terrible to see. I only wish this cleavage by sex had not been as oversimple as knocking shale apart. I think the best of "48 Hours" is neither in its people nor, mainly, in their exciting, melodramatically plausible actions —aside from one gentle, marvelous, awful shot in which four cycling Home Guards oscillate and spill under machine-gun fire—but in its relating of the people and their actions to their homes, their town, their tender, lucid countryside. As the audience watches from a hill, with the eyes at once of a helpless outsider, a masked invader, and a still innocent defender, a mere crossroads imparts qualities of pity and terror which, to be sure, it always has, but which it seldom shows us except under tilted circumstances. And at moments,

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when the invaders prowlingly approach through the placid gardens of the barricaded manor in the neat morning light, the film has the sinister, freezing beauty of an Auden prophecy come true.

JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

ONE of the college-age readers of this column who amaze me constantly with revelations of how much better musical understanding and taste—to say nothing of better all-around perception and sense—they have than I and my contemporaries had at the same age remarked recently in a letter: "The end of 'The Marriage of Figaro' has been running through my head. Just to think this music—without even whistling it—sends chills down my back. Whatever happens to me, I can reflect that my life hasn't been wholly lost: I have had the opportunity to know that opera, and that part of it in particular."

I have had thoughts of that kind myself in the last two or three years. In my case it is not merely that I have heard or seen certain things, but that I have lived long enough to perceive in them what I am able to perceive now. I have had this thought about pieces of music, about Toscanini's performances, about Markova's dancing. And one of the pieces of music, certainly, has been "The Marriage of Figaro." I got to know it well only when the Glyndebourne Festival recording was issued here, and found it marvelous then; but each time that I listened to it again after an interval I heard new marvels for the first time, while the old ones struck me with enlarged or fresh significance and greater impact; and I can reflect that whatever else has happened to me, I have had the luck to achieve the heightened awareness that enabled me most recently to hear in "Figaro" one of the supreme wonders that have been produced on this earth by human powers.

As with the whole so with the part—the passage that my correspondent wrote about. Its effect, like that of any such passage, comes partly from its context—where it is placed, what it follows. Three hours have been filled with the poignant sorrow of the Countess's *Porgi amor* and *Dove sono;* the longing of Susanna's *Deh vieni, non tardar;* the amused tenderness of her *Venite, inginocchiatevi;* the confused adolescent emotions of Cherubino's *Non so piu cosa son;* the ironic menace of Figaro's *Se vuol ballare;* the mock heroics of his *Non piu andrai;* the pompousness and malice of Bartolo's *La vendetta;* the ear-ravishing loveliness of the Letter Duet; the humor and wit of the duets of Susanna and Figaro, Susanna and Marcellina, Susanna and the Count; the comedy of the first-act trio, the great finale of Act 2, the finale of Act 4. Three hours have been filled with the orchestra's running fire of gay, mocking, witty comment that has created the atmosphere of comedy in which even the serious things have happened. And this has continued to the very last: the music has exaggerated comically the pleas for forgiveness, the Count's stern refusals; and even in the hush of amazement and wonder produced by the Countess's entrance the violins have softly chattered their amusement. But then at last there has been an end to all this, and a moment's silence; and it is at this point, as the Count begins his *Contessa, perdono,* that we hear music which tells us of the sublimity of human forgiveness—music which, after what has come before, is overwhelming. And it becomes even more overwhelming—when it is taken up softly by the chorus, and when it is carried up to a point of superearthly religious exaltation. Then, in the silence which follows, solemn octaves of the strings gently ease us down to this earth again—and to the bustle and fanfares of the final curtain of the operatic comedy. The passage lasts only a couple of minutes; but those two or three minutes, coming after the three hours, create the most wonderful, most impressive moment that I can recall in opera.

It is almost as though Mozart had decided to correct the notion we might have of him as being capable only of what he had given us in the first three hours of "Figaro"—or for that matter what he had given in the slow movement of the Piano Concerto K.467 and in other astounding pages of other great works—and had taken a couple of minutes to make us realize that he could, when he chose, reveal spiritual insights equal to the greatest we have known. That was as much time as he needed for the demonstration; and once it had been made it didn't matter whether he made it again. Those insights were there, in addition to everything else that he communicated through the medium which he used as no once else has ever done; and that use of the medium and what he expressed through it made him the most extraordinary musical artist that ever lived.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Make the FEPC Permanent

Dear Sirs: To those of us who were deeply involved in the struggle to insure continuance of the Fair Employment Practices Committee through Congressional approval of its appropriation for the next fiscal year it is clearly apparent that much of the credit for the favorable Senate vote of last week belongs to the many liberal forces throughout the nation which raised their voices in support of that agency. We know we speak for the millions of minority Americans when we say that by your splendid outspoken editorial of June 10 you contributed greatly to the cause of true democracy.

The FEPC has been granted its appropriation by Congress and has thereby received sanction and backing, but the fact remains that it is still handicapped by its lack of power to enforce its orders. Unless legislation is enacted to make it permanent, it will be abolished when the war ends and the problem of discrimination in employment becomes even more critical.

Awareness of the need for a permanent FEPC was indicated by the fact that even while the Senate was debating the advisability of continuing the present FEPC, the House Labor Committee was holding hearings on the Scanlon-Dawson-La Follette bill to give the FEPC permanent status and authority. Frustration and insecurity, it was demonstrated in these hearings, still haunt millions of minority-group Americans, for although they have made tremendous gains through employment in war industry, they have made practically no advance in any industry which is basic to the peace-time economy. Even when they are now employed, minority Americans, particularly Negroes and Latin Americans, are often denied full union rights, upgrading opportunities, and equal pay for equal work. Walter White, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who had just returned from a tour of the war fronts, told the committee: "Wherever I went the question most frequently asked by Negro soldiers . . . was whether or not Negroes on returning home will continue to be confined to bootblack jobs." And in this country Negroes are already finding themselves the first to go as the cutbacks begin.

As the hearings progress and the people generally become aware of the issues involved in the proposed bill for a permanent FEPC, we hope for clarification of many existing misunderstandings. To the people of North, West, and Midwest one fact, which has already been brought out in the committee investigation, is highly significant. That is the fact that only 10 per cent of the closed cases reported by the present FEPC originated in the eight states of the deep South.

What will the post-war reconversion period mean to the industrial centers of the North, West, and Midwest, where 90 per cent of the cases handled by the present FEPC originated? Gunnar Myrdal in his "An American Dilemma" recalls that "after the [First World] war the homecoming Negro soldier met the suspicion and fears of the Southern whites. In the North their new footholds in industry were contested by anxious white job-seekers in the post-war depression. A wave of lynchings swept the South, and even more bloody race riots swept the North."

Dare we neglect to take every possible precaution to prevent a repetition after this war?

Already representatives of most of the outstanding national civic, church, and union organizations have appeared before the House Labor Committee to urge approval of the Scanlon-Dawson-La Follette bill; and on June 23 an identical bill was introduced in the Senate by a group of six Republican and Democratic Senators. This would indicate that we are justified in our belief that the overwhelming majority of Americans are conscious of the dangers of the post-war period and are looking to their government for leadership in protecting the economic rights of minorities.

ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN

National Executive Secretary, National Council for a Permanent FEPC

Washington, D. C., July 3

One Who Voted

Dear Sirs: I have just finished reading a letter signed M. S. and titled Can a Soldier Vote? in your issue of June 10. If Pvt. Polachek actually went through all the tribulations that your correspondent claims he did to cast his ballot, he has my sympathy. Personally, I don't believe a word of it. In contrast, I would like to set forth my experiences with absentee voting in California.

I was sitting in my office one day—everyone in the Coast Guard has his own private office—when another sailor came in and asked me if I cared to vote. Naturally, I answered in the affirmative, and he handed me an application for an absentee ballot. I filled it out in my own inimitable scrawl and sent it to the Secretary of State of California.

From the time I sent in my application until the time I received my ballot, an interim of three weeks, I never once stirred from my office, except for an occasional meal and a cup of grog. When the ballot arrived, I ripped open the envelope, whipped out my pen, and cast my vote in the Democratic primary.

My next step was to get an officer to sign my ballot. At the exact time I desired the presence of an officer, a short ensign walked by. He was my man. I called him in, told him what I wanted, and handed him my pen. He was neither reluctant nor angry with me because I wished to exercise my right to vote. As a matter of fact, the ensign and I had quite a long political discussion. He told me he was voting for Landon, and I assured him he couldn't win. We parted the best of friends. I dropped my ballot in the nearest mailbox, then returned to my office, where I plan to sleep until the November elections, when I will again corner the short ensign.

YEOMAN

Somewhere in California, June 28

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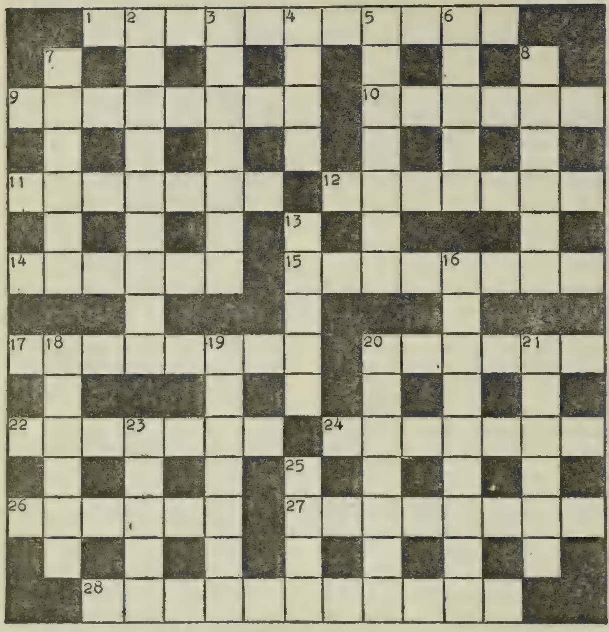
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 72

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Leading actor's dressing-room? (hyphen, 4-7)
9 What size of paper would you use to make a jester's hat?
10 One stage of a salmon's existence
11 The answer makes clear why it is called the "funny bone"!
12 Produce a drawing from a container with nothing in it!
14 Same again!
15 Beer tray (anag.)
17 Such employment requires shifts to maintain production (hyphen, 4-4)
20 Fled from Apollo and was, at her own request, turned into a laurel tree
22 His opera *Salome* has provoked much discussion
24 Situation from which there is no prospect of escape
26 Ladies, like soldiers, should keep it dry
27 An additional safeguard to one's understanding
28 Spares trees (anag.)

DOWN

2 Bill's voluble exit (hyphen, 6-3)
3 He lives a retired life, but shows purpose in the end
4 "---- tells a flattering tale, Delusive, vain and hollow. Ah! let not ---- prevail, Lest disappointment follow"
5 He travels to and fro by season
6 Civet (anag.)
7 Troops in formation before a public building?
8 Where Jack spends his leave
13 A place once reared by monk and priest; a tar and bigwig of the East
16 One who values property (Who doesn't?)
18 What! No Act I? What a performance!
19 Puts in, with or without the fifth letter
20 Father and offspring in a Dickens' novel
21 He took a prominent part in the Trojan War, and was extolled by Homer
23 Dared to be venomous
25 This sort of fountain doesn't play in Washington Square

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 71

ACROSS:—1 FATHER; 5 ALMANAC; 10 SCOUNDREL; 11 RARER; 12 ITERANT; 13 ANYWISE; 14 OMENS; 16 NEPOTISTS; 18 CALIPHATE; 20 GUSTO; 22 HUNDRED; 24 SEAKALE; 26 RHINE; 27 VERDIGRIS; 28 STEPSON; 29 STRING.

DOWN:—2 ATONE; 3 HANGARS; 4 RURITANIA; 5 AILSA; 6 MARRYAT; 7 NARCISSUS; 8 CARVER'S; 9 ESKIMO; 15 EGLANTINE; 17 PLEASURES; 18 COHERES; 19 PERSEUS; 20 GLAZIER; 21 ODESSA; 23 DIVAN; 25 AKRON.

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The Shape of Things

ALTHOUGH THE RUSSIANS ARE RAPIDLY APproaching the "sacred soil" of East Prussia, the official German communiqués still start with news of the Normandy front. This can hardly be because the Nazis believe that the threat to the Reich is at present greater in the west, but it may be because in France they are enjoying some measure of negative success. They have slowed down the Allied advance to a crawl, and their grim resistance has led some commentators to express the fear that the Normandy campaign may degenerate into the positional warfare of 1914 to 1918. Certainly the mud that was so characteristic of Flanders is once again proving a major aid to the defense, and the constant rain that has created it has served to cripple our air forces for much of the time. Yet despite these obstacles General Montgomery's men are contriving to move forward, even if very slowly. Gradually they are gaining elbow room and building up the power that will eventually dislodge Rommel and open the way to Paris. Meanwhile the Allied armies in Italy, which had experienced a check, seem to be advancing with a new momentum. This may indicate that the German High Command has been forced to weaken the Italian front in order to attempt to plug the hole in the east. But unless the Nazis withdraw from Italy altogether, they cannot begin to find enough divisions to compensate for their losses in Russia during the past four weeks. As the German radio military commentator, Lieutenant General Dittmar, has admitted, the defense of the Reich necessitates "a radical straightening of the whole front." This aim can hardly be accomplished without a total abandonment of the Baltic states, but it seems probable that once again the Germans have held on too long. Already there is talk of evacuating this region by sea—an operation which promises a field day for the Red air force and navy.

*

THE CHOICE OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AS the Democratic candidate for 1944 has appeared inevitable for a long time. The average American, when he stops to think about it, identifies Mr. Roosevelt with the great events of the last twelve years. The Roosevelt Era is the era of the Great Depression, the Great Recovery, and the Greatest War; it is likely to end with the Great Reconstruction Program for the post-war years. Throughout his terms of office Mr. Roosevelt has fought with varying degrees of success and compromise the war against the dodos who at any human cost sought to drag the country back to the untrammeled capitalism which collapsed in 1929 and the isolationism whose death knell was sounded by the advent of Adolf Hitler. Where he divided the country it was on a fundamental choice between progress and reaction. Where he achieved unity it was in terms of the bold policies needed to save the American people from economic and social chaos and the world from the desolation of fascism. Mr. Roosevelt has proved himself a great war leader. It is almost pathetic at this stage to hear a Republican candidate protest against "civilian interference" in the military conduct of the war and listen to the factitious debate on the office of Commander-in-Chief. Mr. Roosevelt, assumming full responsibility for crucial strategic decisions, has come to represent, for soldier and civilian, the symbol of the greatest democratic war effort in history. The requirements of leadership will be even more exacting in the days ahead. Far in advance of the nation in perceiving the approach of war, Mr. Roosevelt has shown himself singularly blind to the revolutionary forces that are determining the shape of the post-war world. Moreover, the economic dodos are still perched high in Washington. But President Roosevelt has been a man whose greatness shines brightest in times of crisis. He is the only possible leader for the next four years.

*

ROOSEVELT'S RECOGNITION OF THE FRENCH Provisional Government as the de facto authority in France and General Eisenhower's official acceptance and warm praise of the services of the French Resistance mark the end of the long and tortuous trail from Darlan to De Gaulle. To be sure, Mr. Roosevelt still insists on calling the Provisional Government a committee and General Eisenhower has the power to veto its suggestions for military reasons, but to all intents and purposes the Provisional Government is the government of France until such time as an election can be held. The results are already apparent. "General Charles de Gaulle's organization for the relief and rehabilitation of liberated French towns and cities," reads a dispatch from Normandy, "is proving so brilliantly effective in the case of Caen that the preparations of the Allies' civil affairs detachments seem to some extent superfluous. . . . The city is being administered by men appointed to their posts by General de Gaulle long in advance of D-Day. The French preparations were meticulous even to medical orderlies and cooks recruited from among Frenchwomen in England. They all have been working magnificently with our civil-affairs officers and our field commanders." The reason is very simple. The men appointed by De Gaulle could not work at all if they did not have the support of the French population. That is the secret of their success. It is also the secret of the final willing recognition of De Gaulle. We hope the Allies have at last learned that military expediency is expedient only when it coincides with political sense.

*

THE EXPERTS' PLAN FOR AN INTERNATIONAL stabilization fund has been accepted with some modifications by the Bretton Woods conference, which can now give its full attention to proposals for a world institution providing long-term credit. In setting up the fund the chief difficulties encountered were all connected with the quotas which each participating nation must contribute to it. These quotas will govern voting power and also the volume of foreign exchange which a country can acquire from the fund. Hence the tendency was for nations to seek as large quotas as possible. On the other hand, each contributor to the fund must pay in 25 per cent of its quota in gold, or 10 per cent of its gold holdings, whichever is the less, so that an increase in its quota may involve tying up a larger proportion of its bullion reserves. Russia, foreseeing the need of very large imports to restore its devastated areas after the war, wanted a larger quota than the $800 million to $1 billion tentatively allotted to it, but it also wished to reduce the size of its gold contribution in order to have more of the metal available for financing foreign purchases. A new quota of $1.2 billion has now been approved for Russia; on the basis of the existing formula this will involve a gold payment of $300 million unless Russian gold holdings are below $3 billion. If their gold stocks exceed this figure, and there is some reason to believe that they do, it would seem hardly worth while for the Russians to maintain their reservations regarding this item to the point of jeopardizing the agreement. The proportion of the fund's resources represented by gold is not perhaps very important from the point of view of its economic success. But it is important politically, for any attempt to whittle down the "real" values in the fund will make it doubly damned by conservative bankers and Congressmen.

*

THE AGREEMENT REACHED AT BRETTON Woods is, in any case, destined to meet very severe opposition when it is presented to Congress for ratification. Senator Taft has already expressed the opinion that Congress will never approve any scheme remotely resembling the experts' plan which was the basis for discussion at the conference. The proposed fund, he declared, was not large enough for the post-war emergency but would be much too large when normal commercial and financial conditions were reestablished. But how is the emergency to be overcome and such conditions brought about? If an international fund of $8 billion plus is too little, is the Senator prepared to advocate that the United States grant direct credits on a still larger scale? Mr. Taft admits that we shall have to make loans to foreign countries after the war, but he does not want to use the machinery of the international fund, fearing that all the good dollars we pay into it will be swallowed up by penurious foreign nations who will replace them by their own "worthless" currencies. He overlooks the provisions of the plan which insure that the gold value of the fund's resources will always be constant since countries which depreciate their currencies are obligated to increase their payments into the fund proportionately. Our stake in the fund will represent potential purchasing power which, at our option, we can exchange for the goods and services of other countries. It will therefore be worth neither more nor less than an equivalent amount of gold buried at Fort Knox.

*

MR. DEWEY'S DILEMMA ON THE SOLDIER vote was the dilemma of a small politician. He weighed the political capital that might accrue from a last-minute gesture to the armed services against the almost certain loss of hundreds of thousands of New York soldier votes for Roosevelt. For under the present New York state law it is unlikely that more than 80,000 of New York's 800,000 soldiers will have any voice in the November decision. It was the small politician who refused to receive a non-partisan delegation of prominent New York citizens who journeyed to Albany to consult him on the matter. He made no reply to the telegrams of three veterans' organizations petitioning him to open up the federal ballot to New York soldiers before the time limit expired on July 15. A bigger man, confident of his ability to lead the nation in time of war, would have insisted that American soldiers from every state and on every battle front have equal opportunity with civilians to cast their votes. For soldiers above all citizens surely have a stake in democracy. But Mr. Dewey has shown that he has no conception of the grandeur or the awfulness of the issues involved in this world war. If he resents the fact that Mr. Roosevelt acts in his capacity of commander in chief it is because the role seems bigger than Mr. Dewey himself could handle. Mr. Dewey can never be a commander; he has shown that he has some qualifications as a sniper; he can make use of an immediate tactical advantage, but is utterly unfit to think in terms of grand strategy. That is the tragic failure of Mr. Dewey. A private in the Normandy firing line, a soldier's wife in Brooklyn can understand Mr. Dewey's betrayal more readily than his slickest political adviser in Albany.

*

MR. CHURCHILL AND OTHERS WHO BELIEVE that ideological factors are of diminishing importance in the war might pay some attention to what is happening in Latin America. For physically remote as that vast region is from the conflict, and in spite of the primitive political development of many of its inhabitants, it is powerfully affected by the same political cross-currents that are sweeping Europe. Economically Latin America is experiencing a war boom but not enjoying healthy prosperity. Demand for its products makes money plentiful, but the difficulty of exchanging the proceeds of its exports for imports has made manufactured goods scarce and sent prices soaring, causing much suffering. These conditions, in themselves, create political unrest and provide grist for both democratic and fascist propaganda mills. Dictators abound in Latin America, but with the exception of the Argentine fascist junta they have adhered to the United Nations and opened their countries to Allied propagandists who, tactful as they may be, can hardly avoid providing some food for dangerous thoughts. The atmosphere is less healthy for dictatorships. Thus in the past few months we have seen the voluntary abdication of President Batista of Cuba, who by permitting a free election restored democracy to his country, and the sudden collapse of dictatorships in Ecuador, El Salvador, and Guatemala. In the last two, apparently well-intrenched regimes were swept into oblivion by spontaneous civilian uprisings. This is a hopeful sign, and so is the ignominious failure of the military plot against President Lopez of Colombia, head of one of the most democratic governments in Latin America.

*

DONALD NELSON SEEMS TO HAVE TRIUMPHED in the compromise which ended his long and bitter dispute with the armed services and the War Manpower Commission over the resumption of civilian production. Although the four orders which he had prepared covering the initial steps in reconversion were postponed for varying lengths of time, the orders will all be issued during the next month instead of being delayed until after Germany's capitulation as desired by the military authorities. They provide for (1) release of some aluminum and magnesium for civilian uses, (2) release of a limited quantity of machine tools to civilian industries, (3) experimental development models for civilian goods, and (4) a procedure under which individual manufacturers who have excess capacity not needed for the war effort may be permitted to make certain civilian articles. The controversy with respect to these orders revolved chiefly around their probable effect on the manpower situation. The military authorities are fearful lest even a moderate resumption of civilian production induce war workers to leave their emergency jobs in order to seek seniority on permanent civilian jobs. Any large-scale movement in this direction would set back the entire war effort and might delay final victory by many months. On the other hand, it is impossible to justify idle men or idle machines in face of severe shortages of many kinds of essential civilian goods. The War Manpower Commission's recent regulations restricting job changing by male workers of draft age should help to prevent a panicky rush into civilian employment.

*

THE MILITARY SITUATION IN CHINA REMAINS grave despite earlier reports that the Chinese had stalled the Japanese offensive. While the Chinese, ably supported by General Chennault's Fourteenth Air Force, have defended their positions stubbornly, the odds still favor the Japanese. At last report only 160 miles separated the main enemy column driving south from Hankow from the secondary force moving up from Canton. Henyang, though still holding out, seemed doomed. There remained, however, two possibilities of preventing a complete Japanese victory. The enemy appeared to have underestimated the striking power of the Fourteenth Air Force, and there was some hope that constant strafing of his supply lines might yet weaken him so seriously as to check his drive. Also there seemed to be some chance that a Chinese counter-drive northeast of Henyang would succeed in cutting the enemy's lines of communications, thus compelling a withdrawal. A Japanese failure at this stage would of course represent a major United Nations victory, since Tokyo has risked everything on the success of this venture. But although the upsetting of the Japanese time-table is encouraging, it is unsafe ground for optimism. The Japanese are still winning in China.

The Health Scandal

THE inadequacy of prevailing methods of medical and dental care has never been more clearly brought to public attention than in the reports on selective-service examinations submitted to the Senate Committee on Wartime Health and Education. These reports show that more than 4,100,000 of the 16,000,000 draft registrants examined were rejected because they did not measure up to service standards of physical or mental fitness. Still worse, they show that eight out of ten of the registrants had defects of one type or another, and that a large proportion of these defects could easily have been remedied. This was evident particularly in the case of teeth. Captain C. R. Wells of the United State Navy told the committee on the basis of his experience with selective service that 95 per cent of the American people have dental defects and that only 30 per cent of those in need of care are getting it. The army reported that it was working its dentists in eight-hour shifts, using three and a half times as much dental equipment as is normally used each year by the entire civilian population.

Bad though the situation is, it is somewhat difficult to evaluate in scientific terms. Just what proportion of the rejections were due to inborn defects or diseases which could not have been prevented by the best of medical care? We do not know the answer with any exactness. We find, however, that the rejection rate is higher in rural areas than in urban areas, and it is fairly clear that this is linked to the known inferiority of medical, dental, and hospital services in many country districts. Moreover, draft rejections were the highest in the Southeastern states, where incomes are lowest and medical facilities the least adequate. The army has tried to offset these conditions by admitting a limited number of men with remediable defects—such as venereal diseases, hernias, and bad teeth—but with its restricted facilities it cannot take more than a small fraction of such men.

Some light is thrown on this situation by another survey which measures the inadequacy of medical attention under private medicine as compared with a system of insurance. A study made in Nova Scotia by the Institute of Public Affairs at Dalhousie University, Halifax, discloses that families covered by medical insurance received 64 per cent more medical attention, in the form of doctors' calls, than a group of similar size in somewhat better economic circumstances but lacking insurance protection. Children between five and fifteen years of age in the families covered by insurance received three times as much care as those in families depending on the conventional fee system. Nor were the benefits confined to greater attention from the physicians. The insured families had twice as much in the way of drugs and medicines and four times as many dressings as the non-insured families.

The Senate committee would do well to weigh the findings of the Nova Scotia study while it is considering a program to remedy the shocking situation revealed by the selective-service authorities. Other factors, such as ignorance, carelessness, and youthful folly, doubtless account in part for the failure of the draft registrants to seek a cure for their physical ailments, but the lack of funds is the primary reason. The American Medical Association would have us believe that under the fee system the American people are getting as good attention as they could possibly get under any other system. This is explicitly disproved not only by the Nova Scotia survey but by the experience of our own army and navy in maintaining a health level far above that of the civilian population. If there is no financial obstacle, men and women will not normally neglect their health. What is more important, they will be quick to seek medical care for their children. General Hershey has suggested universal military training in peace time to provide the health service that our young men need but have not been receiving. Why not go to the root of the difficulty by extending the same type of medical care as is now provided in the army to the entire population?

The People Want Wallace

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

BY THE time most readers see this issue much will be known that remains hidden as we go to press. Only a writer with the aplomb of an I. F. Stone can keep up with events by definitely announcing the renomination of Vice-President Wallace a week before the vote is taken. I trust he proves as good a prophet as he is a reporter. For myself, I am leaving for Chicago burdened with doubts; but I hope my report on the Democratic convention will be a solid confirmation of the preview provided this week by our Washington editor.

I know only this, as the politicians assemble in Chicago: if Wallace is not renominated, it will be because he is opposed by the back-room boys of the party, not because he has lost the support of the people. The politicians pretend, of course, that their opposition grows directly out of their profound knowledge of the desires of the voters, and one would think this should be the case. After all, to win votes for the party is a politician's chief job in election year. But this time the leaders of the anti-Wallace faction seem to be worrying about something else. They want to win, but apparently they believe they can do so on the popularity of the President alone, and consequently they are willing to forego whatever added strength Wallace might bring to the ticket. That they seriously think Wallace would weaken the ticket is not to be believed. Every test proclaims the contrary. But they do not want Wallace, and since they think they can get on without him they have invented the myth of his loss of favor with the public.

This myth can defeat him in Chicago if the President permits it to. Stone believes the President's letter will indicate such a strong desire for the Vice-President's renomination that it will serve as a directive to the convention. But if Mr. Roosevelt avoids, as he has been advised to do, the tone and language of dictation, the anti-Wallace forces will certainly make full use of the latitude allowed them. For they are interested in nominating Roosevelt—since his candidacy offers them their only chance of electing anybody—while severing as completely as possible his remaining links with the New Deal. This means ditching Wallace, for Wallace is the one remaining important symbol of democratic reform in the Roosevelt Administration.

The details of the maneuvers and the forces engaged against the Vice-President are reported fully in Mr. Stone's Washington letter. The degree to which those maneuvers fly in the face of the wishes of the voters is indicated with startling clarity by several recent polls. One of the most impressive was conducted in New York City during the last few days on the initiative of *The Nation* under the auspices of the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University and its results released this Monday.

Of the persons questioned, 54 per cent expressed an intention to vote for Roosevelt; 28 per cent for Dewey; 17 per cent were undecided. These proportions are about what one would expect from a cross-section of the voters in the city. Those registering for Roosevelt were given a list, alphabetically arranged, of proposed candidates for the Vice-Presidency and asked to indicate their preference. The results in percentages were as follows:

Barkley	7.8	Truman	1.1
Byrnes	2.0	Wallace	78.2
Douglas	.9	Winant	2.0
Rayburn	.4	No special preference	7.6

This proof of overwhelming popular support for the Vice-President is important for several reasons. New York is generally considered a doubtful state, and some of the President's advisers have been telling him that the presence of Wallace on the ticket will lessen his chances in a state in which no chances should be taken. The poll answers that argument as decisively as the most timid adviser could wish.

Just by way of comparison it is interesting to look at the results of the latest Gallup poll of Democratic sentiment on the Vice-Presidency. This sampling was for the entire country and a different selection of names was offered. The results were:

Wallace	64
Barclay	14
Byrd	6
All others	16

It is easy to see that, even with the South included, the preponderance in favor of Wallace is enormous.

The issue is clearly one between the politicians and the people. But the will of the people may not register in Chicago unless it is expressed in clear language by Mr. Roosevelt. The politicians are not interested in polls this time; they are interested in ending the era of New Deal reforms.

They are right in believing that the Democratic ticket will get the bulk of the liberal and labor and independent vote in general no matter who is the candidate for Vice-President. Mr. Roosevelt has, it is true, alienated many persons of progressive opinion by his concessions to the big-business crowd at home and by his ambiguous foreign policy. But such persons are not going to vote for Dewey. The danger is that they may not vote at all. If Wallace is rejected at Chicago, progressive Americans who vote for Mr. Roosevelt with misgivings or who stay at home will know that the Old Guard—North and South—has gained control of the party. It is to maintain his own leadership, as well as to assure the nomination of a liberal running-mate, that the President must throw his full strength behind Henry A. Wallace.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

Soldiers Aren't Supposed to Think

POLITICS and the United States army are traditionally oil and water." The banning of the books and magazines, the meager political coverage in army newspapers abroad, and the removal of Colonel Egbert White as publications officer in the Mediterranean theater underline this statement from a War Department pamphlet. These events are not without relation to the war fronts.

We have consistently attempted to fight a profoundly political war without mentioning the war's political bases. Naturally if one starts by banishing international politics from a war, one ends by banishing domestic politics. We are winning the war on all fronts, and neither political discussion nor lack of it will now delay the time-table of victory; but I wonder if many of our fighting men would not fight with better hearts and clearer heads if they were allowed to know the political score, both at home and abroad.

The American army is known abroad as the most politically naive in the world. Armies are traditionally unpolitical, but this most political of wars has changed that: see the revolutionary armies of Germany and Russia, the politically weakened French army, and the alert British army, particularly the Eighth, politically the keenest body of men I have ever known. Not so the American army, whose members are insulated by law from knowledge of the real world.

Army policy is not blameless in this, but neither does it carry the burden of blame. Recent directives of the Morale Services Division have been almost professionally progressive in sound: "The soldier must understand that today's war is but a part of the bigger war which man has been waging from time immemorial in order to win and preserve his freedom. . . . Let those who are cynical, pessimistic, or defeatist look into our past, and let them learn from Washington and Jefferson and Patrick Henry and Tom Paine and Sam Adams and Ben Franklin and Abe Lincoln. . . . All of this leads to a soldier who thinks—and that is the weapon which our enemies can never match."

The American soldier is actively discouraged from thinking. The Soldiers' Vote Act of 1944, as it is laughingly called, forbids the circulation by the military authorities of matter containing "political argument or political propaganda of any kind designed or calculated to affect the result of any election" for federal office. The law, barbed by a $1,000 fine or one year in jail, has overruled the army's directive, and the army, given always to strict interpretation, has decided that Mrs. Bowen's "Yankee from Olympus," "The Republic" (Beard's not Plato's—yet), Mari Sandoz's "Slogum House," and E. B. White's "One Man's Meat" (which includes an essay on the catarrhal trouble of Daniel Webster) are "designed or calculated," and therefore may not be circulated in the excellent Armed Services Editions of the Council on Books in Wartime. Moreover, the Army Orientation Services have decided that the act applies to its work and that there must be no attempt to influence political opinion in any of their courses.

The magazine and newspaper restrictions are more dangerous because less laughable. Under the act, and reinforced by a rather murky "survey" on "soldier preference," the army has banned from its establishments the *American Mercury, Harper's*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *New Republic*, and *The Nation*. Since more soldiers, like more civilians, read *Time, Life, Reader's Digest, Collier's*, and the *Saturday Evening Post*, these are circulated, though it might be demonstrated that some of them are rather more calculating and designing than the banned magazines.

The screws are applied also to army newspapers, as Colonel White found when he tried to obtain press-association coverage supplementing Army News Service, whose transmissions are limited by Signal Corps facilities and by the requirements of the small overseas newspapers for which it files. But Army News Service is undoubtedly cautious in its handling of the news, and the removal of this long-time champion of complete news coverage for the troops can hardly inspire confidence in the army's eagerness to make the best of a bad law.

Nevertheless, the fundamental point is that the law *is* bad. Its questionable section was sponsored by Senator Taft. The Soldiers' Vote Act applies for the duration plus six months, but this section, introduced as a rider to the Hatch (Clean Politics) act, is on the books indefinitely—which means that unless it is modified or repealed, the garrison of Fort Leavenworth won't be able to read the Bill of Rights in 1960.

Senator Taft now says the army "has badly misinterpreted both the letter and the spirit of the law," but when he spoke for his infamous rider he declared, "in case of doubt, throw it out"; and added that Congress would keep an eye on the army's interpretation. The Senator, "whose record in understanding what is going to happen," says Mr. Lippmann, "is not distinguished," has apparently discovered that the army is now keeping its eye on Senator Taft: many soldiers blame the Republicans for this fantastic censorship. This might explain his sudden disclaimer.

The only salvation, for the army and for the Senator, is repeal of the rider. To quote again from the War Department pamphlet: "Let the American soldier have the truth to think about; it is good enough to keep him a good soldier and a devoted citizen."

Henry Wallace—a Great American

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 14

I HAVE checked and verified the Washington *Post* report that party leaders met with the President at dinner in the White House last Tuesday night and "ganged up" on Wallace. I can also report that with this dinner conference the anti-Wallace bloc shot its bolt and that it will be Wallace at Chicago. The politician-lobbyists, the municipal bosses, the right-wing Democrats, at least one timid White House adviser, and a whole covey of phony liberals have had their say, and it has not moved the President. Mr. Roosevelt made clear to all of them what he had previously told Ed Flynn of New York. He does not want a man over sixty as his running mate—which disposes of several aged hopefuls. He does not want a routine politician—which disposes of several more. He wants Henry A. Wallace of Iowa—which disposes of the rest of them. Wallace it will be.

The big interests of this country do not want Wallace, and they are well equipped with mouthpieces in the Democratic Party. Two of the more obvious were at the White House dinner. One is Oscar R. Ewing. Ewing is vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee and also general counsel and principal Washington lobbyist for the Aluminum Company of America. Alcoa fears Wallace's anti-monopolistic views. Another is Edwin J. Pauley. Pauley is treasurer of the Democratic National Committee. He is an "independent" California oil operator who is curiously fraternal with the big oil companies, notably Standard of California, his principal competitor. The Standard Oil crowd hate Wallace for his anti-cartel views.

The "practical" politicians were there to reinforce these views with figures. They said Wallace would cost the ticket from 1,000,000 to 3,000,000 votes. Robert E. Hannegan, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and most members of the committee have been part of the anti-Wallace bloc from the beginning. Their efforts broke on the rock of Mr. Roosevelt's "Dutch" stubbornness. The President, who has been prepared to compromise on many things, will not compromise on the choice of the man who might become his successor. From several sources in excellent position to know his mind, I can report that the President feels that only with Wallace in office as Vice-President can he be sure that his great objectives at home and abroad will be pursued.

At least two high Administration figures went to see Wallace on his return from the Far East to ask him to withdraw. One was Judge Samuel M. Rosenman, who usually turns up on the rightist side of the fence in intra-Administration controversies. The other was Secretary of the Interior Ickes. Ickes has two links with the anti-Wallace forces. He is an old buddy of Pauley's, and he picked Ralph Davies of Standard of California as oil administrator partly on Pauley's recommendation. Ickes has been close to the oil trust and the oil trust hates Wallace. Both Ickes and Rosenman also have always been close to Tom Corcoran, who has been boosting Douglas as his first choice and Rayburn of Texas as his second choice against Wallace. As a leading figure in Sterling Drug, a company which was a long-time ally of I. G. Farben before the war and may be so again after it, Corcoran has a stake in revival of the cartel system Wallace has fought.

The weakness of the anti-Wallace bloc in 1940 was its failure to get together on a single candidate. This failure reflected the bloc's underestimate of Wallace's strength. The same weakness is apparent this time. Corcoran has tried in some degree to correct it by an alliance with the forces behind Rayburn, and at one time the Douglas crowd and the Rayburn crowd were prepared to swing over at Chicago to whichever of their respective candidates seemed the stronger. A grotesque incident in the annals of this alliance was Corcoran's effort to get Josephus Daniels to sign an article Corcoran had prepared extolling Rayburn. Daniels indignantly declined to serve as a stooge, and it looks now as though neither Douglas nor Rayburn will cut much of a figure at Chicago.

The chief hopes of the big-business crowd fighting Wallace have been centered on Barkley, and utility interests in New York are said to have used their affiliates out in the country (1) to drum up support for

Barkley and (2) to titillate several state governors with the hint that if Wallace can be stopped maybe the lightning will strike them. Georgia Power and Light spokesmen, for example, "contacted" Governor Arnall of Georgia, but unsuccessfully. Similar overtures and soundings have been made by utility interests in Oklahoma, New Mexico, Chicago, and Jersey City. That they have failed is indicated by Hague's statement that he will support anybody the President wants for Vice-President and also by Senator Truman's statement that he does not want the nomination.

The anti-Wallace forces have been skilful in using the press, but unfortunately for them the President and not the press will decide the nomination. For several weeks the Douglas forces have tried to get leading labor leaders to indicate that they would support Douglas if they could not get Wallace. R. J. Thomas of the automobile workers was one of those approached, also unsuccessfully. Even the night before the joint Murray-Hillman press conference, some newspapermen fell for the report that the C. I. O. was considering a second choice in the event that Wallace could not be nominated. Ickes telephoned Hillman in an effort to get the Political Action chief to name an alternative. All that failed with Murray's statement, fully backed by Hillman, "We have no other choice and we're not doing any trading."

The argument that Wallace will lose the party votes is being combated here by two important groups. One is the C. I. O. and the other the Negroes. The C. I. O. has advanced the view that in several key Northern states, notably New York, the presence of Wallace on the ticket will increase enthusiasm and make it possible to get out a larger vote. I think the argument is a sound one, and I think that if Wallace loses the ticket any votes it will be largely in areas, such as the South, that Roosevelt will carry anyway.

The South's bargaining power has largely been destroyed by the strong position taken in the Republican platform on the FEPC, lynching, discrimination in the armed forces, and the poll tax. Talk of a coalition between the Republicans and the right-wing Southern Democrats proved the idlest kind of speculation at the Republican National Convention, and no one there ever took the rumor of a Dewey-Byrd ticket seriously. Disgruntled Democrats in the South cannot affect the outcome in November, but the Negro vote might easily prove decisive. The convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Chicago Sunday night is expected to indorse Wallace strongly, and his nomination might solve a leading Democratic problem. The party can weasel or keep silent on the Negro question in the platform, thus placating the Southerners, and still carry the bulk of the Negro vote by renominating Wallace. For Roosevelt and Wallace provide a better guaranty of better treatment for the Negro than any promises in the Republican platform.

For a day or so the anti-Wallace forces thought they had won something of a victory when the President announced that he would run without making Wallace's nomination a condition as he did in 1940. That belief was dissipated on reflection. The President could not say, "If the people command me . . . I have as little right to withdraw as the soldier has to leave his post in the line," and then say that he would not run unless he had Wallace as his running mate. Those who know what the President has been thinking know that the key to his stand for Wallace is in the second paragraph from the end of his letter to Hannegan. The President wants as a possible successor a man who will carry on the objectives he set in that letter, the objectives of a permanent peace abroad and full employment and a higher standard of living at home. To Roosevelt, as to millions of Americans, that spells Wallace.

May I be permitted to cast my own vote on the eve of this historic decision? I have met and talked with the Vice-President, and in recent weeks I have questioned many people who have been associated with him in the Department of Agriculture and in the Board of Economic Warfare. I have been reading the newly published collection of his past speeches and articles in "Democracy Reborn." I think I have a good picture of his weaknesses and of his strength. He has not Mr. Roosevelt's robust human qualities or his extraordinary capacity for politics. He is not always wise in his judgment of people. He is shy and does not always "go over" with audiences. But he is extraordinary in his honesty, especially his honesty with himself, in his understanding of man and history, and in his vision.

Like Roosevelt, Wallace grew to wider understanding in Washington. But like Roosevelt, too, he compromised when the forces against him proved too strong, as in the famous purge of Jerome Frank, Lee Pressman, and Gardner Jackson in 1935 under pressure from the milk trust, the planters, and the packers. Like Roosevelt, he is not a revolutionist but a democratic leader trying within the limits of political possibility to correct the economic evils of our society and to help its underprivileged. He offers the kind of leadership that alone holds out hope of peaceful and gradual reform in our society, of the achievement of security and employment by combined private and governmental action. In a time of crisis, such as we may encounter after the war, he would acquit himself with greatness. Few people understand the problems of our society and of the world so well, and few have his broad humanity, his tolerance, his concern for people, few that genuine personal saintliness that is Wallace's. I think we may count our country fortunate in having in a single generation two leaders of the stature and vision of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Henry A. Wallace.

The Uses of Air Power

BY JOHN R. CUNEO

THE difficulty of an invasion of Europe against the opposition of a nation situated like Germany can scarcely be exaggerated. With its interior lines of operation and excellent land communications Germany might have been able to concentrate an overwhelmingly superior force at any invasion point. It was the aim of the Allied air force to negate those advantages.

The first requirement was appreciably to reduce Germany's entire war potential. This was the mission of the strategic air forces stationed in Great Britain. "Strategic" air forces do not usually pave the way for a surface offensive. By official definition their aim is "the defeat of the enemy nation." However, their failure to accomplish this turned their bombing into an effort to spare the invasion forces a "blood bath" on the beaches.

The question arises whether the strategic air forces should now be converted into tactical air forces—that is, air forces cooperating with ground troops directly against the enemy armies. The fear has, in fact, been expressed that, once the invasion was started, General Eisenhower would insist on all available air strength being used in support of his ground forces. No criticism of the General is implied in this; similar fears are as old as strategic bombing. For example, during discussions in September, 1918, about the formation of an inter-Allied bombing force, Marshal Foch proposed to reserve the right to use all or a part of such a force in the ground battle. Whereupon the British Air Staff prepared to recommend to its government the withdrawal of its long-range bombing squadrons to England in order to preserve their independence.

No reason exists why there should be any conversion of one type of air force into another. The strategic air forces can easily be joined with the tactical air forces and assigned to tactical objectives when support for ground action is vital. This had to be done at the time of the invasion because it was imperative to gain a foothold on the beaches. In such an emergency the front lines are not affected quickly enough by injuries inflicted by normal strategic missions.

Simultaneously with blows at the German war potential the air arm carries on the fight for aerial supremacy. This is the task of both the strategic and the tactical air force. Air supremacy is the first requirement for success in any surface operation—land, sea, or amphibious. Its importance has been clearly recognized only during the present war, though a realistic study of the First World War would have revealed it. In fact, General von Bülow wrote in a memorandum issued on January 30, 1917, "The struggle for supremacy in the air must therefore precede the artillery battle" ("Experiences of the German 1st Army in the Somme Battle"). The artillery, of course, opens the surface phase of the battle.

"Air supremacy" is a glib phrase often misunderstood. Basically it signifies a state of moral, physical, and material superiority which enables its possessors to conduct at will operations against the enemy both in the air and on the earth's surface. It is not necessarily possessed by the side which destroys the greatest number of airplanes. It does not necessarily totally deny to the enemy a place in the air. The opportunities for evasion in the cubic area of the aerial battlefields make that impossible as long as the enemy has any air strength. For instance, Allied air superiority could not prevent the disastrous German air raid on the port of Bari on December 2, 1943, but this isolated failure was no contradiction of the Allied claim of aerial supremacy.

Air supremacy is gained by a variety of means. First a fighter defense and offense must be established—including, besides aircraft, a ground warning service. Both the strategic and the tactical air force contain fighter as well as bombing craft. Victories in aerial combat are supplemented by raids on enemy air bases. The blows of the strategic air forces at German aircraft factories and oil fields are to the same end. These attacks not only destroy the enemy's air strength but compel him to divert his aircraft to defensive missions. Obliged to parcel them out in order to cover all possible areas, he loses the advantage of a massed air offensive.

In February, 1944, the fight for aerial supremacy mounted toward a climax. From that date on the Allies made a concerted all-out attempt to destroy both the German aircraft industry and the defending German aircraft.

After aerial supremacy is gained, the third phase of aerial preparation for a great operation such as the invasion begins—the isolation of the battlefield. This is principally the function of the tactical air force, although if necessary the strategic air force can cooperate. Isolation of the battlefield means preventing the enemy from moving troops and supplies into or within the theater of operations. It can be accomplished by disrupting his lines of communication, destroying his supply dumps and other installations, and attacking his troop concentrations in rear areas. The denial of food, ammunition, and

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reinforcements "softens up" the enemy for the attacking ground troops.

Attention should be directed to the words "disrupting lines of communication." Despite the tremendous development of modern bombing it is apparently still true that air attacks cannot sever rail communications for any great length of time. Their object is rather to cause disorganization. Rail traffic depends on everything working smoothly; congestion is easily created and hard to clear. Highways are even more difficult to block than railroads, and disruption again is the aim.

Since sufficient artillery cannot be landed in the early stages of an invasion, aerial bombing is used to soften up military installations on the coast. (Naval batteries are probably more effective, but they cannot be brought to bear in large enough numbers to make up for the missing artillery.) This is probably the least successful employment of the air weapon. The ability of modern fortifications to withstand bombardment is astounding, as was demonstrated by the bombing of Cassino on March 15, 1944. Once the invasion army has established its beachhead and can bring in the necessary artillery, the air forces can make their most effective contribution by attending to missions beyond the battle zones.

By accomplishing these various tasks the Allied air forces denied to Germany the advantages of its interior position. The invasion fleet could then sail. At that moment the tactical air force assumed another task—collaboration with surface troops.

There should be no such thing as an "air umbrella," though the fighting men on the ground as far back as 1915 demanded this protective roof. The Allies first recognized the fallacy of the conception. In a series of conferences in the fall of 1915 between General Trenchard of the Royal Flying Corps and Commandant du Peuty of the French air service it was agreed that airplanes could not be set to patrolling a beat, like policemen, over ground forces. The Germans saw the error of attempting it during the battles on the Somme in 1916. The airplane is an offensive weapon and to be used effectively must be employed on offensive missions. It accomplishes nothing by circling over the heads of invasion barges or infantry on beaches. Air "protection" is furnished by striking at enemy air bases and supply centers far behind the battle lines.

When the tactical air forces attack selected objectives in the battle area, they must be in close coordination with the ground forces. Information and orders must be constant, clear, and definite. Airmen in the heat of action sweeping near the ground at terrific speeds cannot be expected to gain a clear idea of the battle situation. If the teamwork is not perfect, they are likely to expend their energies and perhaps their lives on targets of minor importance.

As the invasion of France turns into a land offensive we shall probably find the strategic air forces returning to their blows at Germany's war potential, all forces trying to maintain aerial supremacy, and the tactical air forces engaged in isolating the battlefield and answering emergency requests for assistance by hard-pressed infantry units.

What is the counter-action of the German air force? Compelled to turn to fighter aircraft for defense purposes, Germany is unable to employ bombers to force the Allies on the defensive. The robot bombs to some extent are serving as a substitute. Tons of bombs have been dropped on the rocket coast, and airplanes have been set to chasing the robots—a welcome diversion to the Germans. The proportions of this diversion seem minor at present, although they may very possibly increase.

The Germans seem to have decided to hold back their air strength either for the defense of the homeland—as the British did in 1940—or in anticipation of other landings. Reduced as it may be, we must always remember that it can be assembled in force over any particular sector in which the decisive action may seem to be developing.

In World War I the Germans were brilliant in their recognition of the possibilities of the air weapon in this respect. Although far inferior in total air strength to the Allies, they managed to give battle in the air over the decisive sectors up to the last. For example, in March, 1918, when the great German offensive was launched, the German army had a total of 1,264 airplanes along the front from Switzerland to the sea. On the front of attack 724 planes were concentrated—approximately 57 per cent. The rest were spread thin along the other fronts. Post-war German field-service regulations flatly stated that formations not taking part in the decisive battle must dispense with aircraft.

To counter Allied air action, the Germans must accept battle for air supremacy. Without air supremacy no move of a major character can succeed in modern warfare. It is the keystone of all operations.

Space has limited this discussion to the combat functions of the air forces. The missions of other units, such as reconnaissance aviation, coastal patrol, and the troop-carrier commands, should not, however, be overlooked. They are an essential part of the pattern of an invasion.

In invasion operations as in any offensive of surface forces, the air weapon is a member of a team seeking to defeat the enemy's armed forces. There is no question of victory through air power: the limitations of the air weapon are recognized, and it is assigned only the roles in which its unique power can be best employed. Yet if it is not the only cog on the wheel of the war machine, it is one without which the invasion could never have been set in motion.

He Fields Ohio's Hot Ones

BY KARL KEYERLEBER

Cleveland, July 13

THE biggest man in Ohio politics today, the despair of the boys in the back room but the idol of the voters, is the strapping son of a Slovenian steelworker. If some future Hoyle codifies the rules of the political game, it will probably be found that Mayor Frank J. Lausche of Cleveland has broken every one of them. His most recent performance was to enter the Democratic primary as a candidate for governor just a week before the deadline for filing petitions, without the support of his home-county organization and with a campaign chest as bare as Mother Hubbard's cupboard. Last man to the starting-line in a five-man race, he polled more votes in his first state-wide campaign than all four of his opponents together.

Next November Lausche will be opposed by Cincinnati's Mayor James Garfield Stewart, no mean vote-getter himself. Stewart is the man who made the gesture of nominating Governor Bricker for President at the Republican convention in Chicago.

Although the trend in Ohio as in the nation has been Republican, Lausche is regarded around here as a nice bet to reverse it. Clevelanders may be prejudiced, but there is solid ground for the belief that he will win the governorship. Lausche has shown a rare gift for gathering votes from well-tilled G. O. P. fields. He left the Court of Common Pleas to run for mayor in 1941—literally by popular demand and with the support of all three Cleveland newspapers—and won this Republican stronghold's highest executive post by 50,000 votes, the biggest majority ever recorded here. Last year Lausche was reelected by 67,000 votes—to become the city's first Democratic mayor to serve two terms in thirty years.

Lausche is a big, rugged man with a mop of curly black hair which seldom knows the restraint of a hat. He has been called Lincolnesque by admirers, though he has none of the Emancipator's gauntness. What makes the voters go for him?

An incident in the primary jockeying is illuminating. Lausche was invited to Columbus, the state capital, to be looked over by the powerful Franklin County Democratic Central Committee. Gatherings of this kind often have the atmosphere of Alumni Day on the campus, with the "party" substituting for Alma Mater. One might expect some stress on the need for being a good Democrat, some talk of spoils. Lausche told the committeemen: "As governor my sole objective will be to render justice to all of the people of Ohio. In this troublesome, perilous time we must be Americans first and Democrats second." Pretty corny, thought several committeemen; that stuff ought to be saved for the voters. They settled back, drew on their cigars, and waited for this big guy to bid for their support. But Lausche didn't butter anybody up. He promised no jobs. He would welcome the committee's support, but they would have to take him on his own terms.

When they had recovered from their astonishment, the committeemen took a vote. They passed up a hometown candidate and indorsed Lausche. Once more the Cleveland mayor had shown an amazing ability to sell himself. He does it in party halls, in coal mines, and at the Chamber of Commerce. His strength crosses party and class lines. It was whispered when he launched his belated campaign that some of the backing came from Republican business men. He has also been called the candidate of the C. I. O., whose indorsement he received in the primary. He is considered the most democratic mayor Cleveland has had since Tom L. Johnson, whose statue was set up in a public square.

Politically, Lausche is a little to the right of the early New Deal but to the left of the position lately taken by President Roosevelt (the distinction is mine, not Lausche's). What he thinks of the New Deal's chief architect he revealed in a recent speech: "Under Roosevelt America has taken on a social vision that it never had before. The problems of the aged, the blind, the healthy man who was unable to find work in depression times, the problem of the farmer who was in danger at times of losing his property because of falling food prices—all these were given greater recognition under him than ever before in history. Many of the things he did are bound to make for a better America."

Lausche, who came up from the other side of the railroad tracks, shares Roosevelt's social vision. But he has never called anybody an economic royalist, and while he believes that social-security laws are here to stay and "in all probability will be further extended," he is all for using the soft pedal on government interference. He once defined a "free-enterprise" economy as meaning "free from compulsory labor, free from exploitation by employers, unregulated monopolies, or arbitrary public authority."

As a judge Lausche gained a reputation for being fearless, liberal, and humane—and once his mind was made up, intensely stubborn. He used to sweat over decisions. He still sweats to clarify his thinking on big issues. On the subject of a lasting peace, he believes that there must be some world organization "able to deal decisively with those nations which harbor ambitions for world domination and enslavement of little nations." He is certain the government will have to act as a stout backstop for private enterprise to keep up employment in the post-war years, but he gives you the impression that he definitely does not think the government should at the same time do all the pitching and play the outfield, too. On the other hand, he sees the trend toward big government as inevitable and has little patience with arguments over states' rights. He recalls that a lot of Ohio Republicans who argue about them today paid no attention to the protests of Ohio communities when the state usurped local authority.

A crack ball player, Lausche turned down a professional career in favor of the law: "I took the long view; a baseball career is short." As third baseman, Lausche once set a world record for plays at one base by handling nineteen chances in a sandlot game. He still handles everything that comes his way and still takes the long view. When he was on the bench, fellow-judges used to funnel all the tough labor cases his way—for city judges are elected, and everybody knows that a ticklish labor case is likely to cost votes no matter how you decide it. Well-meaning advisers tipped off the earnest Lausche that he was being taken for a ride, but he continued to field all the tough ones.

As mayor, he scooped up another tough one last fall. Shortly before the November election craftsmen employed by the city were demanding pay raises. Lausche thought that their claims were unjustified. He was warned that if he fought it out he would be committing political suicide; he should temporize, or pass the buck to the Council. But he stood by his convictions and let political expediency go hang. If he lost votes, nobody could point to them in the subsequent landslide.

More than on anything else Lausche's strength today rests on his record as a war mayor. It is an unspectacular record, which is a way of saying that he has headed off trouble before it broke. Before the Office of Defense Transportation was organized in Washington he had created a special War Transportation Committee and taken the lead in staggering working hours and promoting ride-sharing. He formed the Mayor's War Production Committee, forerunner of the War Production Board's labor-management committees. "We didn't try to settle the disputes," he said. "We aimed to keep the men working until regular machinery could handle the disputes." He set up a committee to deal with community health which became a national model. And he set up a committee to iron out racial problems. Cleveland, with all the potentialities for trouble that elsewhere have flared into ugly blots on the nation's war record, has had no race trouble and not one prolonged strike.

Strangely enough, one of Lausche's most vexing problems has been his relations with the city's own employees. Cleveland had a brief transit strike and almost had a second. Though he won a reputation as a friend of labor when he was on the bench, the Mayor has been frequently embroiled in disputes with unions representing city workers. In this he is to some extent the victim of circumstances, since he has been obliged to refuse wage demands that outstripped city revenue.

In the Ohio primary Lausche was thought to have White House backing. This may be putting it mildly; it has been said that he was drafted by the Administration to strengthen the Democrats' hand. However that may be, there are many who believe that this rugged, outspoken man has made a good start on the road that leads to high places.

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE *ILLUSTRATED DAILY NEWS*, the rather mysterious new newspaper which appeared in New York last week, does not represent an original departure in American journalism. Tabloid in form, it is the second newspaper of that size which has made its bow before the metropolitan public; and as for illustrated dailies, the *Graphic* figures in the memory of more than one New York boyhood. Neither of these precedents yields any prospect of commercial success for the present venture, which starts off, however, with considerable advertising, cheap pictures, and cheaper paper. —*July 5, 1919.*

FOR OURSELVES WE HAVE TODAY only pity for the weak, compromising, morally defeated man who returned from Paris on Tuesday. . . . No amount of self-deception, no amount of beautiful language and imagery can hide the truth that those liberals who most warmly welcomed his Fourteen Points and fought for them tooth and nail are today disillusioned, disheartened, discouraged, because, after all his promises to the plain people of Europe, Mr. Wilson did not, when the final showdown came, appeal over the heads of the men who euchred him on every trick.—*July 12, 1919.*

THE ALLIES HAVE ACTED PROMPTLY in lifting the German blockade after the formal notification of the ratification of the treaty by the Weimar Assembly, and a wild rush is on by the Allies and America to get the larger share of the trade with Germany—and yet it is only a few months ago that many of the leading firms in New York and London were hanging out signs announcing that they would never do business again with the Huns. Already a New York bank has announced that it will open a branch in Berlin without loss of time, and we hear of many private firms that are extending generous credits to former German customers. This is altogether gratifying and was to be expected in view of the artificial nature of much of the hatred deliberately created for war purposes.—*July 19, 1919.*

The Class of 1944

BY ORDWAY TEAD

I HAVE spoken this spring at several commencements at both colleges and secondary schools. I have met the graduates; I have talked to the teachers. I have tried to take the responsibility seriously and not offer pollyanna truisms or make pleas for impossible challenges. And I have tried—often with a lump in my throat—not to be too oppressively somber about it. Nor are these commencements the only occasion of my contact with this age group.

I have come through it all with a fairly unified impression—about the young people and about the process they have been exposed to. By and large they are a fine bunch of youngsters. The notion that they are "soft," disorganized, frustrated, or discouraged just isn't so. Those are middle-aged judgments read into conduct and appearances which are no doubt different from those of a few years back and which often have a touch of bravado, of whistling to keep one's courage up. The oldsters too often impute their own state of mind to the young, forgetting that this graduating class had no experience of the First World War, never knew the follies of the twenties or the dejections of the thirties. Young people accept, for better or for worse, the world as they find it today.

This means they are realists who tend to be what William James called tough-minded. They have wonder and genuine humility, but they are not glib verbalizers about their feelings. They are curious and inquiring—reserved and puzzled perhaps, but not enough to let it dampen a good healthy animal delight in being alive and being aware of the other sex. In sheer honesty and straightforwardness they have the older generation put to shame, although "shame" is a trait many are all but innocent of in its literal physical sense. Their total attack on life is robust and spontaneous. They ask for no special sympathy; they ask rather not to be "kidded," and to be shown where and how to get at some job which they can *do*. Give us this day our daily activities which make some sense to us—is the unsaid but prevalent prayer.

I say sincerely that they are a better lot than in a certain sense we deserve, we who have fumbled and bungled and rationalized through the last quarter-century. To what is this due? Whence this unearned increment of psychic vigor?

I do not know the answer beyond affirming that with all our educational confusions I am sure we are doing a better job on the whole than was done on us in the formal educational process. I think I know something of present shortcomings in the schools and colleges, public and private alike. But the fact remains that some gains have been made. And they are these. We are getting beyond pure "book learning." Music and dramatics, student assemblies and war efforts, more planned social occasions for boys and girls together—all these help. Summer activities which are educational in a broad way are consciously sought. While the improvement is by no means universal, there are more equal, more friendly relations with Negro and Jewish students than existed a few years ago. The young people are less race conscious and less creed and color conscious than their elders. And on the whole the teachers are more liberally disposed in these matters than the parents. I remember well one head mistress of a swanky school who talked practically all through dinner of her frustrated effort to enroll several Negro students. And I have seen mothers become distinctly unpleasant in trying to argue their daughters out of selecting a Jewish girl as a roommate.

Our effort to educate the whole man is no longer a matter of lip-service, however far we may still be from the goal. The emotional and physical aspects are getting more attention; we emphasize a better diet—despite the prevalence of "cokes," hot dogs, and cigarettes. On the whole, also, teachers are more companionable and less stand-offish with students; a cooperative attitude is now prized above a domineering or aloof one.

As a constantly vocal critic of education, I am not forgetting other aspects of the picture. As important as any is the equivocal attitude of many conscientious middle-class parents toward the schools, their practice of shipping their offspring off to private schools from the age of ten or twelve. Without doubt there has been a syphoning off of responsible concern with the prob-

Order in Spain

[The following paragraphs are taken from a recent letter to Franco's Minister of War, General Asensio, by José Maria Gil Robles, leader of the extreme rightist Catholic faction, now in Lisbon. The testimony of Gil Robles is the more impressive since he was himself responsible, as Minister of War in 1935, for the brutal repression of the uprising in the Asturias.]

But let us be sincere. In many provinces we are living practically under anarchy: attacks on farms, robberies, banditry, owners unable to visit their properties, travelers being kidnapped.

It is my absolute conviction that in this case the victor [Franco] will never have peace, especially since the vanquished are convinced that they will become victors themselves through the help of the entire world. The authorities may multiply the formation of armed forces; they may shoot people by the hundreds. Nothing will be achieved.

lems of public education. Influential and educated parents in many communities go on the boards of private schools and leave public education to the politicians.

Again, one is depressed by the age of the members of educational bodies, both public and private. I will hazard the guess that whether it is a school committee or a college board of trustees, the average age of the incumbents would stack up to between sixty and sixty-five years. This means that these worthies had their own school experience in the '80's and '90's, and educational theory and practice have radically changed since then.

To teach typical school boards that yesterday's "frills" are today's essentials is a slow task. To convince them that good education costs more than we spend, that higher salaries are necessary to attract stronger persons as teachers, is often a difficult task for school administrators—especially when property-owning friends want the tax rate kept down. We still prefer capital outlays to better salaries, equipment, and books.

The members of the class of 1944 have a lot to learn. It isn't a world of their making. But they are moving into it with surprising confidence and verve. What it all says to me is that the schools and colleges deserve better and always better at our hands—more informed and sustained citizen oversight of the public teaching effort, more carefully selected teachers, and bigger budgets to foot the necessarily high cost of going beyond "book learning" to active experience learning.

Coming in *The Nation*

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI'S proposal to break the Indian communal deadlock by partitioning India into Moslem and Hindu states has been followed by a pledge not to renew the campaign of civil disobedience during the war but to help in the Allied war effort. Louis Fischer, whose first-hand account of conversations with Gandhi appeared in *The Nation* shortly after the Cripps mission, will discuss the full significance of these latest sensational developments in the coming issue.

LIEUTENANT JEROME H. SPINGARN, home on leave after a year and a half in the South Pacific, discussed with members of *The Nation's* staff the problem that front-line soldiers, sailors, and marines face in their isolation from news and topics of interest on the home front. At our suggestion, he has outlined the critical situation in an article that will appear soon.

THE SHADOW AND SUBSTANCE of television is the subject of an enlightening story told by Alan Barth of the Washington *Post*. *The Nation* will carry it soon.

In the Wind

THE NEW JERSEY REPUBLICAN Finance Committee is sending out a form letter to its rank and file, seeking funds for the 1944 campaign. The committee is embarrassed by the circumstances which have made such an appeal necessary. "Twelve years of the New Deal," the letter says, "has leveled fortunes; therefore the former large contributors no longer write large checks. We must now look to thousands of contributors for sufficient financial support."

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY: The K. O. Lee Company of South Dakota, manufacturers of machine tools, is writing to the firms with which it has done business advising them that "the management of every business has a great opportunity for carrying on an educational program among its employees by weekly or semi-monthly inclosures in pay envelopes." The company suggests that the Committee for Constitutional Government, or other sources, will provide firms with suitable envelope stuffers on the "fallacies of the New Deal." The K. O. Lee Company, of course, has acted. It is stuffing envelopes of employees with "New Deal and Diocletian," a speech delivered by Clayton Rand before the Rotary Club of Gulfport, Mississippi.

DURING THE RECENT HEARING on the new Price Control Act, *Printer's Ink* reports, Representative Taber was going through the OPA pay roll, item by item. He showed considerable distress when he discovered that a $75-a-week newspaper reporter was listed as receiving $6,000 a year. Turning to James F. Brownlee, senior deputy administrator, Mr. Taber said, "I see that you are getting $8,000 a year. Do you mind telling us how much you got before you came here?" Mr. Brownlee, a former executive of General Foods and Frankfort Distillers, modestly admitted that he had been forced to worry along on $125,000 a year. Whereupon Mr. Taber lost all interest in the pay roll.

SLIGHT-EXAGGERATION DEPARTMENT: Technocracy, Inc., tells us that for the first time in history "technology has made it possible to be utterly ruthless." The Flying Wing, super-bomber designed and proposed by Technocracy, Inc., could drop 275,000 tons of bombs in one single raid of 5,500 planes! It has a wing spread of 330 feet and can carry fifty tons of bombs for 6,000 miles and return without refueling. (The largest bomb load of Allied planes is reported to be eight tons, and the longest tactical range 2,000 to 2,500 miles. The colossal B-29 has a wing spread of 141 feet.)

FESTUNG EUROPA: Vacations have been prohibited in all Nazi-controlled war industries in Norway, and Nazi-controlled newspapers have been forbidden to publish anything that might lead workers to want a vacation. Workers who take a vacation face a court-martial.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Japan's Puppet Show

BY SELDEN C. MENEFEE

THE Japanese have long since surpassed the Nazis in the science of manipulating Quislings. They have established some form of collaborationist government—under strict Japanese control, of course—in every country of occupied Asia. At present, however, the whole puppet show is coming unstrung.

Japan has not only been relatively successful at this hypocritical game in the past, but was the first to play it. Korea was annexed in 1910, and with considerable finesse for those times. The Japanese ambassador in Seoul hired a band of assassins to kill the Korean queen, after which the younger of the two princes royal, Yi Eum (called Gin Ri by the Japanese), was pressed into marriage with a Japanese princess. The crown prince, Yi Ewa, is still a prisoner in Korea, and Japan may try to make a puppet king of him when the war is plainly lost.

In Manchuria Henry Pu Yi, last of the Manchu dynasty, was held in Tientsin until he was made "Emperor of Manchoukuo" in 1933. Like Yi Eum, he is only window dressing; the real Japanese Quislings in Manchuria are General Chang Ching-hui, who is now Premier, and the Japanese-educated Dr. Chao Hsin-po, now president of the Legislative Yuan. There has been little news of opposition to Japan in Manchuria, although guerrilla resistance still persists in some areas.

In sections of Asia occupied since 1937 the Japanese puppets are having more trouble. As it becomes plain that Japan must lose the war sooner or later, rumblings are heard in every part of eastern Asia. Last year the task of cajoling or forcing the native peoples into line for intensified Japanese exploitation was intrusted to a "Greater East Asia Ministry" in the Tojo government. In November six of the leading puppets or their representatives were summoned to Tokyo for a "Greater East Asia Conference." But despite all Japan's efforts, its prestige has been steadily declining as a result of official arrogance, economic chaos in occupied Asia, and Allied victories in the Pacific.

In China the Japanese have had high hopes of their puppet Premier of the Nanking government, Wang Ching-wei. He and Chiang Kai-shek, after all, are the two ranking disciples of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Apparently Wang was induced to make peace with the enemy by his jealousy or distrust of Chiang, his hatred of the Chinese Communists, and his belief in Dr. Sun's pan-Asian doctrine. After many initial blunders, such as the Nanking orgy, the Japanese have tried to rally the Chinese people behind Wang by a policy of superficial appeasement. They have given him nominal control of the puppet states in North China, surrendered their extraterritorial rights in Shanghai, and turned over to the Nanking regime nearly every right save that of taxing the Japanese. Early this month they put Wang's government in control of six important public utilities which had been run by the Japanese military throughout the occupied period. Currently Tokyo claims that in the campaign to capture the Hankow-Canton railroad Japanese troops have been given strict orders not to rape or loot or to destroy crops needlessly.

All this, however, comes too late. The Chinese regulars and guerrillas fight on. And now Wang Ching-wei, who is sixty-one years old, is seriously ill. An operation to remove an assassin's bullet fired early in the war was unsuccessful, and last March Wang was moved to Tokyo for other operations. So far as is known he is still there. If he dies, it will be impossible to replace him.

In the Philippines a number of politicians have gone over to the Japanese. Chief among them is José Laurel, head of the puppet Philippine government which received paper "independence" last October. A former Yale Law School honor student, Laurel was Secretary of the Interior in the pre-war Commonwealth government. He had made pro-Japanese and anti-American statements before Pearl Harbor and had been accused of accepting bribes for facilitating the settlement of Japanese around Davao, the enemy's secret base on Mindanao. A year ago he was the target of a would-be assassin's bullet.

The most pro-Japanese of the Filipino collaborationists is Benigno Aquino, director general of the fascist Kalibapi, the single political party, and speaker of the puppet assembly. If he had not been so obviously pro-Japanese, Aquino might have been chosen for the top Quisling job. Both he and Laurel have been decorated by the Japanese, who may be trying to play one against the other. Both men have sons married to Japanese girls.

Some other prominent men collaborating with the enemy may be doing so either because they have no choice or because they want to extract concessions from the Japanese. Jorge Vargas, President Quezon's secretary, who was reported to have been left behind to keep order when the Japanese arrived, was made mayor of Manila and then chairman of the provisional government until superseded by Laurel. Later he was named "ambassador" to Japan. Manuel Roxas, a Filipino general who held out with the guerrillas on Mindanao for more than a year after the fall of Corregidor, signed the Japanese-sponsored Philippine constitution immediately after his capture, apparently under duress. Six months later he emerged from "retirement due to ill health" to become head of the economic planning board and take charge of rice distribution in the famine-stricken areas.

Guerrilla warfare continues on all the larger islands, even reaching the suburbs of Manila on occasion—as the Japanese admit. The guerrillas find inspiration in Tomás Confessor, an intellectual leader and former associate of Quezon, who still holds out with a force of men in the southern islands. Laurel grows more desperate by the moment. In February he declared a state of national emergency and assumed dictatorial power over all government agencies and officials. In June he forbade the governors and mayors, who had apparently been getting unruly, to override the rulings of the constabulary. He also created a special Bureau of Investigation to purge his own administration and fired seventy-one members of the Manila constabulary and forty-two employees of the Food Administration. He has taken personal control of the Manila government. Laurel apparently is developing a severe case of jitters as the American forces approach the Philippines via New Guinea and Saipan.

Thailand, like Denmark, is held up as an example of how occupied countries profit by not resisting fascist aggression. The people have been bribed by the "gift" of the two Shan states that were formerly attached to Burma and of four Malay states. But Thailand remains Japan's soft underbelly in Southeast Asia. It has an organized underground movement looking to pre-war democratic figures for post-war leadership.

The unhappy Thai puppet is Premier Luang Pibul Songgram, who is pro-Axis rather than pro-Japanese. After being educated in a French military school, he visited Italy in the twenties and acquired a great admiration for Mussolini, whose picture he always kept in his room. He helped to engineer the anti-democratic coup of 1935, becoming Minister of Defense and, in 1938, Premier. On December 5, 1941, he took dictatorial power under the pretext of resisting aggression and admitted the Japanese into Thailand. Afterward he asked Hitler to be allowed to sign the Tripartite Agreement. The request was referred to Tojo, who turned it down. Pibul repaid this snub by refusing to attend last year's conference of puppet leaders in Tokyo, pleading sickness. Pibul has lately grown more and more melancholy both in his official statements and in the radio speeches he writes under the name of Sammakhai Thai. He tried to resign in 1943, but the Japanese would not let him.

Puppet Premier Ba Maw of Burma, the son of a leader in the Burmese revolt of 1886, was the first Premier under the relatively liberal Burmese constitution put into effect by the British in 1937. Two years later he lost a vote of confidence in the parliament, the British members voting against him. In August, 1940, he was sentenced to a year in jail for preaching sedition. At the end of this period he was not released immediately. His bitterness over these events made him eminently eligible for the post of Burmese Quisling. As Premier he has outlawed all political parties except one. Despite the "independence" granted Burma last year, every branch of Ba Maw's government is controlled by his Japanese "advisers." The forces of the Allies now fighting in Burma have been actively aided by the villagers.

Japan's Indian puppet is the head of the "Free India" provisional government, Subhas Chandra Bose, a former mayor of Calcutta and former president of the Indian National Congress. His record, which includes ten jail sentences under the British regime, is a great asset to the Japanese propagandists. Bose claims to have 300,000 Indian troops, but probably has less than a tenth of this number. The Japanese defeat in India was a great blow to his prestige, and he exerts nominal control today only over the Andaman and Nicobar islands.

In the Netherlands East Indies the Japanese were hard put to find prominent Indonesians who would collaborate with them. They finally seized on Ir. Soekarno, a fiery Javanese nationalist who had been exiled to Sumatra by the Dutch for revolutionary activities, and made him head of the Poetera, or so-called "peoples' movement." But apparently Soekarno is none too reliable; he has disappeared from the radio for long periods and is known to have been under arrest at least once.

Last year a central "council" with several regional branches was instituted with great fanfare in Java to allow Indonesian "participation in the military administration," but this was a patent fraud. Only a few thousand people were allowed to vote, and the Japanese kept the councils under tight control. Now they are trying to build up the native sultans in Java, Sumatra, and Borneo as symbols of self-rule. The Japanese radio admits that guerrillas are still operating in Sumatra and Borneo.

In Malaya, too, British and Indian guerrillas aided by Chinese and Malay civilians are still fighting, or "giving themselves up," as the Japanese quaintly put it. The Sultan of Johore and other native rulers helped the Japanese in the early stages of the war, but the Japanese radio seldom mentions them today.

Indo-China is the only country where the Japanese have not made use of native puppets; there the Vichy French under Admiral Decoux have done the dirty work, under loose Japanese control. But economic chaos resulting from Japanese exploitation and loss of foreign markets has produced great unrest in Indo-China, Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies alike. The Japanese now rarely refer to the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," emphasizing instead "self-sufficiency" in each area.

The whole puppet show in eastern Asia, cleverly conceived as it was, is being disrupted by Japan's military defeats and its unkept promises. Unfortunately, these promises, though they were honored only in the breach, will be an unsettling factor in the situation we shall confront when the Japanese have been swept out. It will then be up to us—the United Nations—to show by our deeds that we mean to keep our own promises of self-government for colonial regions. The recent Congressional resolution reaffirming America's guaranty of independence to the Philippines as soon as the Quislings have been removed, and providing for American bases in the Islands for mutual security, is a good beginning.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IT TOOK the American public a week longer than the German to grasp the real significance of the robot bomb. Not until three weeks had passed did Americans understand that this was no mechanical toy but a diabolical invention. The average German, however, realized after fourteen days that the new weapon would not decisively alter the course of the war, would never win the victory for the Reich. The violent propaganda campaign which had at first convinced him that this was precisely what it would do—as described in this column last week—had only a short-lived success, and if all signs do not deceive us, its rapid and complete collapse marks a turning-point in the history of the war.

Let us see how the situation appeared to the eyes of neutral observers. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of Schaffhausen, Switzerland, reported on July 1:

> When two weeks ago Hitler shot the first robot bombs against England and when the words "The hour of retribution has come" were spread across the front pages of German newspapers, many people thought they saw the silver lining on the horizon. Now hardly anyone talks of or believes in the miraculous new weapon. Hopes have not been fulfilled. Crude facts are speaking. The enemy is advancing in the west, east, and south. Morale is sinking again.

Another Swiss newspaper, the *Weltwoche* of Zurich, gave a more detailed description on June 30:

> German propaganda referred to the "hell hounds" in almost mystical terms. . . . But in spite of Goebbels's vehemence, the help they brought to the government was of a very temporary nature. For a short time the morale of even the skeptical Wilhelmstrasse received a lift, and Hitler's prestige went up. German soldiers listening to broadcasts from Germany between battles broke into cheers. But the stimulating effect lasted only a few days. Goebbels's predictions did not materialize. Instead, accounts of disastrous defeats poured into Germany from all fronts.

Now that the phantasmagoria of a glorious change due to the new weapon has been dissipated, the common man in Germany sees for the first time the naked reality. He confronts now what, as if with an inherited instinct, he has always dreaded most—a many-front war. Until now the German public has hoped that the fresh masses of the Anglo-Americans would not actually appear on the field of battle. Even on June 6, after the successful landing, it comforted itself with the thought that the enemy would soon be thrown back into the sea and that the western front would forthwith disappear. When that did not happen, hope prevailed for some days after June 16 that Aladdin's wonder-bombs would save the Reich from a three-front war. Now that this expectation has also proved false, the dreaded, fundamentally hopeless situation has been finally—and I believe irrevocably—revealed. For a people as deeply experienced in land warfare as the Germans, no illusions can any longer veil the fact that a war against the armies not of one great power but of three is bound finally to be lost, if only from sheer attrition. As the *Sydsvenska Dagbladet-Snaelposten* of July 2 expressed it, "the war has been living on credit in Germany for a long time and has now used it all up. The bankruptcy of German propaganda has become complete." The *National-Zeitung* of Basel painted a similar picture on June 29: "The atmosphere in Berlin is extremely grave. The merciless reality of the three-front war seems for the first time to be fully comprehended. German morale seems to have crashed to a new low."

All reports agree that disillusionment about the "hell hounds" acted on German *Stimmung* like a blitz. The St. Gall *Tagblatt* for July 1 spoke of the "*grosse Kotzen*" —which is inadequately translated as general nausea." A wave of cynicism, it said, was sweeping over the country; one illustration was the sudden appearance of an unprintable filthy version of the song "Lilli Marlene." (This is the German song which American soldiers in Africa adopted for their own.) Of course the home front, whatever its feelings, is forced to carry on; the question is, when will its present mood spread to the army, as it surely will some day? The army is not, basically, compelled to carry on; the army can run away. In this connection a story in the Schaffhausen *Arbeiter-Zeitung* about a tank soldier from the eastern front is interesting. The soldier spoke of the "depression haunting everybody like a lingering poison." Even the officers, he said, were afflicted with it, and he repeated a conversation he had had with his battalion commander. Once when he brought this officer a paper, "the latter suddenly asked him why he looked in such ill-humor. The soldier shrugged his shoulders and did not answer. But the officer would not let him off. 'Speak out, man,' he insisted. 'You are fed up. If so, you need not be ashamed of it. It's the same with me.' "

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The French Resistance

ARMY OF SHADOWS. By Joseph Kessel. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

AMONG French novelists of the late twenties and the thirties there was no slicker craftsman than Joseph Kessel. Somebody, explaining him to an American, once said he had the exuberance of the young Ben Hecht but was otherwise akin to James Cain, with a style like a whip and a preoccupation with *amour* in its more acrid, unorthodox, and even painful expressions.

After the collapse he stayed on in France until early in 1943 and seems to have had underground connections. Then he got out, and from London, in the spring and summer of 1943, he was "able to see the French Resistance in its most vivid light."

He has written a far from perfect book but has wisely tried to do no more than tell *a* story, not *the* story, of the "obscure, secret France, new to her friends, her enemies, and above all to herself." And because he writes with honesty of intention and humility of spirit, he has not marred or smirched the beauty of the thing he describes, the heroism in and of a France where "civil disobedience, individual and organized rebellion have become duties to the fatherland" and "the national hero is the under-cover man, the outlaw. . . . Prisons, executions, tortures, criminal attempts, surprise raids, flying bullets. . . . People die and kill with naturalness." He can be absolved of any intention to exploit the agony and heroism of his countrymen. Nor does he succumb, as other men have done, to the temptation to assimilate the heroisms of others into a legend of his own. This reviewer sees no reason to believe that Kessel intended his Gerbier as a self-portrait, as some have suggested.

He has woven his story around the fabulous career of Gerbier, whom we first meet as he is being checked into a concentration camp. Described by the police as a "distinguished bridge and highway engineer," he is "suspected of Gaullist activities" and is in reality on the general staff of the movement. He escapes from the camp, performs an execution on a comrade turned traitor, slips across to London, where we see him talking at a candlelit dinner table in Belgrave Square of the subterranean life he is about to return to. Then we get his "notebook," supposedly kept after his return to France. We see him in a Gestapo prison. He is rescued by comrades—led by a remarkable woman called Mathilde—who throw smoke bombs over the wall when the machine-gun has already begun to crackle. Then Mathilde weakens and has to be liquidated, on Gerbier's orders, for the safety of the rest. Again he slips away to London and after three weeks goes back to France, "in good health and very calm."

Kessel insists that "there is no propaganda in this book and there is no fiction. No detail has been forced, and none has been invented . . . only facts that have been experienced, verified, and that one might say are of daily occurrence." He had to blur his characters, of course. But, he says, "we are living in the midst of horror, surrounded by bloodshed. I have felt neither the right nor the strength to go beyond the simplicity of the chronicle, the humility of the document." This is not quite true. The weakness of this book lies in the irrepressible craftsmanship that produced such contrivances as the dinner table in Chelsea where so much could be said and the "notebook" that no one but a lunatic—which Gerbier was not—could have kept. Kessel may well have been reborn, but the expert hand of the storyteller who wrote "L'Equipage" and "Belle du Jour" was at work in these contrivances. Still, they do not invalidate the book as a whole.

Far better than the plot itself are the characters, who have the feel of life. There is Jean-François, who carries the messages and the explosives and teaches "simple, serious, and passionate people the use of English sub-machine guns." For him this life was made to order. Mathilde was "yellow, lean, worn out from her household cares and, perhaps because of this, was a woman of very aggressive virtue." She had six children and was an Action Française "fanatic" with a husband who believed in the Marshal. She went to work distributing tracts and was "especially happy when she had to add explosives to the thick bundles of printed sheets." She becomes a specialist in disguises and in managing escapes from prison. But she makes a mistake. She has kept a photograph of her oldest daughter, and when the Germans catch her this gives them their cue. They threaten to send the girl to an army brothel in Poland. And Mathilde cracks. There is the "wife of Felix," who had not known what her husband did until after the Germans shot him. Then she went to work as liaison agent until she was caught and, with her daughter, undressed and tortured—the red-hot pins in the stomach, the dentist's drill into the jawbone. "They did not reveal anything," said the German report smuggled out by a man of the Resistance in the Vichy police. There are many others in this convincing and unforgettable gallery of the men and women of the shadow army, with false names, false addresses, false faces, who cannot expect more than three months of life.

Now the shadow army has become the French Forces of the Interior, integrated to the Allied command. They are fighting in the open in Haute Savoie, in the southwest, and elsewhere. They are lauded in communiqués of the Allied High Command and also—but in a grimmer way—in the communiqués of the Germans, where announcements are made of the execution of "terrorists" behind their sagging front in Normandy and across precarious lines of communication. Their chief has been received, at long last, at the White House, and the guts and spirit that took him there were theirs as much as his. They have made history and not in France alone. They have forced, by their value as a hidden army and by their intransigence expressed through De Gaulle, a revision in a policy that spelled disaster for all. It is high time that Americans got to know their faces. For their battle is not wholly won, not in France or in London or in Washington. There are powerful men whose admiration for their courage is only matched by a wooden incomprehension of the meaning of their struggle—not against the Nazis alone—and by determined hostility to what in the final analysis they must stand for, a cleansing of the political and economic life of France. The enthusiasm for their exploits could flag and probably will. Up to this writing, as our troops advance, the men of the underground are disarmed, in the name of order. Kessel's book should serve as a reminder that they will have to be taken into account, these Gerbiers who have been freed, by the exigencies of a struggle against Nazis, against French traitors, and against frailty within their own ranks, of "all inner struggle, all scruple and pity." Acquaintance with them now may cushion the shock that will be felt in this country when, after the last Nazi has bit the dust (save for those we are keeping pure and uncontaminated in prison camps over here), the cleansing process goes on in France as it well may for awhile. In this respect one might recall that verse in the Marseillaise beginning, "Tremble ye tyrants and traitors," which, as it may be remembered, was written at an earlier moment in French history when traitors at home were leagued with foreign armies. Recently a French politician of the old school recalled a crack once made by Adrian Hebrard, of *Le Temps*, apropos of French political *moeurs* to the effect that the river running through Paris was not the Seine but the Lethe—as evidenced, among other things, by the prolonged immunity enjoyed by *Le Temps* itself. This is no longer true. No, indeed! Memories were never fresher. JAY ALLEN

Story of a Union

TAILOR'S PROGRESS. By Benjamin Stolberg. Doubleday, Doran and Company. An American Mercury Book. $2.75.

THE general suspicion that Benjamin Stolberg, like the bugler of the Grand Army, can only blow an attack seems to be only partly true. Although the old Stolberg occasionally appears, he has chosen a most worthy subject, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, to show his more mellow side. In fact, the author at times overpraises the innumerable leaders and sub-leaders who saunter through his absorbing pages. Commendation usually reserved for the hallowed dead or for aspiring Presidential candidates is not absent from Mr. Stolberg's narrative. This undoubtedly "livens up" the story, but one begins to suspect a bit of literary exaggeration in these portrayals.

Occasionally the less mellow Stolberg also appears. No one would expect any book of his to be a tedious recital of events, but Mr. Stolberg's comments on Justice Brandeis, for instance, add nothing to the book or to the author's reputation as a social critic. As an embittered and disillusioned leftist Mr. Stolberg has developed a passionate hatred for reformers. This leads him to make a number of unkind and questionable comments on Justice Brandeis.

In general, however, he has written an admirable book. The struggle of the pioneers to establish a union, the first victories and the uphill fight to maintain it, the struggle with a union-wrecking Communist faction which almost destroyed the organization, and its revival and expansion under the leadership of David Dubinsky are recorded here with humor and understanding. Stolberg is at his best when he writes about the career of David Dubinsky, and much space is given to Dubinsky's personal and organization history. In Dubinsky we have a hard-headed pragmatist who still retains some of the idealism which first inspired his entry into the labor movement. Moreover, Dubinsky is content to be an efficient labor leader and does not crave the title of "labor statesman." Stolberg does not like labor statesmen, and the reviewer is inclined to share his prejudices, but he has high praise for the "extra-curricular" activities of the union, such as education and dramatics, the sponsoring of athletics, a vacation resort for members, and so on.

Stolberg ends up on a note of warning. He does not approve of the close alliance between the union and the Roosevelt Administration, and he trots out Samuel Gompers and Mathew Woll to prove his point. First of all, Gompers did not disapprove of workmen's compensation laws, although he did oppose government unemployment insurance and old-age-benefit schemes. What of it? Stolberg also cites the A. F. of L. opposition to government bureaucracy. There is by no means unanimous agreement in the ranks of the A. F. of L. on this point. Does Mr. Stolberg want to go back to a pre-1933 labor movement, one largely confined to the building trades, teamsters, clothing workers, and railroad men? Dubinsky, whom Stolberg admires, is a much more reliable guide in this respect, for he recognizes why the union has supported and continues to support the New Deal more clearly than Stolberg does. Despite the shortcomings of the New Deal the present strength of the labor movement is directly traceable to the efforts of the Roosevelt Administration. The reviewer is aware of the present dissatisfaction with wage-freezing and other governmental policies. Yet even if we grant the dubious argument that the cost of living has risen 20 per cent above the amount indicated by the index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, labor will have increased its real weekly earnings considerably during the war. Let the critics of the government's labor policy show a similar result in any other war period. Mr. Stolberg likewise decries the Popular Front because it "provoked fascist reaction." This highly simplified explanation neglects the basic reason for the rise of fascism—the failure of the economy to furnish a reasonable measure of prosperity and employment. Sometime it might be well to have those who oppose "democratic governmentalism" and at the same time flirt with Socialist ideas propose a program.

Stolberg is excellent at describing the "ups and downs" of the union, interesting and amusing when he deals with the various personalities of the organization, and a bit questionable as a social guide or critic. Nevertheless, his book can be enthusiastically recommended to all who are interested in the labor movement. Not only will they find it enlightening and entertaining, but they will learn to appreciate better the problems of maintaining an honest and efficient union, conscious of its obligation to society and to the needs of its members. Stolberg's book is worthy of its subject.

PHILIP TAFT

G. I. Letters

LETTERS HOME. Arranged and Edited by Mina Curtiss. Little, Brown and Company. $2.75.

I NEVER LEFT HOME. By Bob Hope. Illustrated by Carl Rose. Simon and Schuster. Paper, $1; Cloth, $2.

LEAVING aside problems of strategy and exploits of the battlefield, Mrs. Curtiss set out to discover what was going on in the minds of young Americans fighting for their country in far-away lands. She examined thousands of letters received in all parts of the country from men in the armed forces, and has published the best of them in "Letters Home." They come right from the hearts of the frightened, unhappy soldiers.

Not all are unhappy, of course; a few men seem to be enjoying the war, such as the gay paratrooper, Lieutenant Falen, who writes to his favorite bartender in Buffalo. "I have to laugh," says he, speaking of his descent in Sicily. "I landed in a high bush with all kinds of bristles and needles . . . all in the southern part of my anatomy. I kept pulling them out for an hour!" The war is not only high adventure but also broadening for Sergeant Cook: "Sure changed my mind on Africa, Durban is a city larger than Little Rock and almost as modern. . . ." As for Corporal Dreyer from Iowa, he took advantage of his travels to swap notes on hog cholera with the Irish, who called it swine fever, and made careful observation of the Arabs' method of irrigation.

At the other extreme we find Private Golub writing to his "Baby Dear" (bride) back in Brooklyn: "The feeling of loneliness is so sharp that it's hard to describe. . . . Despite the fact that you're never really alone it gets everyone. It grips you in the pit of your stomach, crawls up your spine, and pokes right into your brain. It's such a helpless feeling." Somewhere in the middle we find Lieutenant Reginald Thayer, a bombardier from New Jersey, taking refuge in mysticism. "Truly—God rides our ship," he writes to his "Dearest Aunt Marguerite." "Our faith in God is supreme —we will never lose it. . . . God was very good to me today—I actually got some Chesterfields—no foolin'—God is with us, and God be with you."

There would seem to be no danger that the American soldier ever will turn into a world conqueror. The farther afield he wanders, the better his own country looks. He wants to get back home as quickly as possible and stay there and renounce forever this business of fighting.

Take Jack Redinger, from Michigan, who defied his father's wishes in 1941 to become a naval aviator, saying he preferred "a short life doing the things I like, to old age without doing them." He just had to fly, and a year later he did. "We also do strafing hops which are thrilling," he wrote from training camp in 1942. "We come screaming down from two thousand feet, on some wooden rafts anchored off shore and . . . we blast away." Fun. But in 1943, having downed two Japanese planes, he wrote to his father from Guadalcanal: "So you now have an option on a post-war family plane? Well, more power to you. . . . If the Good Lord brings me safely through this I will never trouble Him again to look after me, by setting foot in another aeroplane. . . ."

The prevailing impression made by these letters is that the American soldiers are suffering not only from homesickness but also from bewilderment. Few seem to know what they are fighting for. John Earle does; he is a boy with a Quaker background who volunteered for the American Field Service; he thinks we are "fighting a social battle," and he notes with interest that the British soldier, at least, likes to discuss such things as communism and the Beveridge plan. Another man whose letters reveal awareness is Cliff Gallant, merchant seaman on the Murmansk run, who formerly was a printer, a member of the I. T. U. Nearly all the rest are fighting because they are compelled to, and the army apparently has made no genuine effort to tell them why.

Nor does the army seem to have done much about the malady of homesickness. Loneliness can attack not only individuals but also entire groups of men stationed, say, in Bizerte or Fairbanks. They get to feeling they have been sent to the end of the world and forgotten. Here the U. S. O. is a big help; its troupes of entertainers lift men's spirits mightily. In his book, "I Never Left Home," Bob Hope prints a thank-you letter from a soldier in Sicily who had seen his show. "We have been deprived of home, of our loved ones, and civilization for some time," the boy wrote. "For a few seconds we were back in our natural surroundings and completely happy."

Bob Hope might almost be counted a war hero himself; he has traveled 80,000 miles to various corners of the earth cracking his jokes before more than half the army. Other entertainers have made similar jaunts, but Hope is the first to write a book about it. The book is almost entirely made up of his familiar gags adapted to the various settings in which he found himself. For instance, he was caught in a night air raid in Bizerte without even his undershirt on. "That's pretty bare to be when all that flak's being thrown up into the air and has to come down somewhere. On the other hand, a cotton undershirt isn't much protection, but on the other hand is a silly place to wear an undershirt."

Well, as Simon and Schuster said in their apology for running out of copies, "there's no accounting for taste." The fact remains that Hope's appearances were a godsend to soldiers from Anchorage to Algiers.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

Dali Turns Novelist

HIDDEN FACES. By Salvador Dali. The Dial Press. $3.

ONE infuriating facet of Salvador Dali's complicated character is his refusal to let you like him. He's like a naughty little boy who, the moment he knows his mama has forgiven him his bad manners in public, immediately decides to test her good-will by smacking a lady guest on the behind at a Sunday tea. Just as Dali used to make exhibitions of himself before you had a chance to judge an exhibition of his painting, now he antagonizes you by making himself ridiculous before you have a chance to judge his writing. "Sooner or later," he boasts in the preface to his first novel, "everyone is bound to come to me! . . . How many there are already who are spiritually nourished by my work! Therefore let him who has done 'as much' cast the first stone!" I shudder to think how Dali would behave if no one cast so much as a pebble!

Yet this is just the kind of reception that "Hidden Faces" deserves. Whatever Dali has done has usually been distinguished by some degree of originality. But this book—particularly after the first hundred pages, in which, strangely enough, there are some glimpses of humor—is confused, old-fashioned, derivative, and intensely boring. Dali as a painter has no doubt benefited enormously from a close study of the works of Poussin, Ingres, and Raphael. But Dali as a writer has gained nothing from reading French romantic fiction, from his admiration of Stendhal, "the divine Marquis de Sade," and Dr. Freud. Detailed accounts of the lives of wealthy French aristocrats who live between the Faubourg St. Germain and their country estates and spend weeks doing little but plan a vast ball, Lesbians who smoke opium and sniff heroin, and perverts of a different nature who indulge in a form of "love" to which Dali has given the name of Cledalism (after his heroine)—"pleasure and pain sublimated in an all-transcending identification with the object" —all this, described in a turgid, fake-eighteenth-century prose, plus some observations made by minor characters in favor of a better, less decadent world and American women, all this may make a book, but what about that spiritual nourishment?

I believe that in his autobiography—a book which was seldom dull and for which its translator, Haakon M. Chevalier, did not receive sufficient credit—Dali was being as honest as he could be. You felt that he had never quite forgiven fate for not making him heir to the Spanish throne. And between that book and this you feel that someone has whispered in his ear: "You know, Mr. Dali, in the America of the mid-twentieth century certain sentiments you express are considered—shall we say?—a little reactionary." And having read "Hidden Faces," you feel that Dali's ear was not deaf. In literature no kind of dishonesty pays. Of the black V planted in the center of a bleeding swastika and the *i* of the author's name "dotted" by a crimson line crowned in gold on the book's dust jacket, I prefer, as drawn by Dali, the latter.

JAMES STERN

Realist's Eye View

PRIMER OF THE COMING WORLD. By Leopold Schwarzschild. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

THE bewildered traveler through the mazes of contemporary history is importuned at every way station by a multitude of guides who promise to lead him safely into the future. These guides can be put into two general categories—the optimists and the realists. The optimists assure him that the future will be a land of peace and plenty. They are fairly certain that a world catastrophe must culminate in world redemption. The realists, on the other hand, are full of foreboding about the future, for they regard it, on the whole, as merely a projection of the present. The optimists believe that a revolutionary world situation will create the resources for the solution of the new problems with which it confronts mankind. The realists are not so sure that there are any new problems in history. They see only the emergence of new versions of perennial problems. Having their interest centered upon the perennial difficulties of man's common life, they are inclined to be oblivious to the genuinely novel and revolutionary features in a given period of history. They may be safer guides, on the whole, than the optimists; but their guidance exposes the traveler to risks even more grievous than those encountered in the company of the gay adventurers.

Since America generates on the whole optimistic rather than realistic views of the world's future, it is quite helpful to have a distinguished émigré journalist like Leopold Schwarzschild give us the benefit of the characteristically sober Continental picture of future possibilities. Schwarzschild is a hard-boiled and shrewd student of history who for years after his eviction from Germany conducted a most informative journal in Paris.

Schwarzschild's strategy for world peace is a very limited one. It consists of measures which will destroy Germany's power or inclination to resort to renewed aggression coupled with the hope that meanwhile the three great powers will desire to remain at peace with one another, for "against wars among the big three no preventive means exist except their own will and self-restraint." He believes that Germany must be occupied for a half-century, that the de-industrialization of the nation would prove ineffective, that any forcible education from the outside would be equally futile, but that, despite past failures, an effort should be made to extract 150 billion marks of reparation over a period of thirty years. He cites as proof of Germany's capacity to pay the fact that Hitler since 1933 has obtained about 16 billion marks' worth of military goods a year and has probably expended 60 to

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80 billion marks per year for the conduct of the war. The long period of occupation, he believes, would finally break the back of the military cast, destroy the military tradition, and make obsolescent all military instruments known to the Germans.

Schwarzschild not only implicitly but explicitly rejects all war aims which go beyond the immediate purpose of insuring a tentative peace. He warns against "superimposed war aims" such as world-wide democracy or the socialization of wealth or any other cause or scheme for the attainment of a higher justice. He points out that rigorous ideologies will divide rather than unite the world, since there is no possibility of one ideology gaining a victory great enough to become the unifying force for a world community.

In estimating the possibilities of an accord between the three great powers he places the whole responsibility for the future upon Russia, believing that "no one can estimate what direction Russia may take"—probably because "no clear policy has been formulated in Moscow itself." He takes little stock in the argument that a nationalist Russia may be easier to get along with than a Communist one, partly because he is not at all certain that communism and nationalism are as mutually exclusive as most students assume, for "practice and realism mock such theorizing."

In seeking for peace through the preservation of the status quo Schwarzschild goes to the length of extolling the virtues of a laissez faire economic system. The depressions which occur at intervals of seven to ten years, he argues, are "a function of the famous 'automatism' of the system" and are just as necessary and inevitable as the breathing of the human organism. He arrives at the complacent conclusion that "capitalism was and is able constantly to improve the standard of the employed common man. It was and is unable constantly to employ every common man."

There is many a grain of sober wisdom in these observations upon the great problems which confront us. But there is also much chaff. The fact is that Schwarzschild, like many realists, is completely blind to the revolutionary character of our age. He does not recognize to what degree the German menace was and is only an aggravated form of the disease from which a whole civilization is suffering, that political and economic institutions are really seriously at variance with the necessities of a global economy, and that "free enterprise" presents more serious difficulties in such an economy than merely its periodic depressions.

His interpretation of the relation of the three great nations to the future peace may be taken as a convenient symbol of what is right and what is wrong with this kind of realism. He is right in asserting that no present formula for a constitutional world order could preserve the peace if one of the three great powers should not desire its preservation. But he is wrong in thinking that "only their will and self-restraint" can preserve the peace. For even if they had the desire to keep the peace, they would not be able to do so if they could not find at least quasi-constitutional forms for their partnership and for the regulation of their relations to other powers.

Here is a soberness which apprehends the immediate facts

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with remarkable clarity but is too narrow-eyed to measure the full dimension of the historical situation in which the facts appear. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Taxes, Post-War

PRODUCTION, JOBS, AND TAXES. By Harold M. Groves. McGraw-Hill Book Company. $1.25.

THIS study of post-war federal tax policy is important not only because of the reputation and authority of its author but because it is sponsored by the Committee for Economic Development. It is probable that the CED will have a good deal of influence with Congress after the war when the federal tax system is being overhauled, and it is interesting to get a preview of the measures that this group of business leaders will advocate. The present report is part of a larger study now in progress. Professor Groves assumes responsibility for the ideas expressed, but as the book was written with the advice and consent of the CED Research Committee, comprised of business men, we may suppose that author and sponsors are in substantial agreement.

The objective of the CED is to achieve a high level of post-war employment through full production and expansion of private industry. Professor Groves accepts this objective and has made his recommendations accordingly; they are definitely favorable to business. He proposes to encourage production and investment by integrating corporation and personal income taxes, by repealing the excess-profits tax, by allowing a six-year carry-over of business losses, and by allowing for a more rapid depreciation of plant and equipment. On the theory that high production requires wide markets he would reduce or repeal federal sales taxes. He would encourage risk-taking by a substantial reduction of the rates in the middle and upper brackets of the personal income-tax schedule, by eliminating tax-exempt securities, and by modifying taxes on capital gains and losses. On the other hand, he would strengthen the taxation of estates.

Those who accept Professor Groves's assumptions will regard his program as on the whole well-balanced and sensible, and will quarrel only over its details. Some of his suggestions seem rather intricate and difficult to administer, as he himself admits. But equity, in the field of taxation, often conflicts with simplicity, and compromise is the only way out.

The question remains, however, whether full production and the expansion of private industry can be achieved by the kind of tax reforms which Professor Groves has outlined. Suppose, for example, that we reduce the rates in the upper brackets of the personal income tax and then discover that we have failed to stimulate the flow of so-called venture capital. Must we then reduce the rates still farther? And must we keep on reducing them until investors are satisfied? There is a kind of vicious circle here, for as we reduce taxes on large personal incomes, the larger will be the volume of savings available for investment. But there will not be, on that account, any increase in opportunities to invest. Also, if tax reduction succeeds in its purpose and the extra savings are profitably invested, then large incomes will become still larger and even more savings will require outlet in investment. It would seem, therefore, that even if tax reduction provides a temporary stimulus, it may make the problem of investment even harder to solve in the future than it is now.

As for industry, investment in additional plant and equipment is subject to the law of diminishing returns. Even if business taxes were abolished altogether, we should have no reason to expect a general and continued expansion, sufficient to maintain full employment, in the face of a declining rate of profit.

Apparently, however, Professor Groves thinks otherwise. "The economic system in its normal operation," he writes, "should generate opportunities and incentives for enterprise." Well, maybe it should. But the fact is that with a high concentration in the distribution of income, together with monopolistic controls in industry, it doesn't. Taxes, labor costs, and political climate are not likely to be more favorable to business after the war than they were in the late '20s. And yet during the three-year period 1927-29 less than half the savings made by individuals were actually invested in new productive enterprise.

The CED expects, in a later report, to consider incentive taxation, including taxes on hoarding. It will be interesting to have the business man's answer to these questions: How can investment be induced when the expansion of industry runs up against the law of diminishing returns? How can we maintain high employment unless investment funds are used to provide jobs? Can private enterprise survive if individuals and business concerns are privileged to hoard their funds, in any amount and for as long as they please, without penalty? G. R. WALKER

FILMS

I HAVE not read Chekhov's story "The Shooting Party" from which Douglas Sirk derives "Summer Storm," but it looks as if Mr. Sirk had wanted to be faithful to something plotty, melodramatic, and second-grade, with psychological possibilities in it which he, or his actors, failed to make much of. As a provincial judge going to the dogs under the influence of Linda Darnell, a ruthless peasant beauty, George Sanders gets across no impression of moral disintegration, struggle, helplessness, or compensatory pleasures; even when he allows her innocent husband to be punished for her murder it seems like little more than His Most Embarrassing Moment. Edward Everett Horton, as a twiddling, infatuated provincial count, has lighter baggage to carry and carries it amusingly, within rather amateurish, highly

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theatrical limits; in a stagy, but never in a human sense, you realize that the man he is playing and the class he is representing are loose as ashes. Linda Darnell, flashing her eyes and teeth and flexing her glands at both men, is probably the weakest of the three so far as performance goes; but since, in general appearance, she is a kind of person I can imagine going on all fours for, especially if I were a provincial judge, I thought her not entirely ill cast. There are bits of acting and photography in "Summer Storm" which put it as far outside the run of American movies as it laudably tries to be. But most of it had, for me, the sporty speciousness of an illustrated drugstore classic. " 'Speaking of women,' murmured the Baron, toying with his aperient . . ."

It would be nice to see some screen "fantasy" if it were done by anyone with half a heart, mind, and hand for it. But when the studios try to make it, duck and stay hid until the mood has passed. The story of a dancing caterpillar which became an international personality, a political and religious symbol, and a baby Armageddon for science, commercialism, and what is popularly thought of as innocence and idealism might, with great skill, imagination, and avoidance of whimsy, become wonderful. But "Once Upon a Time" is not wonderful. It is just less witty and more gently intentioned than the overrated radio hit—the Corwin "My Client Curley"—from which it was developed; and both, to be plain about it, fancy gossamer as building material and then try to manufacture it out of two-by-fours. "The Canterville Ghost," played in mock-pansy, mock-Shakespearean style by Charles Laughton, is a quondam coward who can only go to his rest when a descendant, Robert Young, proves himself brave in warfare. The possibilities here seem thin at best, but a sufficient understanding of cowardice might still have made them amount to something. Margaret O'Brien is involved in this, too, and gives the film what little charm it has; but more still makes it an unhappy experience. She is an uncannily talented child, and it is infuriating to see her handled, and gradually being ruined, by oafs.

"Candlelight in Algeria" is a smooth routine British melodrama centered on a camera which contains film showing where General Clark and others will meet to plot the invasion of North Africa. There is no harm in it, and no special interest either, except in Walter Rilla's performance and in watching the English try, pretty successfully, to make American types. But one gets tired of saying that the British do this sort of melodrama well. They do; but too often, well is not so awfully well as all that. Educated Englishmen by the gross who have nothing to say and don't even realize it can write well, if by well one means plumply cadenced classical prose, fairly accurate about nothing worth accuracy, without one spark of urgency, insight, or wilfulness in it. I feel that by now they can do the movie equivalent in their sleep, and should not be too highly credited for it, even though our own somnambulistic utterance draws rather on Oley Speaks and S. Parkes Cadman than on Cicero and Burke.

JAMES AGEE

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MUSIC

MORE than once I have said that what has been written about the "modern music" which the public has disliked has been even worse and more objectionable than the music itself. My point has been that the ad hoc aesthetic formulations, the misstatements and misinterpretation of history, and all the other confusions have been dust in the eyes of people whose ears would not have been fooled. That is, listening to the music these people have known what it meant and what it was worth; but reading about it they have doubted the testimony of their ears and wondered whether there was not something they must learn to hear and understand. I say this as one of those people; and it is the long experience that eventually gave me confidence in my ears and in my impressions of the music that also gave me my present strong objection to the writing about it.

The kind of writing I mean is Paul Rosenfeld's statement—in contradiction to what one heard—that a Rhapsody for orchestra by Wallingford Riegger was "evidently . . . magnificent in texture and consistent in idea, grateful to the ear and lucid in form." And, worse still, his subsequent statement about anyone who was prevented from hearing all this by the work's atonalism: "If indeed one is unable to hear the relation of note to note, freshly, and without past experience, in every composition, whether it be tonal, bitonal, or without any tonality whatsoever, what indeed can one be said actually to be hearing?" As though it were possible to approach anything—and above all a medium of communication—without one's past experience; as though any and every succession of sounds must convey a coherent, significant relation; and as though one's inability to perceive such a relation between any two sounds must set poor, perplexed Mr. Rosenfeld to wondering what indeed one could be said actually to be hearing.

Then there is Aaron Copland's equally wide-eyed, incredible-as-it-may-seem, how-can-such-things-be talk about the "fantastic notions" with which "newspaper writers and radio commentators who ought to know better" have, apparently for the sheer hell of it, misrepresented modern music and prejudiced the public against it—with which Copland tries to persuade us that we haven't ourselves heard the aridities, uglinesses, and horrors of Hindemith, Bartòk, Berg, Schönberg, Stravinsky, and the rest. And his statement of correct notions about the music—with which he tries to get us to hear in those aridities, uglinesses, and horrors an "enriched musical language" and a "new spirit of objectivity, attuned to our own times," that make the music "our music," as natural and acceptable to our ears, as interesting, significant, and valuable to our minds, as people a hundred and two hundred years ago found *their* music.

From this it is only a step to Virgil Thomson trying with mirrors to get us to believe that the music of 150 years ago, which we are deeply affected by, is as incomprehensible to us as the painting and literature of the past, since it was produced by men "whose modes of thought and attitudes of passion were . . . different from ours," and that we can understand only contemporary music, which we dislike, since it is the product of the thought and feeling of our time.

Then there is what the composers say about their own works. Krenek informs us that talking with piano teachers he had discovered the lack of music using advanced contemporary styles and techniques which they might give their students to play, and that he had therefore composed Twelve Short Piano Pieces Written in Twelve-Tone Technique, whose "musical contents [and] performing difficulty are meant to correspond with the capacity and the interest of normally advanced students and amateurs"—which blandly throws a cloud of dust over the real nature of the twelve-tone technique, the real musical contents of pieces written in that technique, and of these pieces in particular, and the real interest in them of "normally advanced" students and amateurs.

Or Hindemith tells us first that in his "Schwanendreher," a viola concerto on old German folk melodies, he set out to function like the medieval minstrel who expanded and embellished the melodies he played, "preluding and improvising according to his fancy and ability"—which presumably should justify to our ears, as it does to Hindemith's, the music he produces when he expands and embellishes, preludes and improvises according to *his* fancy and ability. Later he tells us his aim was "to try how the old German folk songs could be adapted for today's concert work, e.g., with a modern arrangement and even in the spirit of the originals" —which again, presumably, should justify the astringency of idiom and aridity of feeling that twist the simple old folk songs into something as distorted and ugly as his own music.

From Hindemith we also get the general pronouncement that "what is generally regretted today is the loose relation maintained by music between the producer and the consumer. The composer these days should never write unless he is acquainted with the demand for his work. The times for consistent composing for one's own satisfaction are probably gone forever, etc." The business-like talk about producer and consumer and demand is intended to get us to accept the idea of composition as a purely commercial activity of setting down black marks on paper, and to accept also the music which results from this activity, when the black marks are translated into sounds which reveal not the slightest trace of the poetic impulse that alone can justify the setting down of black marks on paper.

And Stravinsky, who tells us that Beethoven's greatness lies not in his ideas but in his musical material, tells us also that he himself, in composing, does not express ideas but only establishes order and discipline in purely sonorous schemes. As though "ideas"—which is to say personal emotions, attitudes, insights—could be kept out of music—even the music of a man determined to produce nothing but ordered and disciplined sonorous schemes. And as though we would, even if we could, shut out of our minds the great "ideas" embodied in Beethoven's musical forms, or ignore the poverty of spirit communicated in Stravinsky's sonorous schemes.

B. H. HAGGIN

Coming Soon in *The Nation*
Surrealist Painting
An Essay by Clement Greenberg
"A Skeleton Key to Finnegans Wake"
by Joseph Campbell and
Henry Morton Robinson
Reviewed by Louise Bogan

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Our new Literary Review department, conducted by Paul Stout, inspires a few criticisms, probably because of the straightforward, frankly critical character of the reviews. Important criticisms of the reviews are published in each issue.

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A monthly feature inaugurated in July is our *Contemporary Portraits* of interesting people and institutions. They are often highly critical and more often than not inspire replies from the subjects. One or more photos is usually included.

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Is Our Government Becoming Socialistic?
Internationalism Versus Nationalism
Are We Fighting for a Better World?
Is War Necessary for Prosperity?
Regardless of Your Philosophy: Liberalism in Religion, by Stuart Foster.

Contemporary Portraits: *E. Haldeman-Julius.* A not altogether complimentary article on the publisher of the Little Blue Books, etc., and the original de-bunker. By John E. McWilliams. *Norman Thomas,* a sketch of the great Socialist Party leader.

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Letters to the Editors

The Church Knows Best

Dear Sirs: Philip Wylie's article Sex and the Censor in *The Nation* of July 8 was written with little understanding and consequently with little tolerance. He questions the right of postal and other authorities to ban certain books "containing dangerous ideas or forbidden words." In particular, he is concerned about the church. He cannot see what justifies the church in its demand for universal recognition of its dicta governing immoral literature. Here, I am afraid, he is talking precisely in the manner adopted by his "hysterical zealot" who in an insensate fury betrays the common sense of a whole people.

Never, so far as I know, has the church advocated any policy which endeavored to hush up the truth concerning questions of morality or anything else touching upon human welfare. It has too high a regard for the truth to be capable of such a policy. In fact, its consistency might very well bring upon its head any number of anathemas from groups and individuals that do not enjoy such common sense.

Books written about sin and immoral living have never been burned, banned, or purged by the Catholic church, nor has the church urged their removal. Books dealing with humanity in the sink of iniquity are valuable, provided the authors recognize their responsibility to their readers by also recognizing sin for what it is, by accepting sex for what it is, beautiful when controlled, sordid when abused.

Mr. Wylie writes, ". . . but I think it is not going too far to say that the very plain changes in the sex mores of the American people have reached all levels of our society and that such shifts in behavior cannot be arrested or even affected by the withholding of particular printed matter." I think it is going too far to make such a statement. Clearly Mr. Wylie's thinking equipment, not to mention his moral reserves, suffered a lapse somewhere along the line. The not quite apodictic collapse which American morals have suffered, it seems to me, can and must be attributed to the plethora of objectionable "printed matter" which has continued in circulation for the past couple of generations. Moral stamina is a rare phenomenon today, for it has received too many resounding blows from such criminal sources as these "bad books." These bad books have already had a devastating influence in hastening moral decadence. It is time the church, the only reliable judge in existence, was given the authority to stem the dirty tide and repair what has been so unfortunately destroyed.

J. F., U. S. C. G.

New York, July 8

Applause

Dear Sirs: I'm not a regular reader of *The Nation*—in fact, I hold political views diametrically opposed to practically everything for which *The Nation*, and presumably its editors, stand. However, during an election year I like to know "how the other half" (?) thinks.

Allow me to congratulate you and to express my whole-hearted applause of your courage and straight thinking in publishing material such as the letter of the Negro soldier and the excerpt from a letter written by a Negro soldier to *Yank* magazine in your June 3 issue. Until these United States face the problem of their own racial minorities decently, honestly, correctly, we have nothing but impertinence and dishonest heroics to recommend our participation in a war of freedom of all peoples regardless of "race, creed, or color." Material such as this may be of assistance even though, unfortunately, it reaches a minority and probably an already enlightened minority.

I lived in the West Indies and have many valued and valuable friends of Negro blood—perhaps that is why I care so intensely about this matter—although I like to think I'm liberal in an impersonal way on the subject.

MARION ARNOLD LEON

New York, June 7

Something Should Be Done

Dear Sirs: I am an Italian officer, a prisoner of war captured in Tunisia after nearly two years of hard fighting in the African deserts. I was brought up in a very anti-fascist family. My mother, who died last winter, was Jewish. My father, who is a lawyer, has become, since the fall of fascism, chairman of the Syndicate of Lawyers of Lombardy. (We live in Milan.) My brothers, one of whom was in the army, have fled to Switzerland in order to escape German reprisals. They were expelled from school some years ago after the anti-Jewish laws were passed. Many of my friends were in confinement. This is to give you a picture of my family and my true sentiments.

I am only twenty-five years old, but I have had a good deal of experience, in the army, in the war, and in my previous life in Italy, where I knew a lot of people on one side and the other. It has been sad for me to see, during my life in American prisoner-of-war camps that not exactly fascist ideas but fascist habits and fascist ways of thinking are fairly well spread among many of us who actually do not even know what fascism was, or was supposed to be. I think that something ought to be done to win these men to democratic and liberal ideas. But when Dr. Salvemini, on his way back to Cambridge, came to see me he was expelled from the camp! He was a friend of my grandfather, who was one of the leaders of the socialist movement in Milan in the first fifteen years of this century. L. M.

Somewhere in the United States, June 25

There's a Limit

Dear Sirs: We in the army are told that "he who gripes most is the best soldier"; therefore you may consider my candidacy for that honor.

I am still burning over Churchill's "kindly words about Spain." In my book those will rate as "most famous words," but not on the same page as "Cannot remain half slave and half free," "Quarantine the aggressor," "Unite or die," and other fine sayings.

Yes, the day of liberation is near, but that job must be complete. We will smoke out the devil in Berlin and then and there he should be destroyed. How can we allow the rotten heart of the fascist tyrant to regain its strength in Madrid, there to plot against us again? Should we allow our dead to have died in vain?

Agreed that the Spaniards should choose for themselves. The overwhelming majority of them will make another try for a republic, but the going will be as tough as ever if they are still discouraged by the democratic powers—I can't understand why!

Now something else; that was a high-class job Congress pulled off on the soldier-vote bill. Voting could have been made simple; yet most of us aren't going to vote this year. We're not forgetting those who place politics ahead of human rights. There are also things the Negro isn't forgetting. Neither will gold-star mothers if the isolationists have their way. We're taking all this, but there's a limit. CORPORAL

Somewhere in Louisiana, June 30

Reduce Spending

Dear Sirs: In your editorial on page 31 of the issue of July 8 there seems to be a misapprehension with regard to the problem of avoiding inflation. "Savings," you state, are about at the rate of $38,000,000,000 a year, but "only about $13,000,000,000 of this amount is being invested in war bonds or other government securities." You state that bank purchases of bonds are inflationary in effect, while individual purchases are not.

Actually, whether the $38,000,000,000 is held by individuals in the form of currency, or invested in government bonds by individuals has no effect on the inflationary situation. The thing that is needed is not that people should dip into their savings to buy bonds, but that they should *reduce present spending in order to absorb the bond issue.* In other words, *new* saving has to be performed, thereby removing additional funds from the market. Only in this way can we really avoid inflation, by reducing the flow of purchasing power to a market on which the volume of available consumer goods and services has been greatly reduced. G. R. HORNE

Windsor, Ontario, July 8

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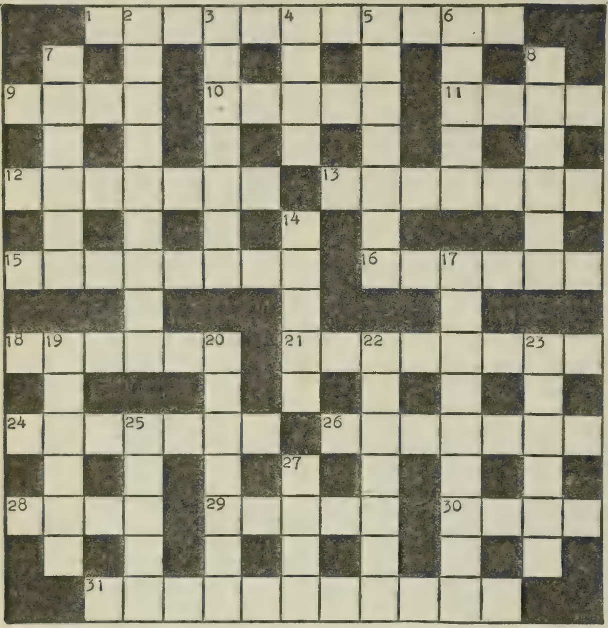
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 73

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 How unseasonable bathers overcome preliminary reluctance (three words, 5, 3 and 3)
9 The bell was going before I left
10 "They also ----- who only stand and wait" (Milton)
11 Live-stock
12 "Tea, Paul?" (anag.)
13 Everything in the performance is lacking in depth
15 Pint to me (anag.)
16 It is right before the fire
18 Lieutenant of Othello and tool of Iago
21 Day most of us meet with a new resolution (two words, 3 and 5)
24 Dead men (anag.)
26 Almost any street in Germany or Austria
28 The Great Unknown of literature
29 "For today in this -----, Summoned by a stern subpoena, Edwin, sued by Angelina, Shortly will appear" (*Trial by Jury*)
30 Platform from which much has been said
31 So called, no doubt, because they take us under

DOWN

2 "No peace for the wicked" (and very little for the ---------!)
3 Sausage (anag.)
4 Four letters of attorney
5 "Quite out of ----- of the poor tourist, peer he binocularly never so neck-breakingly" (*A Taste for Honey*)
6 There's a fish in the basket already
7 A follower of Mahomet
8 Go and ask for one!
14 The end of the bee
17 I slander this Northerner, phonetically speaking
19 Necessary when shooting
20 Just escapes being average by being too old
22 Medical treatment for harriers in the rain? (two words, 3 and 4)
23 Foreign country where you will find U. S. airs
25 Madame L'Enclos
27 A sort of dado around the dining-room

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 72

ACROSS:—1 STAR-CHAMBER; 9 FOOLSCAP; 10 GRILSE; 11 HUMERUS; 12 CARTOON; 14 ENCORE; 15 BETRAYER; 17 PART-TIME; 20 DAPHNE; 22 STRAUSS; 24 IMPASSE; 26 POWDER; 27 OVERSHOE; 28 TRESPASSERS.

DOWN:—2 TALKED-OUT; 3 RECLUSE; 4 HOPE; 5 MIGRANT; 6 EVICT; 7 COLUMN; 8 ASHORE; 13 ABBEY; 16 APPRAISER; 18 ACTION; 19 INSERTS; 20 DOMBEYS; 21 NESTOR; 23 ADDER; 25 SODA.

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The Shape of Things

THE FULL POWER OF THE RED ARMY WAS unleashed on eight fronts last week, and the faltering Wehrmacht seemed unable to bring it to a halt. For 600 miles—from Ostrov near the Latvian border to Lvov in lower Poland—eight separate army groups of massive strength pushed the invaders back at an unprecedented rate. To Marshal Konev's First Ukrainian Army fell the honor of being the first to drive the Germans back across the line from which they invaded the Soviet Union a little more than three years ago. This southernmost drive, long and anxiously awaited by the Germans, more than justified their worst fears of it. Four German divisions were encircled near Brody and left to be disposed of, while the main thrust continued beyond Lvov, after hurdling the potentially strong line of the western Bug in a single day. The way was thus open for the envelopment of Lvov, and the unhinging of the strongest defense line short of central Poland. In the center the line was twice broken when the great fortress of Brest-Litovsk was flanked both to north and south. To the north, the taking of Grodno and the crossing of the Niemen virtually completed the work. As the week ended, the fate of the German troops in the Baltic states and the existence of the Brest-Litovsk and Lvov bastions hung in the balance. The balance was all tipped in the Russians' favor. Hitler's fantastic order "to defend each meter of territory," so correctly denounced by the captured General Hoffmeister, had paved the way for the largest-scale German disaster of the war. That disaster is not yet complete; but it already looms so large as to make a German retreat to the line Königsberg-Warsaw-Krakow seem inevitable.

*

THE BRITISH-CANADIAN ASSAULT EAST AND southeast from Caen may prove to be the Alamein of the western front. Before last week's powerful offensive the slowness of the Allied progress in Normandy was beginning to cause doleful head-shaking in some circles; but those who knew or guessed how crowded the beachhead was with men and guns remained cheerful. It is useless to expect dash from General Montgomery until he has built up overpowering strength; when he has built it up, one can expect just such a careful, thoroughly prepared hammer blow as he has now delivered. But he is not content with power alone; the feint attack aimed southward from Caen earlier in the week allowed him to achieve tactical surprise, a considerable accomplishment on such a limited front. As at Alamein, the infantry-tank attack was preceded by an intense artillery barrage, this time augmented by what was probably the heaviest aerial bombardment ever directed against an army in the field. More than 7,000 tons of bombs were dropped on strong points and supply dumps in less than five hours, paving the way for a ground advance which covered considerably more ground the first day than the Alamein assault. Rommel obviously learned at Alamein the lesson of not committing his tanks against an attack of this nature; bad weather, limiting air support and miring the ground, may delay the Second Army in its advance toward Rommel's tank concentrations. But the scene is set for the chewing up of most of the enemy's strength in the west; if the chewing up is successful, we may see a break-through comparable to Alamein and a consequently rapid advance to the Seine between Paris and the sea.

*

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM HAS THE GREAT merits of brevity and simplicity. On the whole it avoids the weasel words, ambiguous phrases, and contradictions that are so abundant in the Republican program, although, like all such political menus, it endeavors to provide a dish for every taste. In respect of international policy it does not go as far as some of us could wish, but it does come out squarely for an international organization with teeth in it—an organization "endowed with power to employ armed forces when necessary to prevent aggression and preserve peace." This is a great improvement on the Republican proposal of "a peace force"—a phrase apparently chosen to conceal the deep division of opinion inside the G. O. P. in regard to the use of collective force to guard collective security. At home the Democrats stand on the record of the New Deal, just as the Republicans do when one boils out the verbiage in their platform. Whatever happens in November, there will be no going back on the New Deal, provided that platform pledges mean anything. Again like the Republicans, the Democrats assert their faith in "free enterprise," but they give the assertion more substance by adding "free from control by monopolies, cartels, or any arbitrary private or public authority." Curiously enough, however, they don't follow this up with a promise to continue to reduce tariffs by means of trade agreements. In view of the twisted nature of the Republican tariff plank, it seems to us that the Democrats missed a bet here.

*

THE PARAGRAPH ON RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS minorities in the Democratic platform has a Southern drawl. It expresses the vague and pious belief that these minorities have "the right to live, develop, and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights." It would not have been polite, in the presence of so many Southern gentlemen, to mention anything so specific as poll taxes and Jim Crow. The Republican plank was far more forthright—but few Negroes are likely to switch their votes on that account for the simple reason that the record of the Administration is much better than the Democratic plank—and within recent months there has been, on the race issue, too much wholehearted cooperation in Congress between reactionary Republicans and Southern Democrats.

*

THE UNITED NATIONS LIVED UP TO THEIR name at Bretton Woods, and provided a happy augury for the future in the successful conclusion of the world monetary and financial conference. Secretary Morgenthau and his able aides deserve commendation for the technical ability, the personal tact, and the enlightened views that made the meeting and its achievement possible. The world monetary fund promises to combine stability of exchanges with sufficient flexibility to permit each country to use deficit financing for full employment at home. It is thus a victory of Keynesian economic ideas over reliance on the so-called "automatic" gold standard. Emphasis in this monetary system is on government activity to maintain sound domestic economies rather than on the maintenance of a so-called "sound currency" at the expense of prices, wages, and employment. The launching of the new bank for international reconstruction and development was made the happier by a last-minute concession from Moscow, which agreed to its original $1,200,000,000 subscription to the bank after the other countries had accepted a reduction in the Russian quota to $900,000,000. The bank promises to free borrowing countries from dictation by American, British, Dutch, and French private bankers; to keep world interest rates down, and to prevent the kind of unwise lending that proved so disastrous in the twenties, particularly to American investors. The United States makes the largest contribution but stands also to gain the largest benefit. For enlarged world markets are a necessity if our war-expanded economy is to escape a disastrous deflation and maintain full employment.

*

NOT CONTENT WITH HAVING DEPRIVED most of New York's service men and women of a vote through an excessively stringent war-ballot law, Mr. Dewey has misguidedly attempted to make political capital out of his refusal to accept the federal ballot in New York state. He charged the non-partisan committee and war veterans' organizations that had been campaigning for a federal ballot with using "unlimited financial resources" to play "partisan politics with the right of New York State's fighting men to vote." The gist of Mr. Dewey's argument is that the state ballot is superior to the federal ballot in that it permits the soldier to vote for local as well as federal offices. He fails to indicate, however, why he has opposed all efforts to offer the state ballot to as many New York service men as possible through a canvass of their homes, as has been done successfully in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and other states. And he ignores the plain fact that the New York law does not allow enough time betwen the mailing of the ballots and the deadline for their return to permit anything like a full vote from the men on the fighting fronts. As the Republican nominee for President, Mr. Dewey has the satisfaction of knowing that comparatively few soldier votes will be counted against him in the pivotal state of New York. But we suspect that his ill-tempered, petty manner of handling the soldier-vote issue will cost him, across the country, many more votes than he will have blocked in New York.

*

"WE BELIEVE THAT THE BEST SOLDIER IS THE informed soldier. We believe that we can fight a better war and end it sooner with men who know what is happening in the world." This statement by Colonel Robert Cutler, coordinator for the army of the Soldiers' Vote Act, is a cogent answer to Senator Robert Taft, who sponsored the stupid amendment designed to keep soldiers free from political contamination. The tardy repentance of Mr. Taft, who now declares himself in favor of liberalizing the act, is commendable but insufficient. The amendment should be thrown out altogether. There should be no "index" of books for soldiers, election year or no election year. The case of the permitted and forbidden magazines is even more serious than that of the books. The army has just issued a list of 189 magazines which may be distributed without scrutiny for political content. The majority of these are comics, westerns, and story magazines, but in the list are included all the mass-circulation magazines, most of which discuss and analyze news. Absent from the list are *The Nation*, the *New Republic*, *Common Sense*, and the *New Masses*, none of which could be described as pledged to the support of the Republican Party. The excuse given is that there is no soldier demand for these, an excuse we discount heavily as we consult our subscribers' list and our file of soldiers' letters. We have no complaint that conservative or anti-Administration magazines should have free circulation in the army even in an election year. We do insist that the soldiers have the same access to magazines of liberal opinion. A reactionary Congress is not satisfied with barring as many soldiers as possible from voting; it apparently intends that those who do manage to get a ballot be kept in the dark on the basic issues of the election.

CENSORSHIP, AS PHILIP WYLIE SAID A FEW weeks ago in *The Nation*, is becoming epidemic. It is ironic that what the army passes as fit for the troops is banned by Postmaster General Walker as unfit for the mails. The *Esquire* case has advanced one more step in its march to the Supreme Court. The original charge of obscenity was dropped when the case appeared before Judge T. Whitfield Davidson of the Federal District Court and the Postmaster was sustained on the basis of a statute written by members of Congress "brought up on the McGuffey Reader." The ancient law required that second-class mailing privileges be restricted to matter of educational value and the Postmaster could properly rule that *Esquire* did not fall into this classification. As we survey the list of magazines permitted in the army camps—the thirty-seven "comics," the twenty-six romance and adventure magazines, the thirteen detective magazines, the thirteen movie magazines—we realize in what jeopardy lies our freedom of reading (and looking). For the Postmaster General might, with the same validity, ban any of these. The army and Senator Taft can ban almost any "educational" magazine on the ground of its being political; the Postmaster can take care of the rest. Prepare the bonfires, boys. On the other hand, it may be a good time to repeal at least two acts of Congress so as to retrieve our self-respect as adult and free American citizens.

Behind the Generals' Plot

WHETHER or not reports of actual civil war are confirmed, Germany has reached a crisis comparable to that of September, 1918—a crisis which may prove the prelude to collapse. That is the meaning of the "bomb plot" announced on July 20, for although it is doubtful whether there really was a bomb, it is certain that there was a plot.

In attempting to interpret reports of the situation coming from official Nazi sources, we have to ask: (1) How much of the truth do they contain? (2) What is the purpose of the release of news which reflects so seriously on the internal situation in Germany? The probable answer to the second question is that the news of the attempted assassination of Hitler was broadcast to explain a revolt which was already public knowledge, to justify a purge of the armed forces intended to root out all doubtful elements, and to rally the army and the people around the Führer, once again miraculously saved by "providence." This is the technique of the Reichstag fire and the Röhm purge of June, 1934, and these analogies suggest in turn that there was no bomb; it was invented to dramatize Hitler's counter-measures.

Among these measures was the appointment of Heinrich Himmler as Commander of the army at home. News of his appointment reached Sweden the day before the "explosion," and the day after a reported mutiny of two divisions in East Prussia. It is still impossible to sort out fact from rumor. When Hitler made his speech to the nation telling of his providential escape he referred to "a very small clique of criminal elements which will now be exterminated quite mercilessly." Two days later in an order of the day addressed to the army he said: "I know that you will fight with exemplary obedience and loyalty until victory is ours, in spite of all." Evidently he considered the appeal necessary.

Meanwhile the purge was apparently proceeding as Dr. Himmler ordered. Berlin announced that Colonel General Ludwig Beck was "no longer among the living." Other reports put the number of generals involved at a figure as high as fifty. It is significant that no protestations of loyalty have as yet come from top-ranking leaders such as Marshal von Brauschitsch, Field Marshal General Albert Kesselring, commander of the Italian front, Field Marshal General Walther von Modl, commander of the Russian front, or Field Marshal General Fritz Erich von Mannstein. The fact that Hitler, Goering, and Admiral Doenitz all gave emphatic warnings to the armed services to beware of false orders suggests that the disaffection is widespread. It may well be that Mr. Churchill was justified when recently he said to the troops in Normandy: "Opposite you is an enemy whose central power is crumbling."

The recent removal from their posts of Marshal von Rundstedt and General von Falkenhausen, two of the old-line officers, and the bitter criticism of Hitler by General Hoffmeister after his capture on the eastern front indicate a deepening split between the German army and the Nazis. Yet these two elements are the twin pillars of German aggression. The army could not have organized the nation for war without the Nazis; the Nazis could not have gained power without the backing of the army. But now that defeat is approaching each seeks to make the other responsible. Hitler, convinced that the Allies will not come to terms with him, wants to fight on, waiting in his mystic way for a miracle. The Junker chiefs know they can't win. They hope that by jettisoning Hitler they can save themselves and their caste and preserve Germany from that total defeat that would make a "next time" impossible. That means they believe that the Allies can be persuaded to negotiate; otherwise, as Walter Mehring points out on page 128, they themselves would have to accept the burden of "unconditional surrender," for there are no other shoulders on which it can be loaded. We think they are fooling themselves; the Allied leaders certainly will not consent to any terms that leave German militarism a chance to recover. The signs of German disintegration are not an opportunity to make deals; they are, rather, an inspiration to complete the process by unrelenting pressure.

The Fall of Tojo

THE overthrow of Premier Tojo will undoubtedly have a profound influence on the course of the Pacific war. In a somewhat less dramatic way it is fully as significant as the generals' plot against Hitler. For although Tojo never succeeded in establishing as complete a one-man rule over Japan as Hitler exercises in Germany, he came closer to it than any other man in modern Japanese history. Japan's efficiency as a military power was in large part due to the centralization of control which he succeeded in establishing. And beyond the power which he wielded as Premier, War Minister, and Chief of Staff, Tojo was of great value to the militarists as a symbol of Japan's expansionist dreams. He had tremendous prestige as the conqueror of Guam, the Philippines, Singapore, the Dutch East Indies, and Burma. He had initiated the thousand-year war which was to lead to world conquest with eternal glory for the Emperor.

Tojo's enforced resignation is especially welcome news, therefore, because it indicates that the recent defeats in India, the South Pacific, and Saipan, have sufficiently overshadowed his earlier victories in the Japanese mind to make him a liability rather than an asset to morale. This suggests that the Japanese military situation looks even worse from Tokyo than it does from this country. Specifically, it implies the failure of the Japanese offensive in China. For if there were any immediate probability that that drive could be brought to successful fruition, Tojo could almost certainly have held on for a time at least.

But the most significant sign of Japanese weakness is to be found in the choice of such contrasting personalities as General Koiso and Admiral Yonai to form a new government. Koiso is an extremist, generally believed to be personally responsible for the border incidents involving the Soviet Union several months ago. The drubbing given to his forces on that occasion probably accounts for his temporary withdrawal from public life. He has presumably led the extremist critics of Tojo. Admiral Yonai, who was premier in 1940, has never been associated with the militarist clique and formerly had the reputation of being a moderate.

The new government can in no sense be regarded as a "peace movement." A government headed by General Koiso is not likely to give up the vast empire that Japan has conquered in the past thirteen years, still less accede to unconditional surrender. The new government will undoubtedly attempt to intensify the Japanese war effort in the hope of staving off complete defeat. A coalition government, it lacks the monolithic strength of the Tojo regime. It is difficult to see how it can long survive—except through a military miracle. And the landings on Guam, with the imminent prospect of more intensive bombings of Japan itself, make it evident that any miracle that is performed will be under direction of Admiral Nimitz.

In normal times Japanese governments rarely last more than a year. Under present circumstances it would be rash to assume that the Koiso Cabinet would last half that long. Quite possibly there will be a succession of cabinets, all of a more or less stop-gap nature, until a genuine people's government is set up which will recognize the fact of defeat and be prepared to surrender. Meanwhile, we must press home the military advantage that is ours by virtue of Japanese internal dissension. The overthrow of Tojo is an immense accomplishment, but the military clique is still in the saddle and will only be deposed by the armed might of the United Nations.

"Backward Area"

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 21

I HAVE been browsing through press releases by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the Committee for Economic Development, *Federal Reserve Bulletins,* monthly bank letters from New York, League of Nations reports, and an exciting "not for publication" speech by a Swedish economist. I suggest that in the post-war period the world's most troublesome "backward area" will not be China or India, Africa or Latin America or the Balkans, but the United States.

The industrial backwardness of the colonial areas is a less serious world problem than the intellectual backwardness of the American business community. The former represents an opportunity; the latter a threat. It will be regrettable if the development of the colonial countries is not accelerated, for they could add enormously to the world volume of trade. It will be disastrous if the American economy is badly managed after the war, for world stability and prosperity will depend to a greater extent than ever on stability and prosperity in the United States.

Unwise lending by American private bankers, the absorption of capital from abroad by the American stock-market boom, the effects of the Hawley-Smoot tariff, and the inability of the Hoover Administration to stem deflation at home played major roles in the great depression, but the United States of the '20's had only about 45 per cent of the world's productive capacity (outside the U. S. R. R.). The United States of the '40's will emerge from the war with close to three-fourths of the world's productive capacity. While our own power to produce has been increased by about 50 per cent, the war has brought about a corresponding reduction in the capacity of the other industrial nations. The United States will be the center of world economic gravity after the war.

There is little indication that American business has any conception of the stark magnitude of its problem. One set of figures may help illuminate it. In the May issue of *Federal Reserve Bulletin* there is an important article on jobs after the war by E. A. Goldenweiser and Everett E. Hagen. They set themselves the task of estimating in concrete terms the volume of production and consumption required after the war to maintain a national income of $170 billion a year, a level they consider necessary to keep unemployment down to two million.

They figure that if federal, state, and local government spending falls no lower than $30 billion a year, and if new plant and equipment in industry absorb $15 billion, and if residential construction can be raised to the unprecedented level of $7 billion, and if inventories increase by $3 billion, and if exports exceed imports by $2 billion, consumer purchases will have to reach $113 billion to reach that goal of but two million unemployed. Let us see what that means in terms of consumer durables. The sale of consumer durables reached the highest peak in our history in 1941, when we turned out 3,700,000 automobiles, 13,700,000 radio sets, 3,500,000 household refrigerators, and almost 2,000,000 electric washing machines. Sales of consumer durables would have to be 50 per cent higher than that to achieve a national income of $170 billion.

The obstacle to the achievement of that goal lies in the realm of ideas and habits, in older ways of thinking and doing business, rather than in material capacity. Under the stimulus of war, national income is running over $200 billion a year, $30 billion more than that post-war goal. The experience of the war period has shown that business can increase profits despite high wages and high taxes when the volume of demand is great enough to bring about full utilization of facilities. The resultant decline in unit overhead costs is so great as to counterbalance or even outweigh the rise in the wage and tax bill. Full employment under peace-time conditions would require a steep increase in wages to support consuming power, but there seems little reason to doubt that it would also maintain profits at a high level.

All this is difficult of achievement in a capitalist system where every entrepeneur operates independently and pretty much by rule of thumb. A workable solution would be some means of combining freedom of enterprise—as a dynamic force in creating new industries—with sufficient central planning and coordination to insure joint action for maximum employment of facilities and manpower. In other fields of human activity it has not been impossible to combine liberty and order, and it is not impossible in the economic sphere. But in the typical expressions of supposedly considered business opinion one catches no glimpse of these horizons. The post-war "program" released here this week by the United States Chamber of Commerce is as evasive, as windy as anything in the Republican or Democratic platform. And the Committee for Economic Development isn't much better.

These so-called business programs—they aren't really programs at all but public-relations campaigns to build up private enterprise by ballyhoo—beg the question at every major point and nowhere get down to a serious discussion of actual problems. About the only thing clear in them is that business men want lower taxes. Here is what the United States Chamber of Commerce offers under "expansion of domestic economy": "Encourage the opening up of new frontiers of opportunity for the investment of capital and the expansion of business activity, small and large, with special attention to agricultural and urban development, to transportation and communication, and to management-labor relations. Support social-security measures which have been approved by business." This is a grab-bag of clichés and hedges, and this comes from an organization headed by a so-called "progressive" business man, Eric Johnston!

I'm afraid it will take a terrific jolt to wake these people up, and I'm not sure they have the capacity to adjust themselves. Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish economist who knows this country more intimately than most Americans do, told the National Economic Society of Sweden in March that the dirtiest trick the Japanese could play on us would be to surrender when Hitler does. Considering our lack of preparation to carry on at anywhere near an adequate level without war orders, Myrdal thinks the effect would be "an economic catastrophe for America." That would also be an economic catastrophe for the world. The thing that most impresses one at a conference like Bretton Woods is how much better prepared the most conservative European business men are than our own to adjust themselves to the social and economic realities of the post-war period. Perhaps while we get ready to export capital to Europe, Europe had better get ready to export a few ideas to America.

The Battle of Chicago

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

Chicago, July 21

YOU can't help liking Democrats even when they let their bosses tell them how to vote. You like them because they are noisy, good-humored, common; because they enjoy themselves; because some of the fervor of their orators sounds real and most of the response of the crowd is spontaneous. You like them because they voice their differences with such abandon and then make up with such hearty good-will. You like them because they are not Republicans.

Leaving the convention tonight after eight unbroken hours of windy speeches and tedious balloting, of yelling and marching, of hot dogs and cokes and hard seats, the delegates I talked to were bent on one thing: to get cleaned up and go out for some "real" food and drink. All factions united on this immediate program—and those I saw an hour later had accomplished the last item at least.

Before sitting down to put these impressions on paper I reread I. F. Stone's story of the Republican convention three weeks ago. He reported the "bovine apathy" of the delegates as they moved into the Dewey camp; the genteel country-club atmosphere of the whole assembly. "Human hamburger," Mr. Stone called it, "served up as Salisbury steak with a sprig of parsley." In Chicago this week the hamburger was plain chopped meat on the rare side and it was flavored with onions rather than parsley. Even at the end when the delegates stampeded into the Truman camp they did it amid cheers, jeers, and general uproar. There was no apathy visible in the Stadium tonight, nor at previous sessions. Nothing was cut and dried; deals made in upstairs rooms at the Stevens and Sherman had to be fought out on the floor. The party bosses worked for their triumph.

But they won. The job for the rest of us is to examine their victory, try to figure out how decisive it was, assess the strength of the progressive forces, analyze the strategy used—and then lay plans for future action. The story isn't a simple one, and some of the facts needed to make it clear are still known only to a few inside workers. But in sum the convention showed that the Democratic Old Guard is now in a position to gain control of the party; it showed that the liberal elements in the organization are sadly demoralized; and it showed that only labor, acting through the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, has had enough strength and political acumen to put up an effective if losing fight. Let's look at those assertions one by one.

First, the Old Guard. I use that tag to cover both the leaders of the Southern conservatives and those of the Northern city machines. They disagree on a lot of issues —but they worked together at Chicago. The Southern revolt against the Fourth Term fizzled out in the fight to defeat Wallace; only the Texas "regulars" were left stubborn and resentful, but their threats were louder than their acts: I still feel sure they will fall into line behind Roosevelt and Truman, for they must know that the present direction of the party offers new opportunities for the Texas brand of reaction.

Next, the liberal elements in the party. Their demoralization was clearly demonstrated by the President's letters and by various events at Chicago. The Old Guard was able to force the President to abandon Wallace. If he had come out clearly and directly for Wallace, without "dictation," the Vice-President would have been renominated. Even Mr. Roosevelt's first letter, with the sentence about "pros and cons" omitted, might have saved the day. But the second letter, tacitly assuming the Vice-President's defeat and expressing approval of either Truman or Douglas, was a death blow and many of the Wallace forces knew it. In that letter the President offered his unconditional surrender to Hannegan and Hague, Kelly and Flynn. The machine men had convinced him that Wallace's nomination would injure the party's chances by alienating still further the dissident Southern leaders. It was a typical "insider's" argument; it ignored the evidence of polls and popular demonstrations; it rested entirely on the necessity of keeping the state and local leaders in line and the party organization intact.

This position was strengthened rather than countered by the role of the Wallace forces in the various delegations. The best one can say for them is that they were decent and restrained. A few, like Senator Guffey, worked night and day for their candidate. But as a whole they were unprepared, unorganized, dispersed, ineffective. Some wanted Wallace to come out to Chicago and lead his own fight. Others opposed his coming as undignified and dangerous. Wallace headquarters were at the Sherman; the chief work of the convention was carried on at the Stevens where the Democratic National Committee was located and most of the important delegations were lodged. From the point of view of public effect this was disastrous. It is true that the Missouri delegation was also at the Sherman, but this did Truman little harm since his fate hung on the manipulations of the bosses, not on popular enthusiasm. Wallace had to show that he was, in fact, the "people's choice." But the warm and spontaneous demonstration that greeted him on his arrival at the Sherman was hardly known to the delegates as a whole; had it taken place at the Stevens it would have made a big impression. Nor were later activities better handled by his own crowd. His first press conference was jammed, badly arranged, and not very successful. On the day the convention formally opened the Wallace forces had not even turned out a piece of literature; there wasn't a Wallace button or ribbon or placard or banner. Undoubtedly his supporters were busy talking to delegates and political leaders. But in the situation that developed at Chicago, such efforts, while indispensable, were not enough. What was needed was overpowering public demonstration that the Wallace cohorts were strong, that they were fighting, that they intended to win. Not a hint of that mood could be detected. On the contrary, some of Wallace's chief advisers in the party insisted that he could not afford the ballyhoo of political propaganda; it would be incompatible with his position as Vice-President. With this counsel of dignity and reserve I strongly disagree. A bitter fight was fought at Chicago. No holds were barred by the other crowd. Either the Wallace backers had to take off their coats and wade in or they might better have given up in advance. As it was they did neither and lost.

From this criticism I want specifically to exempt Senator Guffey. He was the dynamic center of the pro-Wallace elements and he did all one man could to bring the Pennsylvania delegation behind the Vice-President and to line up key people from other states. But Guffey wasn't equipped to run a headquarters or a campaign; he had not even the facilities at hand to put out a press release. Those jobs belonged to the people at Wallace's headquarters in the Sherman. They fell down on them badly.

Undoubtedly the President's letters played a part in the moral rout of the liberal elements in the convention. They had to pretend that the first letter was a full, generous endorsement instead of a polite brush-off. They had to pretend that the second, fatal letter was merely a formal acknowledgement that Mr. Roosevelt would accept the will of the convention even if it chose someone other than the man he wanted. Neither pretense could possibly be made to ring true. The pro-Wallace liberals were forced to hold a position their leader had abandoned. This fact accounts for part of their ineffectiveness; but only part. Without regard to the President's action, they were not prepared to put up a strong fight for their candidate. Their failure has implications that reach far beyond the defeat of Henry A. Wallace at the Stadium this evening.

Now for the C. I. O. It is not without reason that the opponents of Wallace have charged Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray and the other leaders of the Political Action Committee with running the Wallace campaign. The twist the Old Guard and their newspaper backers give the facts is, of course, designed to alarm and mislead; but the truth is, the C. I. O. group here has done a remarkable job of tough political fighting. They have refused to be demoralized by the President's letters or tricked by the maneuvers of the party bosses. They stuck by Wallace to the end, knowing well the elements ganged up to bring about his defeat. They have used pressure where pressure was needed—for example, to force the withdrawal of Byrnes. They have talked votes to key party leaders from all over the country. Through C. I. O. members who are delegates they have worked hard to win the delegations from doubtful states. They have issued releases, arranged press conferences. It is owing to the Political Action Committee that on Thursday and Friday Wallace badges appeared on delegates' coat lapels and Wallace placards blossomed all over the floor and galleries of the Stadium. The P. A. C. did what Wallace's own backers in the party failed to do and they did it with a degree of zeal and honest conviction that was refreshing. That they did the job effectively, not as amateurs but as experienced political campaigners, is attested to by their enemies. The C. I. O. was nowhere discounted; as Mark Sullivan said yesterday, "It has been the frequent observation of newsmen and politicians that the C. I. O. committee and its leader, Mr. Sidney Hillman, has been the most powerful single factor in the convention."

Now this kind of talk was not, as you may imagine, intended to improve the fortunes of either the Democratic Party or of Mr. Wallace. Word spread around the Stadium that the P. A. C. was trying to control the convention and the party, and that only the nomination of Truman could save them from a C. I. O. dictatorship. This fear was deliberately stimulated by the anti-Wallace crowd. I heard people say, as if with sincere regret, that they were afraid that those C. I. O.'s had spoiled the Vice-President's chances. But if the efforts of the labor people partly boomeranged it is merely further proof of the feeble character of the other pro-Wallace activity. No doubt it would have been strategically preferable to have Wallace ribbons and placards issued from Wallace headquarters. No doubt the arguments of Iowa delegates would have been less subject to political distortion than those of the C. I. O. leaders. The answer is simple. Without the activity of the C. I. O. *there would have been no Wallace campaign whatsoever.*

The P. A. C. fought well and lost. On Thursday night it came within an inch of winning. With so much work to do, the Wallace forces had been stalling for time, while Hannegan wanted to rush through the Vice-Presidential nomination immediately after the President's acceptance speech. But suddenly the tactics shifted on both sides. Wallace's speech seconding the nomination of Roosevelt set off a spontaneous outburst of Wallace enthusiasm. It kept on in spite of the gavel of the chairman and the Wallace backers promptly decided that his moment had come. They let it be known that they favored Hannegan's plan to hold the Vice-Presidential nomination on Thursday evening. But Hannegan knew how to change his mind too. When he saw the galleries and floor white with Wallace placards and felt the pull toward Wallace among the delegates he lost interest in a quick nomination. The session was adjourned and all hands got to work.

The Hannegan-Flynn-Kelly-Hague cohorts are good in a clinch. They shoved the President's second letter under doubtful noses. They said the President had expressed his preference for Truman in personal long-distance conversations. They pointed out that in 1940 when he really wished to have Mr. Wallace nominated the President hadn't hesitated to say so. Throughout Thursday night the anti-Wallace men worked on the delegates and the party leaders. And finally they accumulated the promises that came to roost today.

The strength of the pro-Wallace labor forces may be measured by this incident. In the final engagement the bosses won. But to do so they had to throw in their heaviest armored divisions. And they had to compromise. The nomination of Truman was a negative victory for which the Political Action Committee can take full credit. If labor had not made itself felt as an organized political force, to be appeased since it could not be bought, the Old Guard would have nominated a Byrnes or Byrd. As it was, they had to find a man with a persuasive liberal record to defeat Wallace, a man whose nomination would insure the ticket the support of the Wallace forces themselves.

But let us not fool ourselves with the idea that the choice of Truman almost compensates for the defeat of Wallace. In spite of this forced concession, the convention ended with the combined reactionary forces in the Democratic Party, North and South, more firmly in control than at any time since 1932. Their drive for power was challenged but not stopped by the rise of a vigorous political labor organization. The battle is over for the moment. But as the tumult and shouting dies out in a hundred bars and special club cars, as the precinct captains and party bosses depart for home, it is evident that the struggle of the last few days has cleared the political air of many ambiguities. Lines have been drawn more sharply; an open division has been made between reactionaries and progressives—a division which even the President's letters failed to blur. The campaign that lies ahead will temporarily hold the opposing factions together in an alliance of necessity, since the immediate job is to defeat Dewey and prevent the return of the Republicans to power. It will not serve to disarm the forces that rallied to the vigorous leadership of the P. A. C. The Battle of Chicago has opened a new phase of an old war.

With the Red Army in Minsk

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

[*Anna Louise Strong, a sympathetic observer of developments in Russia for more than two decades, has recently returned via Siberia to Moscow. This is the first of a series of exclusive cables which Miss Strong will send to* The Nation *as the Red Army pushes on toward Germany.*]

Moscow, July 16, by Cable

EVERY night since my arrival in Moscow ten days ago fireworks have exploded colorfully over the city in salutes to victory, celebrating the freeing of cities which for three years have been under German rule. The crowds watch the bright bursts of fire against the pale summer night without applause but with deep satisfaction .They always believed this day would come.

Three capitals of Soviet republics, Petrozavodsk, Minsk, and Wilno, freed in the past fortnight, nineteen German generals captured in nineteen days, one a day—these achievements indicate the immensity of the Red Army's success.

The present operations are chiefly notable for the tremendous depth of the battlefield and the smashing speed of the advance across the swamps, rivers, and woods of White Russia. The entire front has moved 150 miles in six days from the Vitebsk-Mogilev line to the Polotsk-Baranovichi line. General Krilov's army entering Wilno advanced 240 miles in twelve days. As at Vitebsk, Bobruisk, and Minsk the Russians have used the classic tactics of encirclement. Now, while part of the Red Army mops up pockets of Germans who have been surrounded, other forces are plunging ahead to make new encirclements.

When I flew to Minsk in the special correspondents' plane on July 6, mopping-up battles were going on all around us; thousands of Germans were being dug out of the woods, some confusedly fighting, others surrendering to the first passer-by. Three surrendered to American correspondents.

Long talks with the prisoners showed me they had a depressed awareness of ultimate German defeat but not the slightest sense of German blame. Ten slightly wounded Germans groused because they were unfed and untreated two hours after their capture—in the city where the Germans had themselves destroyed all hospitals and food stocks. They seemed to expect the Red Army to find supplies for prisoners in the ruins. As a matter of fact, the Red Army was apparently equal even to this, for next morning I saw long lines of prisoners neatly bandaged en route to the rear.

The very different treatment given by the Germans to Red Army prisoners was described to me by various Minsk citizens, among them Hassia Prusolina, a former teacher of Russian history in the medical university. Hassia is a Jewess who escaped from the Minsk ghetto established by the Germans and stayed on in the city as a charwoman, with forged papers, for nearly a year. During this time she was in contact with White Russian partisans, helping them to get medical supplies. Her previous connections with medical students enabled her to smuggle out stuff even from German hospitals, if Russian doctors were working in them. Finally the Germans grew suspicious and Hassia had to flee. She lived in the woods as a partisan fighter from the autumn of 1942 until the Red Army took Minsk. "It is hard to get used to being under a roof again," she said, as we sat in the dining-room of a villa formerly occupied by the enemy staff and now temporarily serving as quarters for the American correspondents.

Hassia told me that in January, 1942, the Germans put thousands of Russian prisoners into unheated box cars and left them for seven days without food, then drove them into the Minsk streets. Those who couldn't walk were shot where they fell. From the freight yard to the Academy of Science the streets were filled with dead. Passers-by wept, but any man or woman who approached the prisoners to offer them water or food was shot. This story was confirmed by several other persons in Minsk.

The most gruesome tales were told by twelve Jews who believed themselves to be the only survivors of 120,000 Jews from many other localities who passed through the Minsk ghetto. Minsk, they said, was an extermination station for Viennese and Czech Jews. Nehemiah Zimmermann, whose cousin works in Brooklyn, and Ethillel Yabroz, who claims three brothers in New York, were first rounded up in Baranovichi, where the Germans established a ghetto of 12,000 persons. They said that the first pogrom in March, 1942, killed

BERLIN
J. STALIN
J.S

"And he's sent his luggage in advance."—*by Neb.*

Courtesy London *Daily Mail*

6,000 women, children, and old people unable to work. Workers got green tickets—"tickets to life." Later pogroms killed all except the more skilled specialists needed by the Germans. Twelve of these specialists were brought to Minsk. "Perhaps we look like people, but we are no longer really people," said one of them. "I had to stand with a green card in my hand and watch my wife put in a gas truck and driven away to death. After that one is not a man any more."

The Minsk ghetto was similarly decimated. From September, 1942, to October, 1943, thirty-nine trains averaging a thousand Jews each arrived from Vienna, Hamburg, and Czechoslovakian towns. Out of every train a handful of skilled workers were saved; the others were killed.

A hundred Jews were working in an automobile repair shop when the Germans began to evacuate the city at the approach of the Red Army. Knowing the Germans would kill them before they left, several of them managed to escape, hiding under ruined buildings for two days without water or food. The rest were shut up in the cellar of the Gestapo building, the former Soviet Medical Institute, and burned alive when the building was drenched with gasoline and set on fire. The surviving Jewish mechanics have given to Soviet investigators the names of the Germans who ordered the atrocities. One was a German sadist who exulted, "That's my ten-thousandth Jew," after shooting a group of helpless people. He made the remark tauntingly as he offered a cigarette to a Jew whose life was saved so that he could repair machines.

The hollow, charred walls of Minsk looked as if they could never be rebuilt. One of the American correspondents, after driving through blocks on blocks of ruins, remarked, "Here's where I would quit." However, the Mayor of Minsk and the City Soviet have already returned from partisan hideouts in the woods and set the inhabitants to work.

"The first task was to get rid of mines," the city official showing me around said. The partisan troops helped in this. The next task was to list abandoned German stores and put them under guard for public use. These things were mostly done during the first two days. Transport workers are repairing railway and street cars. The waterworks will deliver water in a few days. Minsk looks bad, but actually its condition is more hopeful than that of many other cities. The Red Army came swiftly, and the Germans left in a panic without time to make the destruction complete. There were many good patriots in Minsk who at the risk of their lives managed that night to disconnect the wires that were to blow up factories and other buildings. "How long will it take to rebuild?" I asked my guide. A shadow fell on his face as he admitted, "Many, many years."

The crowds in the Moscow streets watching the victory salutes are deeply content, but they are not lighthearted. They are preparing to restore the land that is freed.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

YIELDING TO RANK-AND-FILE pressure, William Green has grudgingly consented to the formation of a United Automobile Workers' National Council—a first step toward forming "one big union" of automotive workers. —*July 4, 1934.*

BOSTON HAD ANOTHER TEA PARTY a few weeks ago, to welcome the Nazi propaganda ship Karlsruhe. To be precise, there were two tea parties. At the first one, Governor Ely and Mayor Mansfield received the Hitlerite "good-will" gesture very cordially. The second meeting was sponsored by the Boston Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism, supported by a number of other anti-fascist organizations, including the Marine Workers' Union and the Irish Workers' Club, and was attended by several hundred Harvard, Radcliffe, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology students. According to the report of an official investigating committee, signed by Professors Arthur N. Holcombe, Ralph Barton Perry, and William Ernest Hocking, the police drove the demonstrators off the lot where they had assembled, and kicked, cuffed, and clubbed with indiscriminate fury. Twenty-one persons were arrested, and three of them were slugged after they had reached the station house, one of them, at least, into unconsciousness.—*July 4, 1934.*

IF UPTON SINCLAIR WINS the Democratic nomination, there will be a battle for fair with all the big-business Democrats flocking together with the Republicans to try to keep him out of the governorship. . . . "End Poverty in California" is Sinclair's slogan, which abbreviated gives the word EPIC, and this his campaign may well turn out to be.—OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, *July 11, 1934.*

AS THE SMOKE FROM NAZI RIFLES begins to lift from the scene of tragedy, it becomes possible to obtain a clearer view of the background and significance of the recent sanguinary events in the Reich. . . . Ernst Röhm, founder of the Storm Troops, has always possessed a totally different conception of the use of that body from that held by his close personal friend and chief, Adolf Hitler. . . . Meanwhile the Storm Troopers, composed almost entirely of young men without other means of support, had become openly discontented over the delay in putting the socialist half of the Nazi program into effect.—*July 18, 1934.*

THE FRENZY OF THE FILM CENSORS has grown to cyclonic proportions. A great white cloud of purity hangs over Hollywood. Cardinal Hayes and Dr. Tippy (for the Protestants) have spoken, Will Hays has answered meekly, and Mae West is revising her latest picture. . . . We are convinced that Mae West, like love, will find a way.—*July 25, 1934.*

Gandhi's New Strategy

BY LOUIS FISCHER

IT IS clear now that Mahatma Gandhi was released from jail not only for reasons of health. Gandhi was arrested on August 9, 1942. In January, 1944, he received, for the first time, a notice from the British government setting forth its reasons for his detention and granting him the right to make representations against further incarceration. There then ensued a fascinating exchange of letters between Gandhi and Viceroy Wavell, which I have read.

This correspondence was the preliminary to Gandhi's liberation and to his recent attempt at an understanding with the Moslems of India and the British. Seventy-five years old, bone and skin, brain and will, that man Gandhi is still, as Lord Linlithgow, Wavell's predecessor, said to me, "the biggest thing in India."

When one reconstructs India's recent history it develops that Britain quelled a near-rebellion during the last five months of 1942. Arson, murder, and serious property damage in strategic war areas were met with harsh repressive measures, including machine-gunning by military planes. The British won a victory. But it is indisputable that the battle could have been avoided. Even Gandhi, and certainly many of his close advisers, did not want the civil-disobedience movement which began on August 9, 1942. In fact, they never launched it. The resolution favoring it was adopted, but Gandhi hesitated and did not act to carry out the decision. He still hoped for a compromise with the British. Twice he asked for an interview with Linlithgow, and twice Linlithgow refused. It was the arrest of Gandhi and of thousands of his followers which precipitated the disturbances before the Indian National Congress Party had issued any orders defying the government.

There is reason to believe that the British government did not recoil from a test of strength with the nationalist movement of India; indeed, Churchill, the fighting imperialist, probably relished it. In 1935 Winston Churchill said, "Gandhism and all it stands for will sooner or later have to be grappled with and finally crushed." . . . Since 1935, of course, Churchill has not become less anti-Gandhi. He has become the King's First Minister, though not in order to liquidate the British Empire. As Prime Minister he can grapple with Gandhism and all it stands for. The events of 1942, after the failure of the Cripps mission, offered him an opportunity to do so.

That wasteful, bloody struggle between the British raj and the Indian champions of independence ended in Gandhi's defeat. The defeat taught Gandhi a profound lesson which he is now applying; it induced him to compromise on a basic tenet of his political faith—the unity of India. The vivisection of India into a Hindustan and a Moslem "Pakistan" has always been regarded by Gandhi as a sin against God, as "blasphemy." In my talks with him in 1942 his mind was closed against it. Gandhi is a queer mixture of stubbornness and pliability. He is unyielding because he is fanatically conscious of his life's mission to free India. On the other hand, he is a natural compromiser because, as he said to me, "I can never be sure I am right."

The 1942 disturbance also taught Wavell a valuable lesson: the suppression of riots does not solve the problem of governing India. The Indian population today is sullen and non-cooperative, and the whole country faces economic distress if not famine. India is living through a terrible crisis born of the loss of hope. This is what confronts Wavell in the next four years of his viceregal term. Wavell is no Linlithgow. He is a political philosopher, a man of culture, a beautiful writer, shy, thoughtful, and often very frank.

Sobered by their experiences since 1942, Gandhi and Wavell are both ready to make another attempt at an adjustment of rival British and Indian interests. This appears from their astonishing correspondence, which began with a letter Gandhi sent to Wavell, his jailer, on February 17, 1944. Gandhi addresses Wavell as "Dear Friend" and explains that "since I regard myself as a friend and servant of humanity, including the British, in token of my good-will I call you, foremost representative of the British in India, my 'friend.' " That is the way it begins, but then the Mahatma passes to the attack and warns against British self-satisfaction with the situation in India. He urges "a searching of hearts in British high places."

Wavell replied on February 25, 1944, with a short note, formal but not stiff, in which he takes "this opportunity to express to you deep sympathy from my wife and myself at the death of Mrs. Gandhi. We understand what this loss must mean to you after so many years of companionship."

Gandhi's response is dated "Detention Camp, March 9, 1944," and fills six and a half typewritten pages, double-space. After some strangely unconventional personal references to his relations with his wife, he deals with the Indian attitude toward the war, Japan, and India's future, and reiterates the view that the government provoked the 1942 difficulties. Gandhi advises

Wavell to meet India's leaders and "discuss the pros and cons of their policy with them." He even invites the Viceroy to fly down and talk with him in prison. "We are all friends of the British, however much we may criticize the British government and system in India. If you can but trust, you will find us to be the greatest helpers in the fight against Nazism, Fascism, Japanism, and the like."

Wavell sent a three-page answer on March 28 of this year. He stands by the Cripps offer and defends British policy. He criticizes the Congress Party and condemns its present attitude as "hindering and not forwarding Indian progress to self-government and development." ". . . I do not accuse you or the Congress Party of any wish deliberately to aid the Japanese," writes Wavell, but he expresses the opinion that Congress action did impede the war effort. Then, "to sum up, I believe that with general cooperation we can in the immediate future do much to solve India's economic problems and can make steady and substantial progress toward Indian self-government. I believe that the greatest contribution that the Congress Party can make toward India's welfare is to abandon the policy of non-cooperation and join whole-heartedly with the other Indian parties and with the British in helping India forward in economic and political progress—not by any dramatic or spectacular stroke but by hard and steady work toward the end ahead."

This is the little official olive branch.

Gandhi did not mince words in his last letter, dated April 9, 1944. "As I visualize India today," he declares, "it is one vast prison containing 400,000,000 souls. You are its sole custodian. Government prisons are prisons within this prison. . . . Is it not high time that you cooperated with the people of India through their elected representatives instead of expecting cooperation from them?"

Within a month—on May 5, 1944—Wavell freed Gandhi. As soon as Gandhi had recuperated from his almost fatal illness he asked to see Wavell and to confer with Nehru and the other executive members of the Congress Party who are still in jail. Failing that, he intimated to friends in Bombay, he might just as well go back to the detention camp, for his release would have served no useful purpose. Both requests were rejected.

At this crucial point Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari enters the picture. There is no keener mind in India than that of "C. R." as he is mercifully called. Sixty-five years old, intimate friend of Gandhi, father of the wife of Gandhi's son Devadas, leading nationalist and anti-imperialist, former prime minister of the Congress government of Madras, and a high-caste Brahmin, C. R. is the third outstanding figure in the Indian independence movement. Gandhi is its prophet, Nehru its poet, thinker, and crusader, Rajagopalachari its statesman. C. R. spent ten days with Gandhi near Bombay between June 30 and July 8. On July 9, 1944, Gandhi published his now-famous proposal for a settlement of the Indian political problem. The hand of C. R. is discernible throughout the text.

In the proposal Gandhi offers to form an Indian nationalist government with the Moslem League. That government would support the war, but military affairs are reserved as the exclusive province of the British. In relation to the new government the British Viceroy would play the same role as King George does toward the British Cabinet, that is, he could not veto its decisions.

Assuming Hindu-Moslem collaboration within such a government during the war, the Moslem population of India can, if it so expresses itself in a plebiscite after the war, establish its own Moslem state. This partition of India, however, Gandhi makes contingent on British withdrawal from India, not now, but when peace comes. C. R. has presented the plan to Jinnah, head of the Moslem League.

I spent many hours in exciting conversation with Rajagopalachari in Bombay in June, 1942. My diary entries, which are practically verbatim accounts of those talks, show how C. R.'s ideas helped shape the present Gandhi proposals. "If we arrive at an understanding with the British about complete independence after the war," he said to me, "and about Pakistan if the Moslems want it after the war when elections and boundary rectifications become possible, there will be no difficulty about Jinnah's participation in a responsible Indian Cabinet government." He even envisaged the possibility of Jinnah as Prime Minister of the first free Indian government. (So did Gandhi.)

C. R.'s fundamental approach is one of trust in the Moslems and the British. Off and on for the last two years he has been in touch with Jinnah with a view to bridging the Moslem-Hindu gulf. He secretly hopes that if the Moslems and Hindus join in a war-time government of India they will learn to know each other better and then the Moslems will abandon their project of a separate Pakistan.

Jinnah's strategy, before and today, is not difficult to understand. As long as the British deny India independence, Jinnah's uncompromising attitude toward the Congress Party and his fervent advocacy of Pakistan bring him popularity among Moslems, new members for his League, and excellent propaganda material. But the moment the British agree to a responsible Indian government Jinnah would have to join it, because intransigence would rob him of office, power to influence policy, patronage, and other advantages. By granting India a national government Britain, in other words, could unite Hindus and Moslems and win both for the war effort.

Hitherto, Pakistan has been a stumbling-block on the road to Hindu-Moslem unity. Jinnah insists on it; the British accepted it in the Cripps offer; Gandhi would not have it. Now Gandhi accepts it. Thus the way seems open to a Hindu-Moslem political agreement. Yet Jinnah may frustrate it. For he has thrived on his opposition to Congress and on the British government's opposition to Congress. The Congress is his target, his foil, and his reason for courting popular Moslem support. Jinnah will only bury the hatchet with Congress if he thinks that he will enjoy the countervailing benefits of participation in an Indian government. He could argue with cogency, moreover, that Gandhi's acceptance of Pakistan has no practical value unless the British grant India independence, for there could be no independent Pakistan unless all of India were independent.

An alternative possibility, Congress-Moslem League unity in the fight for independence, might not appear so alluring to Jinnah because if both pursued the same aim many Moslems would probably believe that Congress, which is the only political party in India, had the advantage of experience and tried leadership.

The key to the Indian situation remains, therefore, where it has always been, in the hands of the British government. Wavell and Churchill can heal the breach between the factions in India; they can mobilize India's millions behind the war. They can do these things by giving India what India needs and wants—a national Cabinet government. Nothing less will be regarded by Indians as a guaranty that Britain expects to quit India when Japan is defeated. Verbal promises are no longer believed in Asia.

Television Comes of Age

BY ALAN BARTH

TELEVISION entered the war an adolescent. It will emerge an adult. Like our young men who have been similarly catapulted into maturity, it may come home to a family anxious to impose upon it old habits and a planned career, which it has outgrown. Parents are slow to acknowledge their offspring have grown up.

The simple fact is that there has been compressed into the past two or three years a whole decade's normal development in electronics. This has made possible tremendous new communications achievements based on utilization of the ultra-high frequencies of the radio spectrum. The war blasted the lid off radio, shoved it up into the stratosphere, and put it to use in such mysterious forms as radar. There is every reason to believe that comparable miracles will be performed in the commercial field as soon as the veil of military secrecy can be lifted. Radio engineers agree that in the sphere of television this will mean pictures appreciably better than anything we have had.

Television has been talked about as a new art for some fifteen years. It was not brought down to a business basis, however, until five months before Pearl Harbor. In July, 1941, the Federal Communications Commission approved certain standards for the television industry and assigned a portion of the radio spectrum to it. Eight stations started operations of a limited and experimental nature. Manufacturers sold seven to eight thousand receiving instruments to the public—a high percentage of them in and around New York—at prices from $150 up. Since our entry into the war promptly ended the manufacture of new sets and consequently put a quietus on the expansion and perfection of broadcasting, these pioneers have been in possession of handsome pieces of furniture which for the past two and a half years must have seemed to partake of the nature of white elephants. NBC, CBS, General Electric, Dumont, Philco, Paramount, and Don Lee have each given them a few hours of broadcasting a week—canned stuff largely, with some live programs—but research into audience reaction reveals a low level of interest.

Once you have accepted the miracle of "video" broadcasting, you are bound to feel dissatisfaction with its quality today. The picture presented is only seven and a half by ten inches. This means that you must be very close to the screen to see it at all; and you quickly come to realize that "three's a crowd." The picture must be larger if the television set is to provide entertainment for a whole family or for friends.

It is possible, although it has not yet been done commercially, to blow the television image up to larger dimensions, say, eighteen by twenty-four inches, which is generally considered the best size for home use. But the picture will be somewhat coarse-grained, inferior in clarity and definition to sixteen-millimeter home motion-picture films. This is because telecasting is now limited to a band of six megacycles, which will permit transmission of a picture of no more than 525 lines, the standard set by the FCC before the war. Increasing the size of the picture merely spaces the lines farther apart. Pre-war conditions, while they give you a fairly clear, flickerless image, do not permit you to see the refinements of form or texture—let alone the excitement of color. High-quality color requires a very much greater number of picture elements than can be transmitted within the six-megacycle band now standard.

Because of its lack of definition, television must rely heavily upon close-ups. It can show you a figure but not much of the background. In a group the individual becomes nearly indistinguishable. The limitation has an unhappy effect upon television's entertainment value. It hampers transmission of athletic events, particularly games like football involving many players. And it vitiates dramatic programs. Instead of showing the relationship between persons, the television director must shift his camera from one player to another. He cannot even attempt complex forms of dramatic action.

Television's inability to transmit detail is a serious drawback from the advertiser's point of view. If a dress designer wishes to use the medium for a fashion show, he will be disconsolate to discover that it cannot reveal the subtleties of cut, cloth, and color he has put into his creations. To compare it with other media, the best that television can do today with its seven-and-a-half-by-ten image is to offer the equivalent of a forty-five-to-forty-eight-line halftone cut; when the image is enlarged to eighteen by twenty-four, it is no better than a twenty-four-line halftone. Any newspaper can print halftones of sixty-five to eighty-five lines. As for color, television's current rudimentary color processes permit a picture of no more than about thirty-five lines. A slick-paper magazine is capable of reproducing color photographs of 125 lines. Under such limitations, television is in grave danger of losing both the audience response and the financial support which, in our economic system, are indispensable to its success.

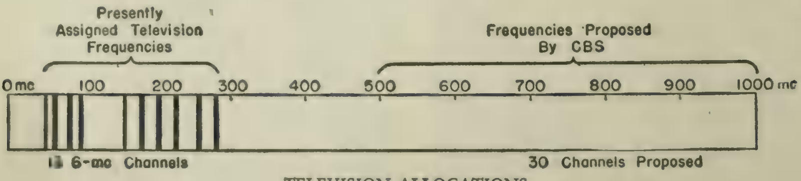
The Columbia Broadcasting System has looked this situation squarely in the face and has proposed a radical remedy. Since the narrow six-megacycle band now available to television is at the root of its difficulties, CBS urges that television be moved up into the ultra-high frequencies which the war has taught it how to use and which would place greater space at its disposal. CBS wants television to operate in bands of fourteen to sixteen megacycles. With these it could transmit pictures with twice the clarity, detail, and richness. Television now has 18 channels of 6 megacycles each, assigned to it in the spectrum between 50 and 300 megacycles. Of these only the first 5, between 50 and 90 megacycles, are now in operation or within the dial range of present receiving sets. (See chart below.) It is useless to talk of broadening television's channels in this region. The spectrum is already overcrowded. And when the war ends, greater space will undoubtedly have to be reserved for radio services to aviation and navigation. These transmissions belong, logically, in the area now occupied by television.

But the upper reaches of the spectrum are as yet untenanted. CBS proposes the allocation to television of some 30-odd channels, each 16 megacycles wide, in the space between 500 and 1,000 megacycles; in other words, not only wider bands for better pictures but also more bands for greater competition. The suitability of these ultra-high frequencies for television's needs still awaits practical demonstration and commercial adaptation. But CBS has stated its position with admirable restraint: "This much seems true—a single year of concentrated effort in a dozen engineering laboratories should *prove* the case for better television pictures or else *disprove* it. Hundreds of American engineers have done ten times as much, in two taut years of war, as remains to be done in one full year of peace."

The CBS proposal has stirred up a hot controversy in the radio trade. Two objections to it have been raised, apart from the fact that it has not yet been incontrovertibly proved feasible. One is that the entire pre-war investment in television—the transmitters of pioneer broadcasters as well as the seven thousand receiving sets in the hands of the public—would have to be scrapped. The other is that the change-over would retard production and employment in the industry in the immediate post-war period.

These objections have been voiced most volubly by Niles Trammell, president of the National Broadcasting Company, a subsidiary of the Radio Corporation of America. While CBS is interested exclusively in broadcasting, not in manufacturing, postponement of production would work a real hardship upon RCA, which possesses the facilities, the dies, and the know-how to turn out pre-war television transmitters and receivers as soon as the materials become available. Philco, Dumont, and Emerson, all makers of equipment, feel much the same way. Zenith and Westinghouse, though manufacturers, are squarely on the side of CBS. General Electric and Farnsworth have taken no part in the controversy. General Electric, indeed, has accepted an order to turn out the first post-war ultra-high-frequency transmitter for Columbia.

There is a real danger that the exploitation of lower-frequency television may rule out or indefinitely delay the introduction of higher-frequency television, since



TELEVISION ALLOCATIONS

there is a lock-and-key relationship between transmitters and receivers. It is impractical and uneconomic to build television sets capable of receiving broadcasts both at the present level and in the upper reaches of the spectrum. If transmission should shift to the ultra-high channels, receivers of the type now in the hands of the public would be of interest only to museums. It is one thing to talk of shifting television's place in the spectrum when only a few thousand sets would be rendered obsolete by the change. It would be something quite different to talk of doing this after a few million sets had been sold. This is what Chairman James L. Fly of the Federal Communications Commission had in mind when he inveighed recently against "freezing television at the old pre-war standards."

Commissioner E. K. Jett of the FCC also opposes such freezing but favors utilization of the lower frequencies until in time the higher frequencies supplant them. He envisages a dual system of transmission during a transitional period, to service both old and new types of receiver. The television panel of the Radio Technical Planning Board, a group of outstanding government and industry radio engineers, has also advocated continuance of the FCC's pre-war standards and, at the same time, allocation of a broad space to television in the ultra-high frequencies for experimental purposes, without establishment of any standards for its present use. Two kinds of television, however, could not long be maintained: no broadcaster could long afford to service both, and the limitations of the lower frequency would impair programs for the higher. The present standards might reasonably be continued for a year or so until higher standards are proved practicable.

Four measures seem necessary to safeguard the public interest: (1) the FCC, while permitting television broadcasts at present standards, should insist upon intensive experimentation in use of the ultra-high frequencies; (2) the FCC should make clear to broadcasters and public alike that the present standards are provisional and will be reviewed when large-scale manufacture can be resumed; (3) the FCC should set aside space for television now at the top of the spectrum; (4) the broadcasters should restrain their panegyrics about the present type of television and inform the public that better television may soon be achieved.

With these precautions, the issue may well resolve itself. Just how soon the government will release its electronic secrets is anybody's guess—probably not until the Japanese have no further use for them. Nor is the War Production Board likely to allocate materials for large-scale manufacture of television equipment any earlier. Manufacturers, moreover, will have plenty to do for a while meeting the post-war demand for audio sets. Most important of all, television broadcasting on a nation-wide basis cannot be created quickly.

Television is peculiarly a network job. It is enormously expensive, and those who engage in it will have to build gradually and be prepared for a long period of deficit financing. In all likelihood a decade will elapse before the hundred largest cities in the United States have television transmitters in operation and anything resembling a national network can exist. The feasibility of ultra-high-frequency telecasting should be definitely proved or disproved long before the public is ready to invest in any great number of receiving sets.

When television comes of age, we shall have a new art form.

Niles Trammell indulged in no hyperbole when he said, "It is not just a better form of product or a better way of doing a thing that has been done before. It is something totally new and unique and original." It will not displace or replace anything else. It will grow on new soil where nothing ever grew before."

In the Wind

ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH, of the Republican Roosevelts, is given as the source of this remark about Dewey: "Who wants to vote for a man who looks like a bridegroom on a wedding cake?"

ALTHOUGH THE OWI'S RESEARCH DIVISION was scrapped by Congress, there will still be research—of a kind. *Tide,* an advertising trade magazine, reports that private industry is financing a new bureau to carry on the work. It will operate as an adjunct of the War Advertising Council.

AMID SUCH GOINGS ON, more and more people are turning to the consolation of philosophy. Both the Modern Library and the publishers of the Everyman series report steadily increasing sales of such authors as Plato, Aristotle, Tacitus, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, William James, Henri Bergson, Sir Thomas Browne, Spinoza, Thomas à Kempis, and Saint Augustine.

A NAVAL LIEUTENANT, born in Florida, has been relieved of his command for addressing a group of Negro sailors to whom he was lecturing as "you niggers."

THE POLICEMEN OF LONG BEACH, California, having been assured by the city attorney that it is legal for them to join a union, have organized and elected officers (A. F. of L.).

FESTUNG EUROPA: Belgian government bonds of 1936 and 1937, which were quoted at 32 per cent of face value on the London market in June, 1940, are now quoted at 98 per cent. . . . The Nazi-sponsored company union of the Michelin automobile plant in France recently held a meeting to elect twenty-six delegates. But when the votes were counted it appeared that only four delegates had been elected: Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, and De Gaulle.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Last of the Scapegoats

BY WALTER MEHRING

THE alleged attempt on the life of Hitler suggests that the crisis in Germany is coming to a head. Was there really a bomb or was the incident manufactured to justify another purge akin to that of June 30, 1934, when the Führer liquidated the chiefs of the S. A.? Then he made a speech justifying his action on the ground that these men were plotting against him—a speech in which he claimed, as he did again on this occasion, that "providence" had saved him "to carry on his work." In 1934 Hitler, to placate the General Staff, destroyed the Nazi radicals; today he must destroy the General Staff and attempt to pin on it responsibility for defeat. The army, in turn, seeks to transfer the blame to him. Neither will succeed, and both will go down together, for there is no other group left in Germany which can be used as a scapegoat.

In all the 123 years since it was first organized by Gneisenau, the German General Staff has never suffered such losses under any of its leaders as it has under the present ones. Before the war its ranks were thinned by executions and fatal accidents; during the war the thinning process has been continued by surrender to the enemy, by the suicidal "hero's death" in battle, and by dismissal and subsequent house arrest.

Those who survive are members of the military camarilla that chose the corporal Adolf Hitler to be the front man for its intrigues. When Herr Brüning suggested to the monarchist Hindenburg that he restore the monarchy, the "acting Kaiser" roughly refused. Why? The Prussian generals, in preparing their assault on the world, preferred to have in office a servile "orderly" who would never oppose any of their plans.

And so they set up a dummy leader, crowned like any monarch with the halo of Hegel's deified state. But alas, in order to maintain his dictatorship the orderly had to have more and more authority—and he had an insatiable appetite for victory over his enemies, first in Germany and then throughout the world. Within Germany, for every defect, every abuse, every bad condition, he found internal enemies on whom to saddle the guilt—Socialists, pacifists, Jews, Catholics, and when necessary his own companions.

Total political power carries with it total military authority, and the result can only be total victory or total defeat. And as the generals have used up most of the military reserves, Hitler has used up his political reserves—all those who might have been able to negotiate an "honorable" peace involving something less than unconditional surrender and later serve as scapegoats. He has already liquidated all the scapegoats.

Most German generals today look back with longing to the good old days of 1918, to the sham revolution they engineered, to the conveniently "disgraceful" Treaty of Versailles, to the abundance of scapegoats. It was child's play for them to get rid of the Kaiser, for all the kings of Prussia since Friedrich Wilhelm I, the "Soldier King," had been ruled by the Junker officers. After the defeat, the General Staff arranged to have Germany represented at the armistice conference by members of the civil groups it hated most—"reds," Jews, and Catholics. These, while the generals were silent, shouldered the whole burden of national humiliation.

The national thirst for revenge was slaked from time to time by the blood of the one of these unfortunate men. The Catholic Matthias Erzberger, who had signed the armistice terms, was murdered in 1921; the Jew Walther Rathenau, who had kept Germany supplied with raw materials during the war, who in 1918 had called for a mass resurgence in support of the war, who had presented Germany's side at Versailles, who by means of an understanding with the Russians had won important concessions for Germany at Genoa, was killed in 1922. The responsibility for these murders was denied by the Junker officers; but a paid spy of the "Black Reichswehr" named Adolf Hitler openly praised the murderers as heroes.

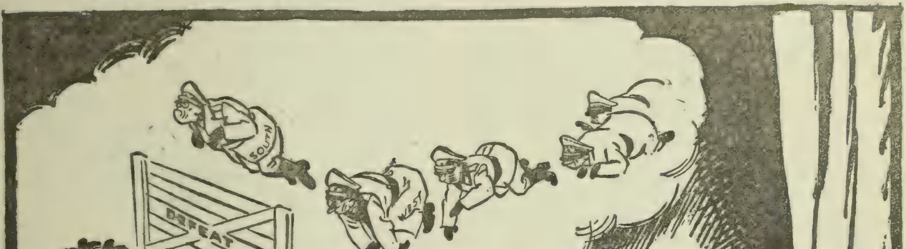
At first the Allies demanded not only reparations but the handing over of those who had instigated the war. A patriotic German scholar of world-wide reputation, the sociologist Max Weber, went to Ludendorff with the request that he give himself up for the sake of the nation. The patriot Ludendorff answered, "The nation? The nation can polish my boots."

A true Prussian officer is always innocent. As early as May, 1918, Field Marshal von Hindenburg wrote to his wife at Hanover, "I shall not be to blame if the war does not end advantageously for us." And at the end of September the General Staff came out with its explanation of the situation. "The game is lost this time," Ludendorff told a meeting of the War Cabinet on September 28. "War has its ups and downs. Perhaps another time Germany will have better luck."

The first two offensives against the Weimar Republic, the Kapp putsch in Berlin and the Hitler putsch in Munich, failed; General Ludendorff had been one of the instigators of both of them. For these failures, as for the defeat in the First World War, he blamed (1) the Jews, whose help in war and hospitality in peace he had received; (2) the Socialists, who had saved his life; (3) the Freemasons, and (4) the Catholic church. In a pamphlet entitled "The Gravediggers of Germany" he even accused his former comrade, Adolf Hitler, of being "a hireling of the Vatican."

The German General Staff had only one aim—to reestablish the "Prussian soldier state" at any price. To that end it allowed its representative in office, President Hindenburg, to drop the monarchist Brüning; to that end it sacrificed its comrade von Schleicher; to that end it raised to power one whom it openly despised, the corporal Hitler. (The corporal, true to the finest traditions of the Prussian officer class, saddled the guilt on others by burning the Reichstag.) The General Staff silently consented to all Hitler's subsequent excesses on the understanding that it would not participate in them; it was silent when many of its comrades who spoke out against the dictatorship were murdered. Its instrument this time was not a complaisant King of Prussia but a bohemian adventurer, a usurper, an underworld Caesar, who has implicated them in all his crimes.

The present strategy of the General Staff is dictated by the fear of death. It is fighting on four fronts: abroad, against Bolshevism on one side and democracy on the other; at home, against the dictatorship on one side and the people on the other. To which of the two external enemies shall it surrender, the Americans and the English or the Russians? If it raises the white flag, whom shall it blame? It must fight for its life against the dictatorship. Any general who mentions the word "surrender" risks his head; anyone who speaks of it even to his intimate friends runs the risk of being betrayed. The individual seeking a way out has a rather limited choice: he can let himself be captured, trusting to the magnanimity of the enemy—the Russians have taken a good crop of generals lately—or he can seek a "hero's death" in battle. The General Staff, collectively, has another choice: it can stab its accomplice, the National Socialist Party, in the back. But then, alas, it will have killed the last of the scapegoats.



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Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

A SHUDDER ran through the world when it read of the threats shouted over the German radio on July 10 about what would happen if "the war spills over on to our holy German soil." "We will turn this continent," a voice said, "into a maelstrom of destruction where only one cry is heard—the cry for blood." But although there will be destruction and blood enough in the last act as there was in the first, this crazy threat has less practical significance than at first appeared. It was not exploded in a political but in a lyrical program. No minister or general, not even a political commentator, presented mankind with the ultimatum. It was a *bel esprit,* a man of letters, who gave himself up to the ecstasy of prophecy. And in literature such prophecies are an old story. Long before the Nazis had reason to despair, their poets indulged in similar wild visions. As much as two years ago a poem was quoted here which has since been included in all German schoolbooks. "The earth shall tremble to its core," it threatened, "when its noblest race falls." And it ended: "As Attila's hall crashed and burned when he conquered the Nibelungs, so shall Europe burst into flame when the Germans perish." We should not forget that German poets and artists, especially the bad poets and artists, have always had a morbid craving to wallow in ideas of death and to unroll pictures of cosmic destruction.

A not less characteristic reminder of this literature is found in the name of the fortified line which the war in Italy is now approaching. It was christened *Gothenlinie,* which should be translated, not Gothic Line, but Line of the Goths. To German ears the words are ominously symbolic. The Goths were a Germanic people who in the sixth century ruled in Italy for some eighty years. Finally they were overcome and annihilated—in a long, bitter campaign which also began with an invasion from Africa by way of Sicily. The few that survived, bearing with them the embalmed body of the last king, were driven into the Alps and probably perished there. This Germanic tragedy of death and annihilation was made the subject of a novel that several decades ago became by far the most popular ever published in Germany. Two generations of Germans, among them Marshal Kesselring, read and were fascinated by Felix Dahn's "Ein Kampf um Rom." Millions declaimed the closing poem glorifying the Goths' last march: "Gebt Raum, Ihr Völker, unserem Schritt, wir sind die letzten Gothen!" To German ears there is a sharp suggestion of disaster in the name "Line of the Goths."

The basic hopelessness of the situation has, in the words of one reporter, "become obvious to four-fifths of the Germans." The government, which wants to continue the struggle, must therefore be seeking arguments to prove that in spite of all appearances the people should keep up hope. If one examines the latest Goebbels propaganda, however, one notes that it is almost devoid of statements that would give rise to expectations of a change for the better. After the collapse of faith in the "V-I" it spoke of still more powerful future weapons. It said that if the enemy is stronger in numbers and arms, the Germans are superior in moral force and resolution. But that sort of thing is no longer impressive. Nor is the sudden discovery that the Reich still possesses immense untapped reserves which can now be thrown into the scales. The Goebbels repertoire consists in the main of references to these reserves. The current slogan is: "Now the war must be totalized." An editorial in the *Völkische Beobachter* proclaimed on July 9:

> The nation is in danger. In this situation it can no longer be tolerated that German citizens should continue a way of life that does not correspond to the demands of the times. Germany's technical superiority must be restored by a new War Totalization Campaign.

The *Svenska Dagbladet* of July 10 declared:

> Germany is now flooded with so-called defense appeals designed to elicit a fresh national effort. . . . The catastrophe at Stalingrad was the signal for the first big campaign for a so-called "totalization" of the war effort. Now a second has begun. Goebbels opened it with a speech in eastern Germany, and in coming weeks his demands on the German people will be repeated and intensified. Press and radio will shriek: "Mobilize everything that is still left of mental and material reserves! This is our last chance to win the war."

But the campaign is only the repetition of an undertaking which was feverishly overdone and overpublicized before, and the first measures taken reveal how much less can be squeezed out now. It has been decreed, for example, that the street railways shall no longer simply carry people but shall be used in part to move goods within the cities. And shops selling bread may no longer order it where they like; to save transportation they must get it from the nearest baker. Who can expect such trifles to have a decisive effect on the war?

Even less confidence is aroused by the fierce drive to press boys of the class of 1928—those between fifteen and sixteen years old—into the army as volunteers. This drive was started in all provinces at the beginning of July. In the Rhineland the overture was a proclamation by the Gauleiter. From time immemorial, that official declared, it has been the right and privilege of German youth to fight for the fatherland. "Every Hitler youth in our province is a good fellow, and every good fellow in an hour like this will be eager to share in the honor of defending his homeland." This call for fifteen-year-old boys is the clearest possible revelation that there can be no further talk of untapped reserves.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

JOHN DOS PASSOS has taken another look at U. S. A., and his findings are set down in "State of the Nation" (Houghton Mifflin, $3). For the duration at least the United States is once more the land of opportunity, and "Produce!" is its slogan. The depression of a decade ago has left its mark—more than once Mr. Dos Passos was told that men were afraid of working themselves out of a job. The post-war problems which will soon be upon us crop up occasionally. But, in general, managers and men on the farms as well as in the factories are enjoying the excitement of producing to the limit of their capacities. This excitement about production for production's sake, which Mr. Dos Passos communicates because he was himself caught up in it, seems to be a more potent motivation than simple patriotism and not less important than high wages.

One of the liveliest places in the United States, by Dos Passos's account, is the Northwest, the land of Grand Coulee, where the great dam and the cheap and seemingly endless power it generates have given the American dream a new lease of life. "Public power plus private initiative, that's our story." "I get that Klondike feeling," said Dos Passos's friend. "We're on the great circle route to China and the Orient. There's no reason why there shouldn't be an immense demand for our manufactured products. . . ." But only if there's a plan, and freedom from interference from "the big boys back East."

As one reads one almost forgets that the rationale of this vast manifestation of energy, initiative, and skill, of this new surge of the frontier spirit, is the most destructive war in history. Almost but not quite, for Mr. Dos Passos is aware of it, and it haunts his book. It becomes explicit in his chapters on Washington, where everyone agrees that the New Deal, which sponsored Grand Coulee and the TVA, has run its course, where the "big boys" and their representatives are all too powerful, where frustration is an occupational hazard. "Christ, it's the tar baby. . . . You try to give it a kick and your foot gets stuck and you try to give it a punch and your fist gets stuck and you try to back off and butt it with your head and your head gets stuck." Some people feel differently of course—it all depends on the agency you work for. In spite of inefficiency, waste, and obstruction, the miracle of American war production has been accomplished—and everyone agrees that it has been free of corruption. Money corruption that is. Today it's power that talks. But to quote another witness, "everything's done with the higherups. War belongs to the higherups. . . . Our productive potential was so great we found we could do without the people."

Mr. Dos Passos has done primarily a reporting job—and it is good reading in spite of those funny words of his and the slight monotony of his sensory style after its first freshness wears off. His own conclusions are contained in a brief Letter to a Friend in the Theaters which prefaces the book. It is mainly a statement of faith—a rather tired and negative faith which does not include specifications. Since we've held on to our liberties this long—and "what holds us together as a nation is our system of liberties"—we may continue to hold on to them, though admittedly "we haven't the leadership, the education, the theoretical background, or the political formula we need" to meet the test that will come with the end of the war.

It is easy enough to say that the formula we need is implicit in the "socialist planning"—public ownership plus private initiative of the creative not the predatory brand—which has been so successful in human as well as economic terms at Grand Coulee and TVA. That way, certainly, lies the possibility of a peace-time rationale which would allow for full production—of medical care as well as automobiles—and give scope to "that Klondike feeling." But only a romantic would condescend to Mr. Dos Passos's feeling that the odds are against it except as a long-term, "back-door" prospect. Private monopoly can still do, and do a great deal, without the people. The people are only on the edge of discovering that they can do without private monopoly.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Too Bad to Be True

VIA DIPLOMATIC POUCH. By Douglas Miller. With a Foreword by William L. Shirer. Didier. $3.

DOUGLAS MILLER, for fifteen years our commercial attaché in Berlin and author of the best-seller "You Can't Do Business with Hitler," which was published six months before Hitler's declaration of war against the United States, has assembled in this volume a number of his frequent reports to the State Department during the fateful years from 1931 to 1937. In spite of Shirer's effective foreword and the author's convincing preface—"ideas and impressions set down at the time are a better record than second guesses made long after the event"—I was afraid of finding nothing new in these reports. By their nature they were bound to have not only the advantages but also the disadvantages of an eyewitness account. But having once started to read the volume I was unable to put it down.

To read Mr. Miller's factual observations today is to learn about much more than the sad auspices under which American trade with Germany was carried on after Hitler became Chancellor, or the role of business in a totalitarian state of whatever color. The special value of these reports almost a decade after they were written consists in the accurate inside story they tell of Hitler's methods of establishing his power over the German people and the minds and properties of many foreigners both inside and outside Germany. Mr. Miller is not one of those professional ideologists who always want the common people to make sacrifices for their lofty conceptions while they themselves prefer the permanent position of commentators with quickly shifting views.

He writes as a shrewd and trained observer of business conditions. From day to day he records the measures which the Nazi leaders took to establish and perpetuate their power, part of which they had received as a present from above against the will of the majority of the German people. His reports, though written with a different purpose in mind, show the mechanics of the camouflaged trap in which the German people were caught. They are to be recommended especially to those who showed little interest in what happened in Germany during the thirties but who have today strong opinions about how the German people should have behaved at the time—opinions based on a complete underestimation of the physical and psychological terror the modern state can wield.

Mr. Miller makes in his reports many prophecies which were ignored at the time but have all come true. In his preface he states that he underestimated the Nazi capacity for evil. He says, "Hitler seemed too bad to be true." No honest man can say today that he did not hold the same mistaken view at least for a time. The German people as a whole had that opinion until it was too late; the other European peoples continued to hold it for years, and so did the American people. It is good to be reminded of this fundamental fact in these days of Hitler's imminent fall, when the threat looms that the coming peace may be based on an emotional misconception of the German people—a misconception which is in many ways related to the earlier underestimation of Hitler, and would prove equally disastrous.

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History, Psychology, and Culture

THE CONDITION OF MAN. By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.

IT IS an old saw that every age has to rewrite history. And the history written today, to be convincing, must bear the imprint of current values and include points of view drawn from other disciplines.

All the significant attempts of our time to recapitulate and evaluate the past employ the culture concept: they view history, that is, as a series of cultures and recognize that the manifestations of a given epoch are not discrete and disconnected but integrally related. All of them make more or less use of the new methodological tools which have been developed since the turn of the century. These have been drawn largely from biology, especially the theory of evolution; from social theory, especially Marxism; from anthropology, which invented the culture concept and taught Western man that there are successful patterns of living other than his own; and last but not least from modern psychodynamics, which has completely revised our conception of personality and character and their social relevancy.

Spengler, Pareto, and Toynbee, to mention only a few modern scholars, have used the culture concept and, in varying degree, the new methodological tools. Where they differ is in the selection of data, the interpretation of the correlations established, and the theoretical basis of these correlations. None has escaped the temptation to become a pleader for some special cause or, more crassly, to make history an instrument of propaganda—though this is much less true of Toynbee than of the others. All of them, working without benefit of psychodynamics, have taken wide privileges with the data. Spengler harnessed the culture concept to a vitalistic view of nations and saw in the rise and fall of cultures a replica of the life cycle of the individual; and his book became the basis for a "devil take the hindmost" conception of human relations. Pareto's extravagances are of another kind, which need not be discussed. He did see a significant relation between "residues" and "derivations." But this important correlation is lost through the failure to develop a technique for handling it, and mountains of obscurantist blather are the result.

Mr. Mumford's book belongs in the category of significant attempts to examine the history of Western society. He has had much experience in evaluating the role of technics in civilization and the culture of cities. He is skilled in demonstrating the links between the various phenomena of a given movement or epoch, but he is not convincing in describing transitions and cultural changes because he has no frame of reference, no operating principles, not even a plan. He does have strong emotional attitudes; and in place of empirically verifiable deductions we have a long series of very personal appraisals and value judgments. At the end of the book he is quite winded, with little to offer in the way of constructive suggestions except a few feeble exhortations for a change in "values," for stronger personality formation, and the like. He knows that psychodynamics has a contribution to make to the understanding of the cultural process, but all we find of this discipline is the uncritical use of a few psychoanalytic shibboleths.

The work really begins with the discussion of Christianity. And here the author's lack of a method shows itself most clearly. There is no definition of the role of fantasy and religion in human adaptation and no effort to track down the sources of religious ideology. There is no definition of the effective ideas in Christianity, and the author makes no systematic effort to reconcile these ideas with the life situations then prevailing. The result is a purely literary account of Christianity. We are not told why the doctrine originated or why it "took"—presumably, according to Mumford, it caught on because it had intrinsically beautiful or moral ideas.

Having missed many of the essentials concerning the origin of Christianity, Mr. Mumford fares no better with the church. We are told that somehow suffering was stressed by the church. This was a kind of doctrinal error, according to Mumford, since Christianity was strong and beautiful. Or this emphasis on suffering was due to the fact that "those who had no health in them" indorsed this aspect of the new religion. It is no more enlightening to be told that Christianity "gave to suffering a noble role in life." This exaltation of the role of suffering was no arbitrary fiat of the church, no incidental epiphenomenon; it was intimately related to the renunciation of pleasure pursuits. In terms of psychodynamics the equation can be stated thus: "You suffer because you have sinned, but you can be reinstated in the good graces of God if you renounce all pleasure pursuits. This causes more suffering, but by this suffering you can move God to reinstate you." These ideas were all contained in the basic disciplines of the ancient Hebrews and have ever been a daily experience to the growing child. But Mr. Mumford does not tell us why the church was inimical to the pleasure drives; much later he does speak of the upsurges of the "libido," which have a way of recurring again and again.

Mr. Mumford's treatment of Christianity and the church is typical. He makes significant correlations but also omits pertinent data. Christian doctrine, its emergence from Judaism, the new values it legitimized, the reason for its widespread appeal, its internal structure—these are all consistent and simple. But neither this development nor any of the succeeding and more complicated cultural changes can be explained without a more systematic knowledge of the human being, the creature and creator of culture. Value judgments, in lieu of this knowledge, are confusing.

In his appraisal of the medieval synthesis Mr. Mumford recognizes that a serious incompatibility was created by the fact that "one aspect of the conceptual world remained fixed, whereas the expanding practical world challenged the integrity of the old synthesis, which could no longer provide a rational basis for action." Had he expanded this thesis, he would have been on safe ground. But Mumford has to bring in the motif of "love breaking its bounds." We are told that "the people of the Middle Ages overcame the tendency toward metaphysical dualism even in sexual relations, and their practice was more ideal than their idealization." To the reviewer this sounds like pretentious nonsense. We gather that he owes this conclusion to an uncritical indorsement of a psychoanalytic survey of medieval society which concludes that "parents were able to live their lives on a genital level." (The reader is not told the implications of

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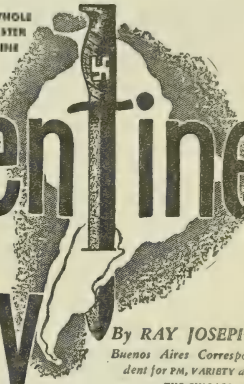

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this statement—that it is an evaluation of culture by the criteria of Freud's libido theory; and that "genital" represents the most advanced stage of the growth process.) This uncritical indorsement gets the author into serious inconsistencies. He tells us that "Aquinas chose authority for purely pragmatic reasons; it simplified his task and guaranteed his orthodoxy"—that is, his security. He does not see that this attitude of submission to authority is incompatible with the idea of "genitality." Yet it is in the medieval epoch that Mr. Mumford sees the greatest synthesis, and he seems rather nostalgic about it.

In the breakdown of the medieval synthesis after the Black Death Mumford finds the church lined up with capitalism, and he considers Protestantism a fight against capitalists. Mr. Mumford's position here is unique, and it is one which he would never have taken but for the fateful analogy of the church as a bank in which virtue credits were stored and drawn upon.

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Most of Mr. Mumford's difficulties arise from the fact that he has no working conception of the human personality. He does not think systematically about the two orders of mental phenomena—those found in religious systems and those in empirically derived rational systems; the two have different origins and functions in the personality and produce different social phenomena. He can formulate no accurate picture of how the personality is affected by basic cultural factors or of how man organizes his mental resources in the face of cultural change.

When he comes to our time, Mr. Mumford can do no more than bemoan the fact that the machine has conquered man instead of the reverse. Darwin, he tells us, merely "read back into nature the current struggle for economic success." He "sanctified the brutality of industrialism and gave fresh impulse to the imperialism that succeeded it." The final disintegration came with fascism.

What to do about all this? Mr. Mumford's recommendation that we change our *values* and organize our personalities to a better balance does not move us. How are we to do this? For the values he wants changed are the products of the entire life pattern and not the reverse. He merely offers us an invitation to lift ourselves by our psychological bootstraps.

And so Mr. Mumford's attempt remains a highly personal one, filled with inconsistencies and devoid of usable directives. But it is an earnest effort and instructive within its limits. It is disappointing only because it appears at a time when we demand of a study of culture that it increase our understanding of the present. For this end Mr. Mumford's technique is antiquated because it relies on authoritative pronouncements and not on empirically verifiable demonstration. Empiricism in the social sciences is the only protection society has against the vagaries of personal bias. But perhaps Mr. Mumford is not one of those who believe that the study of culture can be reduced to a science.

ABRAM KARDINER

Severn's Posthumous Life

AGAINST OBLIVION: THE LIFE OF JOSEPH SEVERN. By Sheila Birkenhead. The Macmillan Company. $3.

JOSEPH SEVERN established his claim to the interest of posterity when he went aboard the bark Maria Crowther in September of 1820, as a traveling companion and devoted attendant to John Keats, who died in Rome in February of '21. Severn survived him fifty-eight years, staying on in Italy till 1841, returning to England for another twenty years, and thereafter serving the British government as consul in Rome, where he retired in 1872 and died in 1879. Our homage to his memory has not been concerned with his, so to speak, posthumous life, those last fifty-eight years; given an opportunity to acquaint ourselves with it, we should be ungracious to refuse.

This opportunity is vouchsafed us in the present biography by Sheila Birkenhead, entitled after a phrase in Shelley's preface to "Adonais": "May the unextinguished Spirit of his illustrious friend animate the creations of his pencil and plead against oblivion for his name!" The gods may not have loved Severn, but for his goodness to Keats they rewarded him with a long life and a decently happy one. He enjoyed, in his youth, the patronage of the nobility; married a devoted and charming wife; was blessed with half a dozen children, who enjoyed music and each other's company, and inherited enough of Severn's talent so that one of them, his daughter Maria, was able to take up the economic slack when Severn's own work had ceased to be the vogue. He was fortunate, when commissions for his painting were no longer in demand, in securing a consular appointment in the Italy he loved, and he discharged the duties of his difficult position with dignity and charm. Beyond his modest talent for painting he had a great gift of courtesy. All the great and the near-great were his visitors: he knew Ruskin, Gladstone, Landseer, Liszt. He was no fool: he knew how much he was indebted to the unextinguished Spirit of his illustrious friend, not only for the outward visible show, but the inward spiritual grace. He occupied his years of retirement with the creative work of painting.

Lady Birkenhead writes of her grandfather-in-law in detail, and with affection. Her chapter on Lady Westmoreland testifies that she has a lively sense of character. She quotes liberally from the letters of Severn and from those of his daughter Maria, both of whom were better writers than Lady Birkenhead, who cultivates a literary medium in which clichés tend to teem. Her method, fictionized biography, or biographical fiction, whatever it is called, putting speeches directly in the mouth of the characters, telling how they felt, what they were looking at, and so on, is a little irritating to begin with, especially before the Maria Crowther voyage; after that, either one begins to take it for granted and not be bothered or her manner sobers and improves. Lady Birkenhead does not say what ever became of all Joseph Severn's pictures.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

The Smaller Wars

WINTER QUARTERS. By Pamela Hansford Johnson. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

THIS book has got off to a bad start. Even its publishers seem none too convinced of its worth. The tasteless dust jacket suggests a war-time suburban romance, with the emphasis on romance rather than on literature. But "Winter Quarters" is anything but romantic. The best that has been said of it in the reviews that I have read is that it is "neatly written." Another reviewer (a woman) says it "represents a victory for ancient tradition"—the tradition that "women have no conception of how men behave when they are being manly together."

I'm not sure exactly what "being manly" means; but as a man I maintain that Mrs. Johnson has not only attempted a task which most women novelists would fight shy of, but that she has succeeded remarkably well just where one would expect a woman writer to fail: she has portrayed the relationships between a group of Englishmen who never, under any circumstances but that of war, could have found themselves under the same roof. At the same time she points out how war reveals the importance of and the need for just such relationships.

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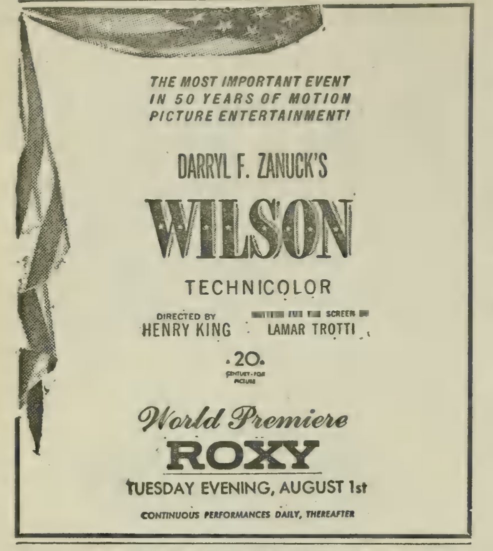

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In time the novel lasts less than a week—one of the many weeks in which the Russians, defending Stalingrad, scream for a second front. With little to do but listen to these screams on the radio, a British artillery battery awaits orders in a village somewhere in England. From this village Mrs. Johnson has chosen so many civilians, from the battery so many officers and men, that for identification she has had to resort to a list of characters. This list is vital for the first fifty or sixty pages; from there on the names acquire faces, the faces voices, and the voices characters, some two dozen of whom have lost the identity of their civilian dress to the common khaki. From the boredom of waiting, most of them take refuge in the Golden Fleece, a local pub. Here life is seen in miniature. The Second World War is but an invisible background to the smaller but equally sordid wars that are waged wherever men and women are closeted together against their wills, to lead lives that are against their natures.

The Fleece is run by Sam Eagles and his attractive, ambivalent wife, Gillie, around whom the whole novel revolves, and to whom both officers and men, from mental inactivity and sexual loneliness, find themselves irresistibly drawn. It is on account of Gillie that one lieutenant assaults another, is threatened with court martial, and attempts suicide. It is through her that one hears what the men think of their officers, that one sees both as they really are, stripped of all pretensions. And it is she who offers the soldiers—some as remote from one another as foreigners separated by language—a common ground on which to bridge the ancient, deep-hewn gulfs of class and rank. Time and again the offer is accepted, but eventually each effort is doomed to failure. Rank, indeed, is shown by Mrs. Johnson as playing in war time just that part played by class in time of peace. As one officer says to himself of a gunner, "In civvy street we'd be friends. . . . Down here I can't have a drink with him without a Sir standing between us like a sword in the bed." As the wife of an officer, Mrs. Johnson might be expected to reveal her husband's world from an officer's point of view; but it is rare to find anyone, least of all a woman, writing objectively of all ranks of a regiment and making of each a recognizable human being.

What Mrs. Johnson seems to find most difficult is what most novelists find too easy: she has supplied none of her male characters with quite enough of the Old Adam. As a result, some hover on the brink of gentility, while others, who do show occasional glimpses of passionate feelings, even credible baseness and brutality, are hastily whipped back into behaving like the proverbial but not too credible English gentleman. It is highly commendable—and extremely difficult—to make men known by their virtues; but a large number of virtuous people in one English village does not sound like life—least of all army life.

JAMES STERN

In Early Issues of *The Nation*
"Speaking of Jane Austen"
By Sheila Kaye-Smith and G. B. Stern
Reviewed by Louis Kronenberger
"Germany and Europe," by Benedetto Croce
Reviewed by Franz Hoellering

FILMS

DAVID O. SELZNICK'S "Since You Went Away" is a movie about an American home in war time. It is clear that Mr. Selznick thinks of it as *the* American home and that the Hiltons, who live in it, are supposed to be *the* American family. I even suspect that Selznick, who is nothing if not ambitious, hoped to make a contemporary native equivalent to the home-front sections of "War and Peace." What he has managed, instead, is an immense improvement on a *Ladies' Home Journal* story so sticky I couldn't get through it, which has, as he finishes it, something of the charm of an updated and cellophaned "Little Women." "Since You Went Away" is not a good film, by any standards I care for, and I would not dare to recommend it to anyone who cares exclusively for good films. But I enjoyed it a good deal, even when I was most dissatisfied with it, and I was very much interested by it.

I always enjoy and am interested in Mr. Selznick's particular blend of serious talent with smart, safe showmanship; I am the more interested—if not more joyful—now that I suspect that his style will dominate Hollywood for the next ten years or so. What I might best do here is discuss this lively but aesthetically self-defeating, peculiar yet imitable style, which gives all but identical tone and character to such disparate films as "King Kong," "David Copperfield," "Gone with the Wind," and this new, relatively realistic film. But I am still more interested in its perfect if often fortuitous appropriateness to the subject of "Since You Went Away."

Somebody, some day, must do a "Tobacco Road" about the Hiltons, their habits and their home; they need it perhaps more than any other Americans. But until that or a still better day comes, I shall have as much respect as disrespect for Mr. Selznick's conception of them. He is not what I would call perceptive, for he is obviously, and I think disarmingly, in love with his subject. Since his subject is also in love with itself, this creative attitude has its points. So far as conscious intention and perception last, it means a fidelity to detail—of properties, costumes, voices, gestures—which the most detached of artists could not hope to improve on. When consciousness blurs into love, it means a fidelity to dream, easy enough to scorn unless you realize that the Hiltons and their kind live as much in a dream of themselves as in anything one would venture to call "reality."

Without irony, then, I accept as creatures partaking of the inevitability and superior realism of a dream Neil Hamilton as the all-American husband, Claudette Colbert as his all-American wife, Jennifer Jones as the all-American seventeen-year-old, "the new Shirley Temple"—strapped in like a child prodigy with broken ribs—as her thirteen-year-old sister, Hattie McDaniel as the ultimate colored cook, and so forth and so on, taking care not to omit the best piece of casting of all: Joseph Cotten as the forever rejected bachelor suitor who, clouding the screen with discreetly alarming threats of adulterous desire, forever comes back to Miss Colbert for more. It is thus too, in their wonderful blend of acute authenticity with authentic self-delusion, that I accept most of the things the Hiltons and their friends do, not to mention Mr. Selznick's masterpiece, the Hilton home—one of those pitiful suburban brick things which is indeed *the* American home if you agree with me that seven out of ten Americans would sell their souls for it.

It is hard to separate the conscious Hiltoniana from the semi-conscious and the unconscious. The handwritings of Mr. and Mrs. Hilton—as candid, efficient, soulless, and definitely proper to their class and country as the very best waterclosets—seem a typical and laudable piece of Selznick vigilance. The Hilton furniture, quite as properly, looks as little used and unlovable as it is, presumably, much used and loved, for such homes are incurably virginal; but I wonder whether Mr. Selznick intended this. Now and then, in the effort fully to cover the home front, Selznick does the sort of pelvis-cracking split you can only get away with in a dream—or in life so actual you can hardly make fiction of it. The Hilton cook, satisfying all that anyone could possibly desire of a Negro in these restive times, not only keeps strict union hours on the job she takes when Mrs. Hilton can no longer afford her; when she is done she hustles back to the Hiltons to get in her day's measure of malapropisms, comic relief, mother wit, and free labor. I also wonder how many Mrs. Hiltons really become welders.

Mr. Selznick's attitude toward the Hiltons deprives him—like them—of any very clear psychological understanding, beyond fairly rudimentary and gracefully glossed-over stuff; yet now and then this innocence achieves remarkable things on its own. Mrs. Hilton's "Don't ever grow up," a request tenderly made of the bachelor who has spent his best years enslaved to her, is worthy of "Sentimental Education"; but I have no feeling that it was recognized as piercing and sinister, or that any irony or pity was intended when, with equal authenticity, Nazimova identified Miss Colbert with the America which she, an old, poor, working-class immigrant, had always dreamed of. I thought it just as brilliantly correct, and as clear of conscious malice, that both Hilton children were girls.

Since it seems possible that wives and children in England, and in Russia, and in China, and even, conceivably, in Germany and in Japan, are missing their men and cherishing their homes very much as we are, I don't like to see these phenomena presented as the peculiar glory of one particular country and its one true cause and justification and aim of war. But that, like much of "Since You Went Away," is a law of dream life for which, I am afraid, neither Mr. Selznick nor anyone else can be blamed, and is so broad and deep that one's sense of reality can, at best, only hope to stay afloat in it.

JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

THE book to read on modern music is Constant Lambert's "Music Ho!" It is the only one in which we will find any relation to our experience—in which, that is, the music that is discussed will be recognizable as the music we have heard. And after Rosenfeld, Copland, and the others, Lambert's book will come as an enormous relief—the relief of knowing, after we had been all but persuaded otherwise, that two and two do make four, the sun does rise in the east, and modern music is as sterile and warped and stunted and horrid as it seems. Lambert describes the impasse at which music arrived, the ways in which composers attempted to escape it, the reasons why they failed; and while his entire train of thought cannot be recapitulated here I should like to give some of his individual observations.

We must bear in mind, he says, that the revolutionary music of our century was written before the last war, and that after the war there was a turning back not just to simplicity but to simplicities of the past, and to simplicities in different styles which were mingled in pastiche. "In music . . . melody, rhythm, harmony, and counterpoint . . . can

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be so dissected from each other, that a composer with no sense of style and no creative urge can take medieval words, set them in the style of Bellini, add twentieth-century harmony, develop them in the sequential and formal manner of the eighteenth century, and finally score the whole thing for jazz band." And, just as the post-war room had Negro masks on Adam mantelpieces, and Victorian wool-pictures hanging next to Cubists; and just as Diaghilev's post-war ballets showed the same "amusing" scrambling of periods and styles in decor, music, and choreography; so Stravinsky, who before the war had written the score of "Sacre du printemps," after the war not only wrote music "like Bach" and "like Handel" but gave Diaghilev a score for "Pulcinella" that introduced jazz glissandos into the music of Pergolesi.

Stravinsky's series of reactions from one style to another Lambert attributes to his lack of any gift for melody; and he points to Tchaikovsky as illustration of his contention that for a great melodist there is no possibility of complete and arbitrary change of style, and indeed no problem of style at all, since his "melody is a living thing, a part of himself," and "carries with it the implications of its harmonic, rhythmic, and contrapuntal treatment." For his neo-classical music Stravinsky attempts to create melody synthetically—which cannot be done. He uses the sequences and cadences of classical melodies which "are the facade, not the whole building. . . . The turns of phrase that occur at the end of a melody with much the same conventional beauty and constructional logic as a Corinthian capitol occurring at the top of a column are taken by Stravinsky, isolated from their surroundings, and plastered over the facade with a complete disregard of their true function." Then there are the figures which, in an eighteenth-century Allegro, are merely the harmonies broken up and spaced out into texture: "to use them as Stravinsky does (in his Piano Concerto) as melodic material over a totally different harmonic base is a complete misunderstanding of their value and function." And "to the melodic formulas drawn from Bach . . . are added, in later works, fragments from Beethoven, Bellini, Chopin, Tchaikovsky, and even Johann Strauss—who enters with ludicrous effect into Jocasta's air at the beginning of the second act of 'Oedipus Rex'—while to synthetic calm succeeds synthetic drama, and to synthetic austerity synthetic charm."

Stravinsky, with his absorption in purely sonorous schemes, is one of the people Lambert must have in mind who, he says, consider the greatest music "an abstract succession of tastefully arranged notes" and find such abstraction in the classicism of Mozart and other eighteenth-century music. The examples of it that Mozart provides, says Lambert, are not "romantic and subjective masterpieces like [the] G minor Quintet and G. minor Symphony," but "the many divertimenti that he cynically turned out in order to pay for the rent and a little champagne. . . . The only classical music that is abstract is bad classical music."

He deals as effectively with Hindemith, who, as the advocate of *Gebrauchsmusik* or utility music written not for the composer's satisfaction but for the consumer's demand, sets up, in opposition to art for art's sake, the doctrine of craft for craft's sake. A man without what it takes to write literature can write advertising copy; there can, then, be utility writing. But "music is only useful if it is good music, whether light or serious"—if, that is, "it provides one with some vital experience." Furthermore, "Hindemith appears to imagine that by ceasing to write for his own satisfaction he is necessarily writing for the satisfaction of others"; but "if a composer is not interested in his own music he can hardly expect others to be." And "by resolutely turning his back on 'art' Hindemith has lessened our interest even in his craft." For we are interested in counterpoint when it is expressive, not when it is purely arbitrary; nor are we interested in form that is an equally arbitrary formalism. "A musical idea of any vitality determines . . . its own formal treatment. . . . But a composer like Hindemith appears, on his own admission, to have nothing personal to say. . . . His musical ideas are consequently lacking in generative power"; but "to give them an air of logic he casts them into some pre-established and externally imposed form."

Lambert's book includes a modest portion of nonsense—mostly about Sibelius. But we must remember that it was written at a time when Sibelius was causing even good critics to lose their heads in an astounding way. And we can understand now how after a diet of Stravinsky neo-classicism and Hindemith *Gebrauchsmusik* something as fluent and colorful and agreeable to the ear and moderately enjoyable to the mind as Sibelius might go to their heads.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

The Time Is Ripe

Dear Sirs: Have just finished reading Sergeant William J. Caldwell's letter in *The Nation* of July 8 to Mrs. Clairvoyant Luce. It was nicely expressed, and I congratulate you for printing it.

It appears the time is rotten ripe for the discontinuance of exploitation of war dead by venal politicians, regardless of party affiliations. For years these same politicians shed crocodile tears for widows and children, but that has become threadbare. If Sergeant Caldwell is a Republican, obviously he belongs to the more human type, who regrettably sank into oblivion years ago, giving place to the now dastardly type of individual who is punch proud to call himself or herself a Republican or conservative.

The Nation has been coming to my home for fourteen years, and has given great pleasure and education. I am not a yearly subscriber mainly because when I started to read *The Nation* my order was placed through the American news agency and delivered to the nearest news shop.

I did intend mailing you a check after reading the first few copies, then discovered others were becoming interested, reading my copy before I picked it up.

Time passed. I changed news shops hoping the same thing would happen. It did. I notice now other news shops carry *The Nation.* P. D. ROBINSON

Hamilton, Ont., July 16

Frozen

Dear Sirs: Ever since the United States entered the war, the newspapers and army and navy officials have been clamoring for a labor draft. A few days ago, after Paul V. McNutt issued his directive freezing workers in certain industries doubly hard, it was my experience to be laid off for lack of work in the electronic industry. McNutt had expressly stated that no workers were to leave their jobs in the electronic industry, and yet because my former employer refuses to take work, I am unemployed, freeze or no freeze.

This manufacturer of electronic equipment has the machinery and the skilled employees to do electronic work, but he refuses to take any further contracts. His machinery stands idle. The worker is frozen to his job, and the manufacturer, ironically enough, doesn't have to face the same penalties and compulsions that the workingman faces since, for some strange reason, "property rights" give him a magic immunity to the law.

I have made extensive inquiries as to whether an essential worker can be laid off when he's frozen, and much to my disgust I find I have no legal protection against "property rights."

ALEXANDER MAN

Hollis, N. Y., June 9

Queer Notion

Dear Sirs: You may be interested at this particular time in this comment which I ran across the other day in a letter from James Russell Lowell to Godkin—written in 1871: "Say something on the queer notion of the Republican Party that they can get along without their brains. 'Time was that when the brains were out, the man would die,' but *nous avons changé tout cela.*"

Certainly the Republican platform was brainless, or dishonest, or both. You are doing a swell job in this pre-election summer; in fact, you are doing it all the time. JANET B. FINE

Woodstock, Vermont, July 16

Soldiers and Votes

Dear Sirs: Although it is true that what happened to Pvt. Joe Polachek and his vote is not rare—I am referring to the account in your letter columns of June 10—it would be unfortunate if the impression were given that the same conditions prevail in all outfits.

In our company a lieutenant was assigned the task of helping us with all details, giving us the broader picture in an hour's lecture, after which our C. O. talked to us, urging all those privileged to vote to do so. PRIVATE

Somewhere in Indiana, June 17

Great Job

Dear Sirs: This is just a word of congratulation on the great job you are doing in presenting the issues involved in the Presidential campaign.

Your clear-cut analyses and discussions give new hope to those of us who had become discouraged by the caliber of political intelligence shown recently in Chicago.

The Nation is the one bright spot in the week's reading, and I carefully clip most of the articles to send on to my husband overseas, where they get a wide reading.

Wishing you every success in your task of putting out a forceful and intelligent journal. ELEANOR C. CRARY

Pittsford, N. Y., July 12

Correction

Dear Sirs: A correction is in order for your cross-word puzzle No. 71 in the issue of July 8. The quotation in 8 down is from "Christabel," lines 179-180 (also by Coleridge), and not from "The Ancient Mariner."

JOHN GILLIS, R. C. A. F.

Bowden, Alberta, July 13

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ANNA LOUISE STRONG, after a career of social work and journalism in America, went to Russia in 1921, and since then has spent most of her time in that country. In 1930 she organized the Moscow *Daily News*, the first English-language newspaper in Russia.

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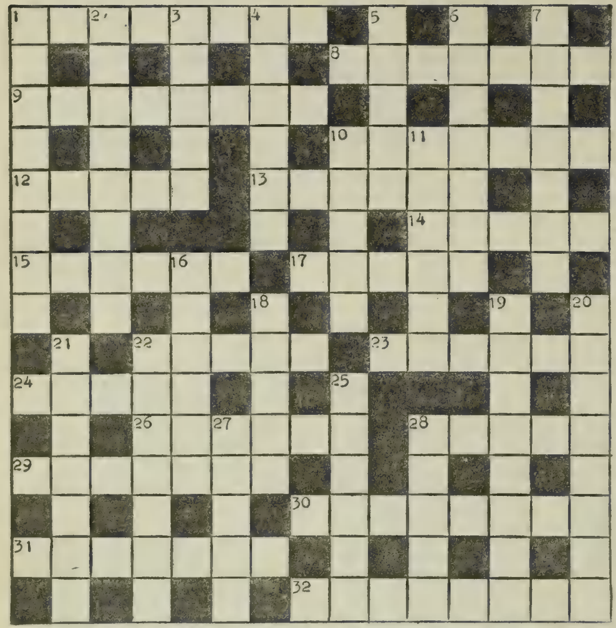
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 74

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 His discovery of vulcanized rubber didn't put *him* on his feet, but it put his product on the feet of millions of others
8 Lochiel is the title of the head of this clan
9 One of several, in a Mark Twain book, who saw Europe without any illusions
10 Lay
12 Met me in disorder
13 See it and die, runs the tag
14 This animal comes in later
15 He interposed to save Susannah, in the biblical story
17 Cook, with or without the R
22 What you should drink with curry
23 Italian city "throned on a hundred isles"
24 Reserved for ladies in the East
26 Charge
28 A dealer in magic and spells (*The Sorcerer*)
29 Europe's longest railroad tunnel
30 He can make a lad ride, this former French premier
31 Every gardener would like to grow this
32 Angered

DOWN

1 The patient one—immortalized by Chaucer, Boccaccio and Petrarch
2 Adorn with a name in the center
3 Its sheets have not come apart when it requires tacking
4 Sort of sunshade, usually striped
5 Desert ship
6 Reading of the New World, Sarah?
7 Just the hair preparations for Pa's dome!
10 Slice up fruit and give quarter, or else do without
11 The color that makes the little engineer get up
16 An eel has swallowed a man the wrong way round!
18 Just another nut
19 Wodehouse said that those in mystery stories might be divided into three classes—all silly
20 Made sure as to size
21 Used to swear by mine
22 "Let not women's -------, waterdrops, Stain my man's cheeks!" (*King Lear*)
25 Elderly French marshal in a pet
27 Juliet's lover
28 It isn't an ape or a cow or a camel, but the name of a certain cetaceous mammal

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 73

ACROSS:—1 BREAK THE ICE; 9 GONG; 10 SERVE; 11 EWES; 12 PLATEAU; 13 SHALLOW; 15 IMPORTANT; 16 TRIVET; 18 CASSIO; 21 NEW YEAR'S; 24 AMENDED; 26 STRASSE; 28 ANON; 29 ARENA; 30 DAIS; 31 UNDERTAKERS.

DOWN:—2 RIGHTEOUS; 3 ASSUAGE; 4 TORN; 5 EYESHOT; 6 CREEL; 7 MOSLEM; 8 BEGONE; 14 STING; 17 ICELANDER; 19 AIMING; 20 OVERAGE; 22 WET PACK; 23 RUSSIA; 25 NINON; 27 BELT.

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The Shape of Things

GOEBBELS CELEBRATED HIS APPOINTMENT as Reich Plenipotentiary for Total War Effort by treating the German people to a blasphemous, one-man soap opera built around the theme of Hitler's "miraculous" escape from death. That escape, he told them, could only be ascribed to the special intervention of Providence, which "had taken the Führer under its gracious protection." It was, he assured them, a sign from Heaven that, after passing through its present Hell, Germany would emerge victorious. In presenting his version of the "plot," Goebbels made full use of his histrionic talents. Having awed his audience with an apocalyptic vision of the unspeakable consequences had the conspiracy succeeded, he sketched with vivid strokes the story of the bomb explosion, the attempted seizure of the Berlin headquarters building, foiled by a faithful Guard Battalion, and the arrest, drum-head court-martial, and execution of the plotters. The proportion of fact to fiction in this radio drama is not immediately important. What is relevant is the extent to which its narrator was able to steel his listeners for the new tasks he set before them. He proclaimed total mobilization—although that has been proclaimed before in Germany—indicated that the remaining young men in the factories would be drafted into the army, and announced a new program of economic slimming.

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WILL THIS HARANGUE MOVE THE GERMANS to the kind of last-ditch effort with which the people of Leningrad beat off their besiegers? That is extremely doubtful. On the other hand, there is no evidence of popular support for the conspiring generals and their program for ending the war. The revolt—in so far as there was a revolt—seems to have been confined to the higher ranks of the military hierarchy and to have had little or no support among the junior officers and men. Its failure has made possible a still greater Nazification of the army, indicated by Himmler's appointment to the supreme command of the Home Forces, the introduction of the Nazi salute, and the promotion of leading SS officers. But while the purge of the army has probably been extensive, the Nazis can hardly afford to root out all the "blue-bloods" likely to become infected with defeatism. And Himmler, who at first seemed destined for total power, has emerged from the turmoil merely as one of a triumvirate of which the other members are Göring and Goebbels. As these three are notoriously uncongenial comrades, it is questionable how far this move will promote unity. More likely than not, a good deal of their energies will be devoted to intrigues against each other. What is even more questionable is the ability of the reorganized command to stop the rot on the Eastern front.

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THE RUSSIAN COMMAND HAS BRILLIANTLY exploited gross errors in German strategy—errors which stem directly from Hitler's determination never to retire voluntarily from any conquered territory. The military folly of this essentially political policy is perfectly illustrated in the case of the Baltic states. Had General Lindemann's army of some 300,000 men been withdrawn promptly from Esthonia and Latvia when the Russians first broke through in the center, the Germans might have been able to organize a defense line masking Warsaw and East Prussia. But Hitler's orders were to hold the Baltic states at all costs with the apparent objective of keeping Finland in the war and preventing a peace stampede by the other satellites. The result has been the smashing of the thinly spread German lines in Poland while Lindemann is about to be trapped against the Baltic coast. German commentators now talk about straightening the line but the opportunity has vanished.

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SECRETARY HULL'S REBUKE TO ARGENTINA for continued pro-Axis activities was an admirably timed and devastating indictment of the Farrell regime. If documentation and logic could be relied upon to swerve the mad policies of the present Argentine government, Mr. Hull might be said to have done his complete duty. But as Ray Josephs points out in an article appearing elsewhere in this issue, this is not the first time that the State Department has delivered a stinging rebuke to Argentina. The Farrell government, like the Axis regimes in Germany, Italy, Japan, and Spain, has shown itself to be contemptuous of moral or legal considerations. Like the others, it was born in violence and is susceptible only to force. The totalitarian mentality of its leaders was underscored by the obviously staged character of the "mass" demonstration held to acclaim Foreign Minister Peluffo and President Farrell for their stand in defense of Argentine "sovereignty." News reports indicate that the demonstrators consisted largely of municipal and government employees, school children accompanied by their teachers, and members of government-controlled labor unions. The great majority of the Argentine people are understandably silent, but reports from Montevideo tell of a secret manifesto prepared by the university students attacking the Farrell regime. The chief support of the regime, apart from the army, appears to be among the businessmen and plantation owners who have profited from Argentina's immense wartime trade with the United Nations. Suspension of that trade would in all probability eliminate this support and bring a quick end to a regime that has disgraced Argentina in the eyes of the world.

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CANADA HOLDS TWO IMPORTANT ELECTIONS on August 8. In Quebec, Premier Godbout's Liberal administration faces the mixed opposition of the nationalistic and reactionary Union Nationale led by Maurice Duplessis, the Bloc Populaire with its strong anti-war emphasis, and the C. C. F., a comparative newcomer to Quebec provincial politics. Godbout's record has been fairly good; his government has improved educational standards, extended the franchise to women, and socialized electric power by establishing the Quebec Hydro. His hope of survival in a province where nationalistic and reactionary currents are running high lies in the likelihood that his opponents on the right will kill each other off. The C. C. F.'s progress has so far been slow in Quebec and it has a fighting chance to win in only a few industrial seats. A defeat for Godbout would be a serious blow to Mr. King's Liberal government, since Quebec is the last remaining provincial stronghold of his party. In Alberta the Social Credit government comes up for its third-term test. Its strength has waned, particularly since Premier Aberhart's death, but its record for honest administration—apart from its failure to fulfil its utopian monetary promises—has been good. Opposing it are two main groups: a coalition of Liberals and Progressive-Conservatives and the C. C. F. It is the latter group, under the leadership of Elmer Roper, present member for Edmonton, which is calculated to provide the real challenge. The sweeping victory of the C. C. F. in Saskatchewan, where it now constitutes the government, has undoubtedly added to its power in the neighboring prairie province, which faces similar economic and social problems. A decisive gain for the C. C. F. in Alberta would increase its steadily rising national prestige and raise its hopes for the federal election, which cannot be long delayed.

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CHUNGKING HAS REVEALED THAT AS EARLY as last May a preliminary agreement between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists was signed at Sian. Negotiations for a final agreement have apparently been held up by differences over twelve specific proposals submitted by the Communists as a minimum basis for promoting military and political cooperation. But the Chinese Minister of Information, Liang Han-chao, has predicted at least a "partial solution" of these problems in the not too distant future. Responsible observers who have recently come from China stress the difficulties the Chinese face in seeking a long-range political settlement in the absence of concrete post-war policies on the part of the United States and Great Britain. As allies in the common struggle against Japan, the two Anglo-Saxon powers are naturally anxious to see unity restored in China. Presumably they have said as much to Chungking. But there is no indication that they have fortified their advocacy of unity by offering a practical program of economic assistance which would aid China in breaking the archaic bonds of landlordism. Weakened by seven years of almost single-handed resistance, tortured by a spiraling inflation, and torn by internal political struggles, China stands in desperate need of military, financial, and political help from this country.

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DISREGARDING MR. WILLKIE'S WARNINGS and its Federalist traditions, the Republican Party built a quantity of dead states' rights timber into its Chicago platform. No less recklessly Mr. Dewey, anxious to marshal in his campaign the forces of the twenty-six states with G. O. P. administrations, is planning to place a heavy political weight on these same dubious planks. At the Republican Governors' conference which opens at St. Louis on August 2, the conflict between federal, state, and local governments is to be dramatized. This, says Governor Dewey, "has been a constant source of friction for twelve years in this country." (How conveniently short Republican memories are!) But he promises us that perfect harmony will reign once more after January 20, 1945, *if* the Governors' conference is successful in reaching an agreement on this problem. A glance at the fifteen-point agenda announced by Mr. Dewey is enough to show how big an "if" this is. It includes labor, employment services and unemployment insurance, public works and highways, water and flood control, and agriculture. These are all matters on which policies must be laid down centrally rather than locally if we are to avoid Balkanization of the country. And we do not believe that, even in the interest of Republican unity, the governors will be able to agree on clear lines of demarcation between state and federal jurisdictions. Take the question of aviation, omitted in the agenda. This seems a natural for federal regulation but a number of states are agitating strongly at this moment against proposals which would make all planes serving as common carriers subject to the rules of the Civil Aeronautics Board. An even more serious omission is the absence of any reference to the growing tendency of states to erect "tariff barriers" against each other and to encroach on the federal government's clear jurisdiction over inter-state commerce.

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WE RETURN TO THE SOLDIERS' VOTE ISSUE not because we are fanatics on the subject but because we feel it is a basic issue of democracy that now probably will have to be settled at the polls. Americans do not like to be disfranchised, particularly if the reason for their disfranchisement is being overseas in the service of their country. New Yorkers, suffering under a clumsy state law that will prevent most of the armed services from voting and absolutely debar all of the merchant seamen and Red Cross and civilian war agency workers who are overseas, feel particualrly strongly on this subject. But the issue is national, since the chief obstacle in the way of liberalizing the New York act is Governor Dewey, candidate for President. A recent meeting of the New York War Ballot Commission decided by a split vote against making federal ballots available to those servicemen who failed to secure state ballots and allowing merchant seamen to come under the state voting law. Ironically, this action took place on the very day an advertising firm with Mr. Dewey's permission attempted to distribute to New York radio stations a "canned" message from the Governor explaining how simple it was for New York soldiers to vote. So far only one station has accepted. The most outrageous effect of the law is the complete disfranchisement of those New York merchant seamen who on November 6 happen to be busy carrying supplies to one of our battle fronts. They are banned from receiving federal ballots available to seamen in many other states and they don't qualify to receive state ballots.

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TO THE CONSTERNATION OF ANTI-NEW DEAL forces, the Deep South continues to evidence signs of political regeneration. Following the lead of Florida and Alabama, the voters of Texas, South Carolina, and Arkansas last week cast aside several of their most reactionary or inept representatives. While Texas returned most of its present Congressional delegation—with the exception of the self-removed Martin Dies—it distinguished itself by defeating Representative Kleberg, a wealthy rancher, who was a leader in the campaign to scuttle the Administration's anti-inflation program. In South Carolina, "Cotton Ed" Smith, notable as a champion of "white supremacy" and as an opponent of the President's policies, was decisively beaten by Governor Olin D. Johnston. Although Governor Johnston tried to give the impression that he was as strong for "white supremacy" as his opponent, he campaigned as a supporter of President Roosevelt, and his victory should end the Old Guard's effort to steal South Carolina's electoral vote from the Roosevelt column in November. Equally encouraging was Representative Fulbright's success in running first in a field of five in the Arkansas Senatorial contest. Although Fulbright faces a run-off election against Governor Adkins, his margin over the other four candidates was so large as to make his election practically certain. On foreign policy the 39-year-old Fulbright's record is extraordinarily good. His record on domestic policy is much less impressive, but he should prove a valuable member of the Senate.

NATION READERS HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPECT complete coverage of week-by-week developments in the political campaign. *The Nation* has made a special arrangement with the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, to provide a weekly column of political and propaganda analysis from now until the November elections. The column will analyze the significance of public opinion polls—national, regional, and local. It will study propaganda methods used by both the major parties and by such groups as the CIO–PAC. It will appraise the trend of election sentiment in important sections of the electorate—the Negro community, national and cultural minorities, women voters. The series will begin next week with a discussion of "How to Read a Poll."

The Polish Rivals

SWEEPING across the Polish plains toward Warsaw, the Red Army is freeing Poland from the Nazi yoke. But its successes have raised in an acute form the problem of the political future of Poland, which, if not solved, may well add to the tribulations of that unhappy country the horrors of civil war. Soon after it crossed the Curzon Line, the Soviet government gave recognition to the Polish Committee of National Liberation and, professing unwillingness to set up a Russian military government, placed in its hands the civil administration of the freed territories. The Committee is an off-shoot of the pro-Soviet Polish National Council, an underground group which does not adhere to the government-in-exile seated in London.

The formation of what is in effect a rival government has, not surprisingly, been hotly denounced by the London regime. Actually, neither the government-in-exile nor the new committee has a clear title to represent the Polish people. The former bases its claim on the 1935 constitution—a dubious instrument foisted on Poland by Pilsudski and never properly ratified. Before the war this constitution was regarded as illegal by all the democratic parties and was attacked by Premier Mikolajczyk, whose authority is now derived from it. A more practical buttress for the government's pretensions, perhaps, is the fact that ever since the fall of Poland its legitimacy has been recognized by Britain and America, and this recognition was confirmed last week by Mr. Eden and Mr. Hull. Against this must be set the support of its rival by the Russians, on whom the burden of liberating Poland is falling. The Committee, moreover, thanks to this support, is "the man in possession"—always a strategic position legally. In addition, it is backed by a Polish army which is actually taking part in the freeing of Poland. The presence of such a force, marching under the Polish flag, must inevitably attract popular support.

In the long run, only a free choice by the people of Poland can decide the future form and personnel of a truly legitimate Polish government. Both present claimants assert that they have the people behind them, but that question can only be settled when a free election is possible. Any attempt to hold such an election while Russian troops are in the country would be suspect by the rest of the world, for, in the past, popular plebiscites under Soviet auspices have not followed acceptable democratic methods. Nor, for that matter, were Polish elections prior to the war free from the taint of dictatorship. Hence, when the time comes for the Poles to take a vote, impartial supervision will be essential to ensure not merely a genuinely free choice but a choice which world opinion accepts as free. Such a choice, we believe, need not be feared by the Soviet government. Russian prestige will stand high in Poland after the liberation and the Polish masses will not find it hard to understand the advantages of a permanent close Polish-Russian alliance. Nor are they likely to return to power those anti-Soviet cliques whom they have known in the past as exploiters and oppressors.

This, however, is looking toward the future; the immediate need is for an understanding between the democratic elements in the London government and the group recognized by Russia. Premier Mikolajczyk has just gone to Moscow, following urgent representations to Marshal Stalin by Mr. Churchill. Is there any hope of effecting a compromise such as has recently been achieved between Marshal Tito and the Royal Yugoslav government-in-exile? That should not be impossible if Premier Mikolajczyk is courageous enough to cut away the anti-democratic and anti-Soviet dead wood that clutters up his London government. Ideologically, there seems to be very little difference between the two parties. The National Committee has adopted a program which is definitely non-communist. It bases its economic policy on private property, the redistribution of large estates, and the encouragement of individual small holders. The program drawn up by underground leaders loyal to the London government follows exactly the same lines.

The Eastern frontier no longer appears to be a major point of disagreement, while both sides are pressing very large territorial claims in the West. The National Committee talks of incorporating into Poland Silesia, East Prussia, and part of Pomerania, and hints at a boundary along the River Oder. If it is true that this claim has received the endorsement of the Soviet government, that does give Washington and London solid grounds for complaint. For there is an understanding among the three great allies against any unilateral action in regard to peace terms. Whatever arguments may be put forward for amputating part of eastern Germany, so momentous a decision ought to be reserved for joint consultation and agreement.

Parties in Flux

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE course of events at the Democratic convention in Chicago seemed to be directed by men and forces easy to spot even when they were operating behind closed doors or from a distance. The President, the party bosses, the dissident Southern leaders, the C. I. O., the various candidates for nomination. They all represented power and their maneuvers, subtle or crude, produced a result that coincides roughly with the present balance of power in the party—which is not the same thing, obviously, as the popular will of the Democratic voters.

But the political strategists were themselves the instruments of much more powerful forces—forces which control events with a mastery that Boss Kelly and the Texas "Regulars," and even the President himself cannot match. Perhaps they are not even aware of it, for they too are being swept along toward destinies they can neither choose nor avoid.

The end of the war will bring revolution to Europe. Never mind whether the revolution is successful or abortive, whether it is peaceable or violent. It will come in one form or another to every country from the Balkans to Britain. Not even American arms and American food can prevent it, nor the anxious maneuvers of the American State Department. Europe will be a different continent when the political earthquakes have passed. So will Asia. So will Latin America, where the subterranean forces of change have already begun to break through in premonitory warnings.

To most people in the United States these facts are accepted like the ugly facts of the war itself. Revolution on other lesser continents is looked upon as endemic, like poverty and fleas. The idea that the forces that produce it might have an effect in this country is seldom entertained even by a generation that has lived through a depression and been plunged into total war. And our belief in American immunity seems justified by the fact that we did live through the depression with enough leeway in resources and enough political flexibility to prevent fascism. It is not likely, I think, that the full weight of the world revolution will hit the United States.

But that does not mean that the forces moving under the earth of the other continents are not at work under American earth too. It only means that the surface of this country is harder and shows fewer faults. When the war ends and the energies geared to the war are loosed; when the relationships created by the war face the more equivocal demands of peace; when the fiber of the people, hardened to an effort made necessary by war, goes suddenly slack—when this happens something akin to revolution will hit America too. For America like Europe has found no real cure for the profound dislocation that produced fascism and war.

Without fully realizing the probable impact of these shocks, every political faction in America is preparing to meet them. Contending groups are busy concocting strategy to be sure that the forces of change will be harnessed to their particular interests. Each group is trying to maneuver itself and its allies into positions of control. On the surface it looks like the old political finagling; underneath it represents a major struggle for power at a time of imminent political change.

One of these days, the divisions in the two big parties will cleave them wide open. The Southern reactionaries in the Democratic Party will join with their Republican counterparts; already they work together as allies on a dozen fronts. The New Dealers, weakened by endless concessions, now all but homeless, will welcome the liberal Republicans who have followed Willkie into voluntary political exile. And the galvanizing force of a new progressive major party will be provided by the disciplined energies of the Political Action Committee, already spreading beyond its original C. I. O. confines into a broader movement symbolized by the honorary leadership of that great progressive, George W. Norris.

I cannot put much stock in the prospects for a radical "third party" to grow out of the Political Action Committee and the various progressive groups, such as the Farmers' Union, that have gathered around it. A new farmer-labor party to be successful would have to draw upon greater reserves of political consciousness and experience than American workers and farmers have accumulated. Nor can I imagine the P. A. C. and its allies "capturing" the Democratic Party as a whole and turning it to progressive ends, as some of our newspaper prophets have predicted. The Democratic Party is in process of disintegration from within. The apparent strength of the right-wing leaders is countered by strong opposition among the rank and file—as witness the overwhelming popular support of Wallace, the defeat of "Cotton Ed" Smith and a flock of other reactionary office holders. The role of the P. A. C. is to hasten this process and ally itself everywhere with the forces of progress. It is to serve as the vanguard of a new alignment rather than the conqueror of an old party.

The Old Guard is in power today in both parties. But its strength is insignificant compared with the forces of change that are gathering throughout the world. As in all countries, the Old Guard will fight to hold its power. It will make new alliances. It will use every weapon at its disposal—weapons far more deadly than those brought into play at Chicago. But if the progressives realize their strength in time they can shape a successful counteroffensive. For numbers are on their side, and the hopes of ordinary men and women, and the deepest requirements of our struggling industrial civilization.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

The "G" in Gap

WAVELL used to talk about the fundamental tactical problem of "finding the 'G' in Gap"—that is, exploiting a break in a strong defensive front by getting your mobile forces through it before the enemy can reform and close the gap. It is not enough to "find the gap"; you must find the "G" in the gap: the very first opening, and then drive through with all your strength, roll back the enemy's lines on either side to widen the break-through, and thus make it broad enough for your mobile forces to get to the enemy's rear, sever his immediate lateral communications, split up his forces into isolated local groups, and push ahead as far and as rapidly as possible. It is more of a problem in time than in space; any defensive line can be broken, but exploiting the break-through takes dash, mobility, and a daring disregard for the exposed flanks of your mobile force.

Hanson Baldwin reported in The New York *Times* last week that the widely differing speeds of the Russian and Anglo-American advances had "become a sort of grim jest [in Normandy]; it is said that we shall soon have to adjust our artillery fire to avoid laying down a barrage on the Russians advancing from the East." (The fact that it was a jest is the best possible indication of the good morale prevailing in the 21st Army Group.) Indeed, a comparison of what happened on the two fronts last Thursday, for instance, is superficially odious: the Red Army took Rezekne, Dvinsk, Bialystok, Lvov, and Stanislavov, and isolated General Lindemann's army group in the Baltic States by cutting the Riga-Koenigsberg railway, while the 21st Army Group captured Périers and Lessay, broke through west of St. Lo, and was actually repulsed south of Caen.

But I think the comparison is only superficially odious, and that July 27 may be regarded as one of the great days of the war against Germany, marred for the Allies only by the costly and tragic death of General McNair, who contributed so much to the foundations of American success in Normandy. The fact is that the Allies found the "G" in Gap for the first time in Western Europe when General Bradley's troops burst through the enemy's thick crust of defenses west of St. Lo and swung sharply toward Coutances and the sea, forcing a general enemy withdrawal.

This success, which was extended over the weekend by a further drive to Avranches and the British push in the middle of the line, followed a series of disappointments. These were well analyzed in three remarkably frank dispatches from London last week that caused doleful head-shaking in both Britain and America. The head-shaking was halted (temporarily) by the break-through, but the dispatches are valid, and should be remembered.

First, Drew Middleton of the New York *Times* expressed reasonable doubt as to the agility of the British attack southeast of Caen, asking pungently "whether audacity in certain circumstances was any more costly than that sort of caution that committed forces to a long period of attrition." Second, Richard L. Tobin of the New York *Herald Tribune* used the failure of air power to open the way for that drive as a springboard for the first complete and honest dispatch I have read on "What Air Power Cannot Do." Third, Hanson Baldwin, that old critic of the generals, surveyed the strong and weak points of the entire Normandy situation, and concluded that "more vigor and drive and boldness are needed, and less caution about our flanks, if the war in Europe is to be ended quickly, and particularly if the Allies in the West are to match the Russian gains in the East."

These dispatches, which did the American press and the Allied censorship honor, exposed our weaknesses—and our difficulties—constructively, so that even the generals might profit by them. Certainly we at home might profit by them: the accounts of the terrible hedgerow country, the problem of getting many divisions into action on a narrow front, and the limitation of air support by the weather show us good reasons for the slow going of those weeks. The accounts of caution remind us of other reasons, repeatedly demonstrated in this war, why spectacular advances of the Western Allies are infrequent and a long time in coming: too many of our commanders, remembering the textbooks they read after 1918, have not yet learned to trust swift armored columns with the protection of their own flanks while the infantry follows up more slowly, and make the mistake of thinking that the price of victory—which is casualties—is cheapened by fighting a war of attrition rather than a war of movement. (Actually I would guess that proportional Russian losses have been lower in the past month than British and American losses.) And, finally, the brilliant account of what air power cannot do reminds us again that war is a combined operation, not to be won by a single arm no matter how glamorous it is made by fugitive advertising men.

As this is written, it is too early to assess the scope of the American success in Normandy. The "G" in Gap was found, and given an excellent initial exploitation, suggesting that General Bradley at least is not among the timid. But many miles of the wicked *bocage* country lie ahead, and the Germans are strongly echeloned against the British, who face better country for fast going. Anyway, the gate is swinging on Caen; when it is unhinged, there should be a pursuit, rapid and perhaps decisive.

What Bretton Woods Did

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 27

BRETTON WOODS did not provide a universal economic panacea. Neither the International Monetary Fund nor the Bank for Reconstruction and Development can prevent another great depression. The hostile criticism of the banking community has usefully stressed the fact that neither agency can operate successfully for any length of time without a diminution of trade barriers and a more enlightened tariff policy. Had Bretton Woods been supplemented by a confab on Mount Washington between God and Einstein, it couldn't have produced a mechanism that would enable each nation to go on happily restricting its imports and expanding its exports; you cannot multiply by subtraction.

The success of the Fund and the Bank, if they squeeze through Congress, will depend upon our willingness to act on this fairly obvious proposition. Unfortunately it is not a matter of intellectual grasp. Not vox populi but vox Grundy is at fault. Our business men pretty generally understand that you cannot sell unless you buy, but their advocacy of freer trade usually stops short at their own factory gates. The average Congressman is not so economically illiterate as he appears to be, but it takes extraordinary courage to spit in the eye of a wealthy industrial constituent who wants protection against foreign goods, and can muster his workers and their labor union as additional pressure on a legislator who threatens to lapse into statesmanship.

If we revert to Hawley-Smoot monkeyshines, so, in self-defense, will the rest of the world. In that case neither the Fund nor the Bank can save us. They can only facilitate the exchange of goods; they cannot substitute for it. Their solvency and their effectiveness depend upon a willingness to buy as well as sell. As the world's principal creditor and largest market, we must either take goods in large quantities or see the gold and dollars of the Fund turn into wobbly pesos, francs, or kroner, and kiss our investment in the Bank good-bye.

Thus far do the New York *Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*, the seers of the monthly bank letters, and the house-broken sages of the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy, make a constructive contribution to discussion. Beyond that they lapse into the senile regurgitation of ideas that bore a semblance to reality when John Stuart Mill was a boy, and then only from the longitude of Manchester. If the fate of the Fund and the Bank depended on the revival of free trade, Nineteenth Century style, Bretton Woods could be written off as a junket for Washington brain trusters and European bankers-in-exile.

What makes Bretton Woods historic is that its starting point was not the stimulation of exports but the stimulation of imports. A few sentences from a recent League of Nations report (the ghost still talks) may make this clearer. Its criticism of the monetary stabilization programs of the 20's is that "the need for coordinated policies for the maintenance of national incomes and good conditions of employment in all countries was never fully appreciated." The gold standard was restored with "the limited objective" of exchange stability. The "new objective" is the maintenance of "economic activity and employment." The starting point of those who met at Bretton Woods was at the opposite pole from the Kemmerers who speak for the protectionists. The League's experts express it well: "When productive resources are being employed to the full, exports can no longer be viewed as a means to provide employment; they become the necessary means of paying for what is really required and consumed, namely, imports." The Fund and the Bank were constructed to work in a world in which each government takes steps to maintain its domestic economic activity and employment at a high level. Where there is full employment, large imports do not become a matter of enlightened argument; they become economically necessary and inevitable. A fully employed United States, for example, would require huge quantities of foreign raw materials and buy considerable quantities of foreign luxury and consumer goods. Where there is full employment, the pressure for tariffs is weakened, their effect lessened.

In this perspective, the Fund and the Bank appear not as revolutionary financial mechanisms but as timid compromises with the past. The virtue of the Fund is that it would permit governments engaged in providing jobs by public expenditure to prevent the flight of capital; its weakness is that it still links currencies to the deflationary drag of gold, places narrow limits on the management of money for domestic purposes, and allows any one of the three great Powers, the United States, Britain, or the Soviet Union, to veto a uniform alteration of exchange rates. In conservative banking hands, these limitations could put severe brakes on "Keynesian" programs in the poorer countries. Since the rest are all in that category, the danger here is from the United States. At Bretton Woods our country played an enlightened role, of which we may all be proud. But a new Administration guided by conventional banking ideas could turn the Fund into little else than a somewhat more flexible gold standard.

The Bank likewise is about as ultra-conservative as it is possible to be within the limits of the more progressive attitude which war, devastation, and poverty have forced on the other capitalist nations. Here the fault does not lie with the American delegation; as representatives of a nation with most of the world's gold and not enough of the world's dental cavities, they had to link the Fund to gold to maintain the value of our squirrel hoard at Fort Knox. When the Bank came up, the American delegation was for an institution of far greater powers than those finally agreed upon. It was the undertow from European central and private bankers, especially the smug Dutch, that limited the Bank's power to lend and to guarantee loans to 100 per cent of its capital. This $1-to-$1 ratio would make it the most conservative bank the world has ever seen, and as the *Wall Street Journal* was quick to note, correspondingly reduce its power to compete with the private bankers and provide a check on their interest rates.

This conservatism is rather encouraging than otherwise, for it provides the best hope of conciliating enough of the banker opposition to get the Fund and the Bank through Congress. Much of this banker opposition is just instinctive hostility to anything new, like Wall Street's opposition to the Federal Reserve System when it was first proposed. Much of it is a kind of dog-in-the-manger attitude on the part of those who have no program for the revival of international lending but hate to see the government do it.

The old gold standard is a dead duck. For the banker, the Fund represents a means to preserve some link to gold and the Bank the only basis on which international lending can be revived on any adequate scale. For the people Bretton Woods offers the one hope of restoring multilateral international trade, which has a lot to do with international peace, and doing so on a domestic "full employment" basis. Bretton Woods compromised with the past but looked toward the future. Once established, the Fund and the Bank can become as powerful instruments for world stability and prosperity as the people, especially the American people, are disposed to make them.

Argentine Showdown?

BY RAY JOSEPHS

CRITICS of the State Department's equivocal policy in regard to Argentina—there are more of them to the square kilometer in Buenos Aires than in Washington—gave a sigh of anticipation when Secretary Hull, in the strongest terms, served notice that we consider Argentina to be openly "deserting" its sister republics, and dealing with and aiding Axis powers.

The State Department summed up our position vis-à-vis the Farrell regime in detail and warned that the majority of the other American republics were in accord on the diplomatic isolation of a country actively working against the United Nations. The action could not have been a surprise to anyone, with the possible exception of the Casa Rosada. It came as a climax to Washington's recall of Ambassador Norman Armour and Argentina's come-home-quick signal to Dr. Adrian C. Escobar.

The big question, both here and on the River Plate, is what we now intend to do about it. Front-page dispatches, editorials, and columnists talk blithely of economic sanctions. But the word from Buenos Aires via underground friends in Montevideo is that the pro-democratic elements there are highly skeptical. They think this is going to develop into merely another sharp word-and-wind exchange in the tradition of the famed correspondence between Secretary Hull and Foreign Minister Storni last September.

On that occasion, Storni wrote a letter to Mr. Hull explaining that he was writing with the full approval of President Ramirez. (That meant the approval of the colonels' G.O.U., since from the beginning Ramirez was their front man and hardly much more.) Storni pointed out that the San Martin Palace policy of "prudent neutrality" actually represented an "invaluable contribution to hemisphere solidarity and cooperative continental defense." For this reason it would be very nice if President Roosevelt would "make a gesture of genuine friendship toward our people" in the form of providing such little trinkets as airplanes, spare parts, armaments, and machinery which would "restore Argentina to a position of equilibrium" in relation to the other South American countries. Storni claimed that the Argentine people were strongly for the Allies. The army, he had to admit, did not share this enthusiasm. However, a symbolic gesture such as he had indicated would probably do much to change their minds.

Mr. Hull's twenty-four-hundred-word reply sounded as good in Spanish as in the Tennessee drawl in which it must have been dictated. First, he listed the commitments made by Argentina at the Rio Conference of Foreign Ministers not long after Pearl Harbor. Then, he showed how Argentina had ignored, flouted, or forgotten almost every one of them. He knocked over each point that Storni had raised, with fairness and incontestable logic. A number of us waiting around the U.P. office in Buenos Aires as the texts were coming in wondered what the government would do. The colonels were debating whether to release the story to the public. Finally, they decided that popular sentiment was sure to be on their side and not only stamped an okay on the correspondence but told the papers they might comment freely. The response was terrific—but hardly what the military expected. For the press followed Hull right down the line, and the public, incensed at the colonels for making fools of themselves, applauded the press and Mr. Hull instead of damning the Yanquis for insulting their national pride. Even the Axis sheets could do no more than demand Storni's head.

Storni was thrown to the wolves and other resignations followed. Even so, public feeling mounted. The colonels, fearing a counter-move they could not stand up against, ordered out every soldier and every piece of equipment in Buenos Aires. New York was pressing us for news, and the censors, not content with warning newsmen against making any predictions, were locking up anybody who spoke in the future tense. The most conservative observers felt that if the pro-democratic forces had been organized or if some missing spark had been applied the military regime would have fallen then and there. As it was the colonels sat tight and rode out the storm.

Meanwhile, Washington, as far as we could tell from Buenos Aires, sat and twiddled its thumbs. The Axis forces were so frightened that many agents ducked for cover. But once the excitement died down Berlin intensified its activity. Espionage, sabotage, and fifth column work continued with the increasingly open aid of the Argentine military and the behind-the-scenes boys in the Foreign Ministry. We could see this happening, knowing what it was costing the United Nations' war effort. We followed the pro-Axis dailies because they always gave the tip-off on what was coming. We saw the pro-democratic organizations closed up one by one, the political parties dissolved, freedom of religion abolished. This rise of native totalitarianism appeared not to worry Washington or London. It was the increasing aid to the Axis that finally in January 1944 caused them to issue the still unrevealed demand that diplomatic ties with Berlin and Tokyo be cut. This time there was hardly a crisis. The colonels, in true Goebbels style, built up the break with the Axis. The Argentine people looked on apathetically: they had seen it all before and they would see it again. As Mr. Hull tells the story in the current memorandum, what happened thereafter was merely a flurry of anti-Axis activity to catch the headlines —nothing more.

The colonels believed that Ramirez was ready to actualize the diplomatic break by integrating Argentina into the continental defense system. (This Ramirez denied when some of us interviewed him on the subject.) The colonels, therefore, led by the war minister Juan Domingo Peron, moved in on him and forced him out, installing Farrell in his place. The Farrell regime, as might be expected, has continued the pro-Axis policy. Pro-Nazis are not only tolerated but have been given some of the most important ministries and agencies. These have "rapidly and energetically," to use Mr. Hull's words, "implanted a domestic totalitarian system that fully complements and supports their pro-Axis foreign policy through control of the press, the courts, the schools, and other key institutions." The Argentine government has turned over to blacklisted Axis firms important United States materials shipped to Allied concerns under carefully checked export licenses. It has exercised economic sanctions against smaller and weaker Latin American countries that have been supporting the United States policy of non-recognition. Furthermore, although this is not stressed by Mr. Hull, through its domestic policy and its ties with the Axis, the Argentine government has established a firm pro-Axis beachhead in this hemisphere which may have important consequences after the war.

It is doubtful if the Argentine people or the Argentine government will regard the present State Department attack seriously unless it is followed up. In the official Argentine denial—given out before the Argentine people had a chance to read even a much-cut version of Mr. Hull's statement—Foreign Minister Orlando L. Peluffo denied that the Argentine was working against continental solidarity. He emphasized that no change in policy was contemplated. The well-worn argument was produced that sovereignty of Argentina would be impaired if it seemed that its policy was dictated from abroad. He harped on another favorite theme: Argentine neutrality was helping the war effort by supplying vital food and war supplies, and concluded his radio talk by showing just how closely Argentina was tying up with her Good Neighbors with the sole purpose of strengthening continental solidarity.

More important than Peluffo's speech were the expressions of the *Nacionalistas*, the only real supporters of the government, and the actions of the army. The nationalists demonstrated while Peluffo was talking. The military clique seethed and kept quiet. *Cabildo* and *Federal*, the pro-Axis dailies which speak for the government, started screaming against the United States, charging openly and violently that we were falsifying Argentina's position, planning to attack her and seeking to dictate what she should do.

Hot-headed elements in the army have been meeting in the suburban Campo Mayo barracks—where the June 4 coup was planned—and discussing mobilization to meet any emergency, "external" rather than internal. Reports are already circulating that the United States has a fleet ready off Punta del Este, the outermost point of the wide bay of the Rio de la Plata. Recent classes of Argentina's conscript army have been called up. Arms production has been put on a 24-hour-day basis, and all leaves have been cancelled. All of this suggests that the military leaders believe that some time the good-neighborly patience of Mr. Hull and the Roosevelt Administration would come to an end. They don't think that the present memorandum suggests more drastic action; we are annoyed and possibly indignant but that is all. However, some day there will be more than the stiff reprimand and Argentina's leaders are preparing public opinion against the day when they can point the shocked finger at the aggressive imperialism of the United States.

This propaganda and the military preparations are having their effect, even if eighty per cent of the Argentine people are definitely in favor of democracy. The pro-democratic leaders explain that bitter feeling against the United States is being stirred up by the propaganda of the military and the government without the pro-democratic cause being furthered. Nobody wants us to send down the Marines. Nobody wants United States' interference in Argentine affairs. But pro-democratic leaders feel that drastic economic action—cutting off our purchases of Argentine meat and refusing to sell Argentina our products—would have a wholesome effect. Although they fully realize that outside pressure is not the sole answer, they see our present policy as tantamount to Franco appeasement and Darlan and Badoglio compromise. And they are convinced that the colonels are of the same opinion.

We were always being told in Buenos Aires that the Allied high command was opposed to cutting off meat purchases. The meat had to come from somewhere and the American people would be resentful if they were more seriously rationed so that the English could eat better. The State Department's release of Peron's warlike speech and the Hull memorandum itself suggests that perhaps the Department wants to know if it will have popular backing at home for the next more drastic step. Americans in Argentina have placed some of the blame on London for our holding back on economic sanctions. But in my opinion Downing Street as well as the British businessmen in Argentina would be willing to go along with us if the war food supply was assured.

There would of course be popular opposition to this course both in Argentina and in other smaller South American countries where there is some secret admiration of Argentina for "standing up" to the United States. But the majority of the Argentine people would be for it, particularly those democratic leaders who have themselves experienced the ruthless suppression, the jailings, the tortures carried out by the military regime.

Secretary Hull has ruled out any bargaining or negotiation over a course of action to which Argentina has long since been committed. "The principles for which the free nations of the world are today contributing the full measure of their human and material resources cannot be the subject of a bargain." The case of Argentina is transparently not merely a matter of internal policy; it involves the Allied war effort. It is difficult to discover, therefore, the reasons which would deter us from insisting by whatever means necessary that Argentina abandon her role of aiding those against whom the United Nations are pitting their total strength.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THERE IS TALK of an American [Atlantic] cable—that is, of a cable owned in America, and, we suppose, paid out from this side; but we fear no cable can, in the present state of American industry, be made here cheap enough to compete with those of English manufacture.—*August 5, 1869.*

THE WANT of comic talent is certainly not the reason why we have to answer in the negative the often-asked question, "why we have no comic paper in America?" . . . Mr. Nasby, the San Francisco "Town Crier," Mr. Mark Twain, Mr. Josh Billings, some of the men on the *World*, Mr. Leland, the jester of the Boston *Post*, the balladist of "Truthful James," some of the story-tellers of the "Editor's Drawer" of *Harper's*, to say nothing of the jokers who scintillate more or less feebly in the journals of the Union generally, would, if they could be got together in one corps, make a comic journal which it would be very hard to beat.—*August 5, 1869.*

THINGS ARE NOT going well in Austria. . . . Nobody is satisfied with the present state of things except the Hungarians. Their success in getting all they want has stimulated the exertions of the Bohemians and Croats, who demand the concession of autonomy also; and, unfortunately for the Austrian Ministry, there is not a single reason for refusing their demands which would not also apply to the demands of the Hungarians.—*August 12, 1869.*

"THE SCIENCE OF RIGHT," by J. G. Fichte. Translated by A. E. Kroeger. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.). . . . Americans should accept with some reserve the representations now made that Fichte and Hegel illustrate the best thought which Germany has produced.—*August 12, 1869.*

Stalingrad Tomorrow

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Moscow, July 22, by Cable

RUSSIANS, like Americans, are discussing post-war plans, but with a different accent. While the Americans plan what to do with Europe, Asia, South America, and the Pacific, the Russians are planning how to rebuild their war-destroyed cities. So far I have not heard a single Russian planning the future of any country but his own.

Architects from all the length and breadth of the Soviet Union have just completed a session on standards of house construction and town planning. A hundred elected delegates of architects' organizations from all parts of the country as well as several hundred Moscow architects and engineers crowded into the Architects' Hall on Granatny Street, which old American residents of Moscow remember as the residence of American relief workers twenty years ago. Now tripled in size by new wings, it contains permanent exhibitions and serves as the publication center of the Architecture Academy.

Much attention was devoted to plans for small houses for two or four families, each family having a separate entrance and a small yard. The explanation was given that these are quicker to build in standard prefabricated form. Those recalling the discussion a decade ago regarding the "socialist" nature of apartment houses as opposed to individual dwellings will realize that Russian families, like Americans, have decided that they prefer more individual home life whenever conditions permit. Large cities, naturally, still plan apartment houses, but a typical factory settlement now features smaller houses with individual yards and trees.

The architects wisely decided not to adopt any single scheme of city planning but to respect each city's special characteristics. For instance, Novgorod, the most ancient cradle of Russian history, with its massive architectural monuments and medieval art, should take advantage of these monuments, constructing parks and squares for their display. Cities possessing lakes and rivers should develop their possibilities.

All projects for city rebuilding propose a marked increase in parks and greenery. They also plan for a large central square, not as a thoroughfare but slightly aside from central thoroughfares and adapted to public gatherings. Years ago I noted this typical new feature of Soviet town planning. Whereas medieval cities centered around the cathedral and the market, and modern capitalist cities center around banks and stores, Soviet cities scatter stores and branch banks through residential areas, using the city center for cultural buildings and great public plazas for public gatherings. This has now been consciously adopted in all future city plans.

Americans will be especially interested in the project for the future Stalingrad. Five architects competed for this, including Academician Iofan, known in America as the designer of the Soviet Pavilion at the New York World's Fair in 1939 but better known here as the designer of the monumental Palace of the Soviets, which is still unfinished because of the war. Iofan's Stalingrad project proved unacceptable. It is interesting to know why. He made the entire city center around a monumental square approached from the Volga by successive concrete terraces leading up to a gigantic memorial figure several stories high. The first impression your correspondent got was how tired Stalingrad people would be by climbing all that cement and how completely the city's past would dominate all daily life.

I was glad to note that my criticism coincided with the official judgment which rejected Iofan's project as "too monumental and unhuman." This trend toward humanizing architecture makes your correspondent foresee possible changes in the future structure of the Moscow Palace of the Soviets, which—as you recall—was planned as the world's tallest structure. It is of colossal dimensions, and many consider it out of proportion to the Moscow scene.

The plan accepted for Stalingrad was drafted by a younger architect, Karo Alabian, an Armenian who is now president of the Architects' Union and vice-president of the Acadamy of Architecture. Alabian personally conducted your correspondent through the exhibit and explained his project for "correlating Stalingrad's proud past with the future of an efficient industrial metropolis and a pleasant living place."

Stalingrad presents a peculiar problem. The city is very long and narrow, running nearly forty miles along the Volga. Actually it is a chain of factory towns with tenuous connections. The project provides four long parkways paralleling the river, each flanked by swift electric trains, similar to our inter-urbans, running the full length of the city and connected by crosstown busses. The first parkway will replace the steam railway which formerly occupied the river bank, shutting off the city from the Volga, and which will now enter the city farther inland by tunnels similar to those of New York. This parkway will connect the city with the river and provide recreation grounds along the shore. All ravines running to the river will become parks branching from the parkway.

Stalingrad's great factories will form a broad belt along the river, on the heights above the parkway. Beyond the factories will come a second parkway from 500 to 1,500 feet wide, a green belt separating the factories from the residential districts. The third parkway will be entirely in the residential area, while the fourth will be an autostrad beyond the city limits, suitable for through traffic.

Neither factories nor residences will be erected in the central district, where the heaviest battles raged. Here a great central park will extend a mile inland, enclosing Mamaief Kurgan, the highest point in the city, where the final terrific struggle took place. This hilltop will contain a great battle panorama, including the actual trenches. The mile-deep park will have a sports stadium also, and a memorial square for public demonstrations. This park will be the central gathering place for the entire city. Just opposite it, on the sandy island in the river, a decorative lighthouse will connect the bathing beach resorts with the general city recreation area.

Soviet architects have worked throughout the war on many interesting tasks. The present exhibit shows fascinating models of many fake factories and airfields designed to attract German bombs to false objectives while the real factories, carefully camouflaged, escaped. The architects also designed a traveling theater, which visits the fronts in a single three-ton truck with room for actors, costumes, and scenery. On reaching its destination, the truck opens out, forming an 18-by-22-foot stage with wings, backdrop, and scenery.

"From the beginning of 1942 onward," said Alabian, "we began work on post-war plans for rebuilding. We knew that the Germans would be beaten and that we must plan to build better than before."

This conception of Soviet future building was confirmed by Pierre Cot, the famous French statesman, who has just returned from four months investigating reconstruction in the devastated areas for the Free French government in Algiers. The French hope to profit by Soviet experience in the reconstruction of France. M. Cot said to your correspondent: "The Soviets will compel even this terrible destruction to serve their future uses. Twenty years hence they will have finer cities than if there had been no war."

The Putsch that Failed

BY ALFRED VAGTS

THE political shooting season inside Germany reopened on July 20. There had been a closed season for ten years, since the summer of the Great Purge; and since then those who did the shooting and those for whom they shot had been after other prey in the game preserve of Europe.

To those who are eager to establish a Black Record for Germany since Luther or an even earlier figure, it might not occur that political murder in that country had never had the status of a quasi-institution, as it had in so many other countries. The year 1919 really marked its hideous beginning in Germany, with the murder of the Bavarian Socialist Prime Minister Eisner by Count Arco, scion of a Bavarian noble family. The revolutionaries of the Left fired back under such provocation, but they never equalled the professionals in the handling of arms, the army officers and the bravos employed by them, who cut down Erzberger, Rathenau, and a host of lesser leaders. The Nazis were the party of political murder from the beginning.

The firing squads of June, 1934, were provided by the SS, known abroad as the Elite Guard. Thereafter they replaced the SA as the party's armed force, controlling what their leader Himmler is fond of calling *Kriegsschauplatz Innerdeutschland*—the internal German theater of war. Himmler promised the army to keep this theater quiet so that they could safely concentrate on their foreign campaigns.

Inciters to political murder run the risk of perishing at the hands of political murderers. Now the noblemen within the army have failed in their final putsch—a putsch for peace against the assassins they themselves have raised to power; they are being eliminated by their pupils. For this putsch was the bloody clash of two élites, the hereditary nobility and Hitler's aristocrats, and of the two the latter was bolder—the old noblemen feared to lose estates and position, whereas the SS have nothing to lose but the war.

What Himmler, onetime chicken breeder, has tried to breed in the SS is essentially a new aristocracy, with the old police duties but a new allegiance. They are imbued with absolute obedience to Hitler; by order of Hitler himself, every SS meeting closes with the song,

> If all the world forsake Thee,
> We shall be faithful still,

a Christian hymn written by the romantic poet Novalis (Baron von Hardenberg). Such blasphemy did not repel the German nobility, so long forsaken by God, Geist, and all graces. Like so many representatives of big business and finance, the footloose younger sons of the nobility joined the SS—provided they could pass the chicken breeder's "blood" tests, which barred many with traces of Jewish blood in their pedigrees. By early 1943 there were 20 men with the particle *von* and indices of even higher nobility among the 240 highest SS leaders down to brigade leader, a rank corresponding to that of major general in the army. The new aristocracy and the old seemed to blend peacefully, dividing among themselves the labors of government, rearmament, and diplomacy, and sharing the joys of possession. There were occasional revolutionary threats from some Nazi elements, but the danger was not real; landed property and industrial holdings, of which titled men had a larger share than is generally realized abroad, remained secure. Instead of agrarian reform, Germans with "land hunger" were promised holdings in territories to be conquered East and West. Himmler's elaborate organization included a settlement office to arrange such fiefs for loyal sons of the SS. This made possible that harmony between the two élites which was necessary for the preparation and waging of war.

The role of foreign conservatives in creating this state of affairs should not be forgotten or forgiven. After the last war they insisted on maintaining the status quo in German property holdings, thereby protecting the position of the landed aristocracy and the big industrialists, and at the same time fostered measures which would ruin the German middle class. The result was Nazism. And almost up to the outbreak of the present war they encouraged Nazism. Their class interests led them to overlook its nationalist character and its determined revisionism. Indeed, their views are essentially the same even now. Up to July 20, 1944, the conservatives in power in Washington and London might have looked forward to finding among the upper-class Germans the Badoglios and Pétains they would like—but the Nazis are now exterminating the would-be renegades.

Unchecked by British conservatives when it was still possible, the old and the new German élite went on with war preparations through the 30s. But there was some friction even then. Hitler's promise to the contrary notwithstanding, the military monopoly of the Reichswehr was broken by the SS. Ever since the Polish campaign of 1939, the so-called Waffen-SS, or SS-in-arms, has sent its own formations into battle independently of the regular army. They grew from regiments to divisions and corps, until they were on a par with the army, the navy, and the air force. This alone was enough to arouse army jealousy—and in addition they got favored treatment. During the last year and a half a number of army divisions have been dissolved, often after being badly mauled; but the number of SS divisions has been constantly increased, despite the fact that some of them have been practically annihilated. Moreover, their methods of competing for recruits struck the army as unfair. Regular army men and seventeen-year-old civilians were enticed into the SS, leaving the army the more passive and war-weary soldiers and recruits. Thanks to this favoritism, the reward of fanaticism, the number of SS divisions is now seventeen. Membership in the Nazi party seems to be no longer required for membership in the SS, but the SS troops are the most fanatical exponents of Nazi doctrine, both on the battlefield and behind the lines.

No SS general has been captured, except one at Stalingrad, but the Russians report increasing willingness of Reichswehr divisional and corps commanders to surrender and join the Moscow Committee of Free Germans. This committee is headed by a Von Seydlitz, scion of an old Junker family. Some illumination of German social trends may be obtained by studying the occurrence of the particle *von* before names. It reveals something of the competition between the only two élites left in the Reich, the army and the SS. It is significant that every one of the SS division commanders is a commoner—men with names like Meyer, Dietrich, and Lehmann. In the army the top leaders were largely noblemen as late as 1936—80 per cent of the colonel generals in that year were *vons*, 33 per cent of the generals, 30 per cent of the lieutenant generals, 24 per cent of the major generals, and 22 per cent of the colonels. But the tremendous expansion of the army into the Reichswehr and the Luftwaffe called for more leader personnel than the thousand or so noble families could provide; besides, their sons were mostly strangers to the new weapons—airplanes and tanks—which required new brains and technical talent. But the old Junker type was still the die that stamped most military commanders.

Two things are noteworthy in considering these changes and the unavoidable increase of the commoner-officer: (1) On July 20, 1944, a high percentage of the top commanders were still *vons;* in the Great General Staff, the peak association of all German army chiefs, there were 115 *vons* among the 438 members holding ranks from colonel to captain in 1943. (2) There is no similar strain of nobility in the officer corps of the navy and the Luftwaffe. And that, as we might say in our murder-story-as-social-analysis, is the clue to the fact that the navy and the Luftwaffe came out with effusive congratulations after Hitler escaped the bomb, and the army did not.

Victories cement partners in a military coalition, and defeats draw them apart. The enforced harmony between the army and the SS became strained when German defeats took on a serial character. The landings in Normandy set off developments in Germany similar to those set off in Italy by the landings on Sicily. A consid-

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erable group of old officers, their names indicative of noble birth, "lost courage," as General Guderian, a tank expert, declared in a broadcast. They realized that their chances of survival as the governing and possessing class were threatened. In the cold morning after the orgy of blood this type of German officer suddenly became "conservative" once more, knowing that only prompt action could save his possessions. These neo-conservatives, with affiliations in big business and big agriculture, made a salvage attempt. It was one of their own, a Graf von Stauffenberg, who agreed to throw the bomb for them.

The situation was so desperate, and action was so difficult under Himmler's spy system, that no bravo could be hired. A titled officer had to risk his own life for his caste. They were so obviously guilty that a high S. S. official, Dr. Ley, openly accused the whole "idiotic nobility" not only of having plotted against Hitler but of having caused the Wehrmacht to lose ground in the East, West, and South. The German worker was told by his leader that the stab in the back came from his old enemy, the nobleman. The scene may be set for a St. Bartholomew's Night, a "night of the long knives," for the hitherto untouchable German nobility, the last "unscathed" nobility in the world.

The July bombing expressed the conviction of those who have traditionally run the German army and nation as experts that Germany cannot win the war, and that its conduct and termination must be taken out of the hands of the Nazi upstarts and their bohemian corporal. To the German people this explosive declaration can only mean that the experts have pronounced the war hopeless and the Nazis unfit even to wind it up.

Temporarily, the failure of the *Adelsputsch* has only strengthened Nazi control over the Wehrmacht. Himmler, a civilian but Minister of the Interior, is now commander of all forces within the Reich proper. And for the first time an SS general, Hausser by name, has been given the command of a German Army, the Seventh. This army faces the Allies in Normandy, and is an indication to us that a Nazi Party man holds the key position and will bar peace trafficking.

Faced by the Allies' demand for unconditional surrender, the desperadoes who have conquered Germany will fight to the end. Rather than stop the war they will go on inflicting casualties on Germans and Allies alike. The stage seems set not for an early peace but for a Wagnerian *Götterdämmerung*. Even if the nerves of the Führers should fail, there remains the danger that those of their troops such as the SS will not fail. There is again an army of fanatics in the world, fanatics who have at their command the technology which the last armies of fanatics, the Mahdi and the Chinese Boxers, did not possess. And who would say that we, their enemies, have yet used our best and most persuasive arguments against them?

In the Wind

WITH A FINE non-partisan spirit, the United Republican Finance Committee for Metropolitan New York is soliciting funds from members of the American Labor Party. Several members, who repeatedly and in vain urged Governor Dewey to approve the federal ballot in order to facilitate voting by soldiers from New York State, have received a form letter asking their support because "We must 'Back the Fight' of the boys at the front who may not be able to vote in November."

APPARENTLY THE FIGHT is to spare the boys the horrors of full employment when they come home. James S. Kemper, chairman of the National Republican Finance Committee, said this in a recent address: "We cannot have both full employment and freedom. The only period in the history of our country when full employment was assured was during the time of slavery."

OMEN: The Labor Institute of America has prepared a large three-color chart showing how members of Congress have voted during the past two years on issues vital to labor. At $2 each, the charts are selling like hotcakes.

JOE LOUIS has been measured for a figure by Tussaud's Wax Museum in London.

NOW IT MUST BE TOLD: That air-conditioned, noiseless, dustless, two-way-stretch, pre-cooked, house-broken, konvertible, kollapsible, kumfortized, slo-baked, dubbl-seald house of the future turns out to be just an advertising man's occupational disease. The National Association of Home Builders has employed Steve Hannagan, one of the best and highest-priced men in the publicity business, to un-sell the public on the dream houses it has been reading about in the slick-paper magazines. The reason for this move was a survey by the Association, which showed that the average man expects to pay $52 a month after the war to finance a six-room house with two baths and all the mechanical marvels he has been reading about in the ads. Of the people interviewed, 54 per cent said they would not build or buy a home at all unless they could get air conditioning, and 62 per cent said they must have electronic devices to do the housework. Such things, says Mr. Hannagan, are only for "a minority of home buyers in the high income brackets."

FESTUNG EUROPA: A three-year-old placard of the Nasjonal Samling, Vidkun Quisling's party, has suddenly begun to reappear all over Oslo. It reads, "Germany winning on all fronts! Join Germany's victorious forward march! Join the NS Party!" Quisling's police are kept busy tearing them down. . . . A Nazi paper in Prague complains that there is no applause for speakers at anti-Bolshevist meetings.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Bulgaria on the Spot

BY BOGDAN RADITSA

BULGARIA'S rulers, having invested in a loser, are now anxiously waiting for something to turn up; but whatever turns up is likely to be unpleasant. They gave their country over to Germany. Their people now look to Russia for salvation.

This uncomfortable situation could have been avoided. In November, 1940, Soviet Russia sent an emissary to the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in Sofia to conclude a Russo-Bulgarian mutual-assistance pact. Despite Regent Philov's despotic rule and the Gestapo occupation, which had just been installed, a million of Bulgaria's six million inhabitants signed a petition favoring the proposal, and 140 deputies out of a total of 150 informed the government that they wanted the pact. The government said no. Four months later, in March, 1941, Bulgaria signed the Tri-Partite Pact with the Axis; at the same time it announced that its relations with Russia were "improving," and that with Russia's consent it would allow German troops to enter Bulgaria to keep peace in the Balkans.

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Policy promptly sent an explicit note to the Bulgarian government, stating that "the Soviet government cannot uphold the opinion of the Bulgarian government regarding the correctness of the latter's position in the given question, since this position, irrespective of the desire of the Bulgarian government, leads not to the strengthening of peace but to the widening of the sphere of war and to Bulgaria's involvement in it." The Soviet denial was never made public in Bulgaria.

Since Germany and Russia have been at war, Russia has appealed to Bulgaria several times. On January 23 of this year, as the New York *Times* reported, the representatives of the All-Slav Committee transmitted a message to Bulgaria stressing the fact that "the union with Germany cannot save Bulgaria from war" and that Russia had always supported the Bulgarian patriots and had helped them win independence. A Moscow broadcast on May 30, 1944, quoting from *War and the Working Class*, charged Bulgaria with maintaining a clearly hostile attitude toward Russia, by allowing the Nazis to use air fields, and harbors on the Black Sea and the Danube.

The present Bulgarian government, headed by Ivan Bagrianov, one of King Boris's former aides, does not seem to have the slightest inclination to free itself from Nazi influence. It continues its professions of neutrality, but German troops occupy all key military positions in the country and use it as a base of operations against Greece and Yugoslavia. In fact, the five German divisions in Bulgaria are the mainstay of Regent Philov's government. It has no support among the broad masses of the population.

The conflict in Bulgaria is between the nationalistic, imperialistic impulses of the ruling class and the federalistic, democratic aspirations of the resistance movement, which is based on a deep-rooted Slavic sympathy for Russia. The character of the resistance is not [illegible] dynamic as the Yugoslav, chiefly because the Bulgarian peasant is different from the Yugoslav peasant—more passive, more industrious, less inclined to political or social visions. The active resistance against the Germans and the government was initiated by the Workers' Union, which includes the Communists, the left-wing Peasant Party, the Agrarian Party, the progressive elements of the old Socialist and Democratic parties, as well as the officers of the Republican League. The coalition is known as the Fatherland Front. Active in the movement are former Prime Minister Mushanov, a member of the Democratic Party, Nicholas Petkoff, former deputy of the Agrarian Party, and Professor Petko Stainov, of the National Conservative Party. The influence of Colonel Damian Velchev is very great, though this patriot is in prison as the result of an unsuccessful attempt to set up a Bulgarian republic in 1934.

The Partisans started their activities in the summer of 1941 by attacking the concentration camp of Gonda Voda. Since then innumerable acts of sabotage and attacks upon enemy installations have taken place all over the country. In September, 1943, the Minister of the Interior, Docho Hristov, asserted that the Partisan movement had only 2,000 members. But in November the government announced that the Partisans had sustained over 1,000 casualties. The Moscow All-Slav Committee put the number of Bulgarian Partisans at 30,000. Other sources in Bulgaria speak of a force of from 12,000 to 20,000 which is in direct contact with Tito's Yugoslav Army of Liberation. Among Tito's Partisans there is one Bulgarian detachment. The Bulgarian army has refused to fight the Bulgarian Partisans, and the government has had to create a "fighting police unit" dedicated "to crushing the revolts, fighting the enemies of the state, suppressing all Partisan and terrorist bands, and restoring order." At the end of 1943 the Bulgarian Minister of the Interior declared: "I will not refrain from mentioning the fact . . . that in certain mountainous regions . . . there are wandering groups . . . bandits who are trying to disrupt internal order. In order that their liquidation may be speedy, the government will require the assistance of the entire organized force."

The Germans have started taking hostages in Bulgaria, and the prisons are full. Lately, certain generals, including General Lukas, who was Minister of War in the Bojilov government, have been taken into custody. Once entirely loyal to fascism, they can no longer be trusted by the Gestapo or the clique surrounding the court, for they see German defeat approaching. Several generals and high officers have escaped to Russia or Turkey, and they have all declared that they want to serve in the Red Army. This situation is similar to the one which arose in the second half of 1918, when the Bulgarian army split and disbanded even before its Austro-German partners had collapsed on the western front. There is a decided possibility of an army coup d'état, but it will probably not be carried out before the Red Army has crossed the Bulgarian frontiers. Meanwhile, the Germans are policing the country and the army.

The Bulgarian ruling class has accepted collaboration with Hitler because of its dream of a Greater Bulgaria which would include the northern Greek provinces and Yugoslav Macedonia—in other words, which would unite the whole of Macedonia under the Bulgarian flag. Unfortunately for the Bulgarian rulers, Greece and Yugoslavia will never accept such a territorial settlement. Certainly Tito will not. Yugoslav Macedonia has been recognized as a sovereign entity by the National Liberation Charter, equal in status to the other components of the Yugoslav nation. Bulgaria will have to accept this solution, for if it continues in its present course it will find Yugoslavia and Greece a united opposition. Nor will Russia be inclined to show any great tenderness toward a country which should have been an ally but which preferred the dubious benefits of collaboration with the enemy.

Back in 1941 Bogdan Philov, then Prime Minister of Bulgaria, explained his country's vacillating foreign policy to a Western diplomat by telling him an old Turkish story. "One of the Sultan's governors," he said, "had been condemned to death. As his last wish, he asked to see the Sultan, for he had some very important information to impart to him. When the guilty governor was brought before the Sultan, he told him that he had discovered the secret of how to teach a donkey to talk. If he were granted a year's leave, he would prove it. The Sultan was astounded. He granted the governor his reprieve. Later, the condemned man's friends asked him how he expected to keep his promise. 'In a year's time,' he answered, 'the donkey or the Sultan or I myself may die a natural death; in a year's time many things can happen to save me from the hangman's noose.' "

That is the position of Bulgaria's ruling classes today. But they may not have as much time as the guilty governor.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

Goebbels's Biggest Lie

EVEN before the purge of July 20 there were many signs that a considerable number of high officers in the German army had turned against Hitler. Since the beginning of July the Nazi regime had considered the symptoms of disaffection serious enough to require mention in its propaganda broadcasts, both foreign and domestic. In his funeral oration at the grave of General Dietl, killed in the retreat from Russia, Hitler gave special emphasis to this statement: "May his example inspire many German officers and generals. May they learn to banish any idea that a struggle in which the entire fanaticism of a nation is engaged might end otherwise than in victory." In Switzerland, whose press is as accurate and as well-informed as our own, the statement caused great surprise. The Basel *Nationalzeitung* wrote on July 6:

> Hitler's mysterious allusions indicate that, contrary to his own assurances, frictions and crises of confidence have in fact arisen between the generals as a group and the Supreme Command. A first rift, denoting crisis, divides the highest military authorities.

Immediately afterwards came the dismissal of Marshal von Rundstedt. And although many marshals and generals have been dismissed at one time and another, there was an unusual circumstance this time.The Berlin correspondent of the great Swiss newspaper *Neuen Zuercher Zeitung* wrote on July 8:

> The fact must be stressed that the change in the High Command in the Western theater of war was officially announced. Usually, the man in the street (and the soldier in the ranks!) does not learn about such changes until the new incumbents suddenly appear in photographs and are mentioned in communiqués. . . . Rundstedt's replacement was a complete surprise, even to

> usually well-informed circles in Berlin. It is unanimously understood that Rundstedt's replacement is an event of major importance.

And the correspondent of the Stockholm *Aftonbladet*, who is known to have the best connections among Nazi officials and to be sympathetic to the regime, was able to send to his paper, with the approval of the Nazi censors, the following observations:

> The German army has recently lost an unusually large number of generals. Although some were killed or captured, the majority did obviously surrender to the Russians of their own accord. Earlier in this war, German generals often showed great skill and daring in evading capture, but now their ingenuity seems to be on the decline. Instead, the colony of anti-Nazi German officers in Moscow is growing larger. What is happening now, in fact, could be the subject of an interesting debate. Do German generals, for instance, find a certain satisfaction in falling into enemy hands? And is there a tendency in favor of capitulation among German generals? . . . If German generals have come to the conclusion that the Third Reich no longer has a chance militarily, it is likely that the idea of capitulation will gain ground among them. Some observers consider that this has already happened.

Not only was general disaffection among the officers noticeable; the Nazis themselves drew public attention to it, obviously as psychological preparation for what was to happen. What happened was the throwing of the bomb—a metaphorical bomb, since it is still uncertain that there was a real one. As this is written, all signs indicate that there was not—that the colossal bomb whose explosion was so remarkably ineffective was one of Dr. Goebbels's inventions.

Even less worthy of belief is the official representation that a so-called "clique" of generals and officers had attempted to "usurp" authority in an open *coup d'état.* Every authentic detail that has come to light has indicated more clearly that the Nazis, as is the way with dictatorships, made a preventive move against a possible menace that had not yet taken any definite form. The fact that the alleged bomb-thrower, Graf von Stauffenberg, was executed immediately, instead of being questioned for days and weeks as to his backers and accomplices, indicates that there was nothing to ask questions about. The fact that the "usurpers" did not take possession of any of the dozens of civilian radio stations in Germany, or any of the hundreds of transmitters in the army, indicates that there cannot have been an attempt to seize power. The lightning speed with which the list of "traitors" was published, the smooth precision with which Elite Guard formations entered army staff headquarters all over Europe at exactly the same time and arrested generals in the presence of their men, indicate that it was the Nazis who did all the plotting.

It is fairly simple to reconstruct what actually took place. Among the higher officers the conviction has been growing for weeks that the war is hopelessly lost and must be liquidated at any price, even at that of capitulation. But those who held this view were not united on a course of action. Some favored an "Anglo-American solution;" others, apparently a greater number, favored a "Russian solution." The former wanted to open the gates in the West in order to keep the Red Army and Bolshevism out of Germany; the latter were more inclined to put their hope in Stalin's declaration of November, 1942, that only the "Hitlerite" army, not the German army, would be destroyed, and in the endless stream of propaganda to that effect that has come from General von Seydlitz's committee in Moscow. But regardless of this lack of unity, the spread of defeatism among the higher officers was known to the Nazis, who of course know everything, and they decided to eliminate both schools of thought.

The list of "traitors" was drawn up, the preparations made. But it is not easy to arrest large numbers of angry officers in the midst of their own troops. Such a thing can lead to fighting, and the outcome is uncertain. Therefore it was necessary to invent a story which would, at least for a time, so stupefy, bewilder, and paralyze the troops that they would not readily obey or help their officers. Hence the "bomb," the "plot," the "coup." Of course, in the long run, the story would hurt the morale of the whole country, including the army, but that long-term disadvantage must be accepted in view of overwhelming present necessity.

We must reckon with the fact that hundreds of high officers who wanted to surrender have been massacred or at the very least imprisoned, and with them, indiscriminately, all civilians who could possibly be suspected. We can now give up any thought of a "revolution from above." It is probable that from now on every officer with any extensive authority will have at his side a "political commissar," who will read all his mail, both incoming and outgoing, and hear all his conversations.

Hitler and Himmler now more than ever are certain that there will be no "active" revolution. There never was any likelihood of such a revolution from below; infiltrated by the Gestapo and surrounded by Elite Guards, the people have never been able to do anything. And now a revolution from above is equally unthinkable; all those in high places who may have been willing and able to do something have been eliminated. It is of course possible that others will appear as time goes on. However, there is in principle only one means by which Germans can shorten the war: a "passive" revolution, a revolution that consists in doing nothing, a revolution of fighters who don't fight well enough and workers who don't work well enough. And "the night of the long knives" has made even that more difficult.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Lytton Strachey

BY LOUIS KRONENBERGER

IT IS very understandable that, for last year's Rede Lecture at Cambridge, Max Beerbohm should have chosen to speak about Lytton Strachey.* The two men are far from unlike in temperament; the epigram that Wilde coined for one of them—"The gods have bestowed on Max the gift of eternal old age"—might have been better applied to the other. And the two men are very much alike in their approach to literature as, above everything else, an art. Max's lecture, indeed, is the most graceful of tributes from one very literary man to another. What Max appreciates most in Strachey is his manner, his artistry, his prose; they are the things we should most expect him to appreciate; very likely they are the things that are most to be appreciated. But, like many other graceful tributes, Max's lecture is not very searching criticism; and like much else in Max's writing, it tells more about the author than the subject. But it comes at a good moment, since Strachey was never more neglected; and even its too genial desire to praise serves a good purpose. For the reaction against Strachey—though it was clearly inevitable and in large part sound—has gone too far. I think he will be honorably remembered again, though he will be remembered on other, and smaller, grounds than those on which he was first acclaimed.

Strachey's work already dates, for it embodied an attitude more congenial to its own moment than convincing in ours; an attitude, moreover, that became almost tawdrily fashionable. Yet to call Strachey a debunker is—as Max remarks—not only vulgar but silly: Strachey looked for much more than the feet of clay. Indeed, it was rather less the feet of clay than the Achilles tendon that absorbed him; less what was ignoble in people than what was petty or provincial or absurd; and he often—as with those last words on Manning's hat or Creighton's black bag—forced the note. He was a little too eager to show that a great deal of history's size and brawn was only excess fat.This, I think, arose less from any positive desire to debunk than from a temperamental necessity to question. Strachey was a natural skeptic; but he became much more of one, and a shallower one, because at bottom he was also a romantic. He was half afraid not to be skeptical, for when he forgot to be, he too often soared off into hyperbole and now and then even sank into gush.

Though Strachey won his real recognition as a biographer, he was essentially a man of letters who could almost be said to have seen life in terms of literature. It is one of his fascinations that he treated biography as less a branch of history than an outer province of fiction. His subjects, shaped with a novelist's art, cry out to be imaginary: if only he could take a few real liberties with them, how incomparably glittering or delightful or unbearable they would be! Had Albert not been real, Strachey might have portrayed him as the greatest of all prigs; had Bacon never existed, he might have become the most brilliantly devious of all self-seekers. Even as it was, Strachey went so far as to forget that Dr. Arnold *had been* real; and when the true Elizabeth eluded him, he trumped up something that might pass for her. Victoria, to be sure, with her royal manner and schoolgirl's mind, offered a contrast too piquant to need much tampering with, which may be why she emerges as Strachey's masterpiece. Many of his other characters suffer from more than a sense of the fictional. For Strachey did not handle them fictionally in the one way that might have vindicated his method—that of penetrating to unsuspected depths. On the contrary, while pretending to make people more complex than they seemed, he often made them simpler. The most notorious example of this is Queen Elizabeth. Her shilly-shallying, instead of being probed to its origins, is made the equivalent of the woman herself, and she winds up, as I have said before, much like Indecision in a morality play. I think there was an excessive taste for melodrama in Strachey—it is fairly common to over-civilized minds; at any rate, he too often saw people in a theatrical light and wrote about them in a rhetorical manner.

Strachey's claims as a biographer must rest on "Eminent Victorians" and "Queen Victoria," for "Elizabeth and Essex" is pretty clearly an ornate failure. For its own time "Eminent Victorians"—and not merely because it came first—was more valuable than "Queen Victoria"; in our time it seems rather less successful. Its indictment of Victorian values—values, most of them, that did not perish with Victoria; values, some of them, that will only perish with the race—is still a powerful one. Everything narrow, stupid, rigid, muddled, snobbish, scheming, brutal in the official British character was somehow brought to light; in the moral rather than strictly documentary sense, "Eminent Victorians" ranks among the most telling of modern exposés. But like too many exposés, the moral tone is superior to the factual evidence. After all, if you plan to submerge a whole society by means of four human beings, you have to put weights on all four to make them drag so much else down with them. Toward Dr. Arnold, Strachey lacked a sense of justice; toward Florence Nightingale, a sense of proportion. Perhaps none of the four, except Manning, counts greatly for himself; it is what stands behind and around and above them that Strachey is really firing at. And as a weapon of combat, "Eminent Victorians" was admirable. It hit hard, and afterwards things were not quite the same. Certainly biographies were not. A school of genuine debunkers arose who confused Strachey's faults—not least, his impulse toward malice—with his virtues, and hastened his decline.

"Queen Victoria," created in a more relaxed and temperate mood, has certainly less bite than "Eminent Victorians," and very probably less seriousness. It has the tone of comedy rather than of cold irony. Its exasperating but hardly dangerous heroine can more safely be rendered justice, and justice demanded a certain liking and admiration.

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* "Lytton Strachey." By Max Beerbohm. Alfred A. Knopf. 60 cents.

The meaning of the events of Victoria's reign is seldom probed; but it could not be if Victoria was to dominate, for it was only society Victoria dominated, not affairs. Yet within limits—and perhaps because there are limits—"Queen Victoria" is a well-nigh perfect biography. Its morality is held in suspension, which makes in the long run for better art. There is a touch of brassiness about "Eminent Victorians." "Queen Victoria" is less weighty, but the metal is purer.

Leaning far more, as a biographer, toward the man of letters than toward the historian, Strachey provides no feeling of mass or scope. In "Eminent Victorians," it is true, much is successfully implied in little. But the great forces and conflicts of history he did not respond to, and perhaps did not fully understand. Too much of history dwindles, with him, into melodrama, tableau, *vanitas,* or a mere joke. His selective method could be deadly; his command of irony accomplished more, at times, than any accumulation of facts could have done, or perhaps any power of analysis. But there remains, for all that, an imperfect insight into large events and *really* eminent men; and a certain want of positive values. Strachey disliked the reactionary, yet he never truly emerges as a liberal. He makes fun of the old-fashioned, yet he is certainly no modern. He judges the nineteenth century rather by the standards of the eighteenth than of his own. Furthermore, his skeptical nature rejected any real idea of progress. He was "enlightened" in the frosty, urbane eighteenth-century sense of the word, which meant rather to deprecate the weaknesses and evils of mankind than suppose they could be cured. All reformers, to Strachey, were apt to be a little funny; all revolutionaries a little mad; and prigs, whatever their virtues, more unendurable than knaves. The point of view has its artistic advantages, but for understanding and interpreting life it is over-civilized—too fastidious and quirky, and not sufficiently humane. Strachey's was a highly cultivated attitude of *ne quid nimis* and *nil admirari,* with a smile at life that hinted a shrug. That is one reason why he appealed so greatly to a post-war generation; another is that, for all his destructiveness, he never attacked the generation's own defenses.

Strachey's happy hunting ground was, of course, the eighteenth century: the Augustan way of life, the classical virtues, are what he most admired, and in a sense most romanticized. He recognized, as who would not, the personal faults of the Augustans. He understood, too, the price —in breadth of experience—that a Walpole or Madame du Deffand paid for what he got. But he did not think the price too high. The eighteenth century delights the artist in almost all of us, but repels the human being; Strachey, however, saw the period almost entirely artistically, and so became romantic about it. He even copied its tendency to snigger. What he could not acquire was its prose style; as the child of the nineteenth century, or at most of the Gibbonian eighteenth, Strachey liked rhetoric and high language far too well. He could be insufferably highflown in a way that would have made Gray or Walpole wince. On the other hand, the best of his short pieces—which rank with the best of his work—spring from his intense feeling for the eighteenth-century way of life; and his strong classical sense led him to write, long before the reaction against romanticism, his tonic essays on Racine and Stendhal.

I do not think that Strachey was a notably good critic. He could appreciate genuinely, and a little more eclectically than we might imagine; he could demolish stupidity, pedantry, incompetence; he could raise some very interesting points. But the critic in him lay too close to the bookworm and too far away from the psychologist and real man of the world. He is too literary to be a first-rate judge of literature.

It would not be easy to maintain that Strachey will be a figure of any lasting importance. Yet there is a different view to be taken of him, the view that Beerbohm—without formulating it—takes in his lecture. Uncritical as the lecture is—doubtless tact made it ignore what taste would have made it condemn—it yet reminds us, as we need to be reminded, of the sheer pleasure that Strachey provides. For all its faults, the style *is* both a commanding and a brilliant one. The narrative gift is remarkably fine; the architectural sense remarkably sure. A little like Macaulay before him, Strachey made, as it were, a good story of everything he wrote; he might be vulgar, or shallow, or high-pitched, or misleading; but he was never dull. The lively, cultivated, often distinguished pleasure he knew how to provide need only be assessed it its true value; it certainly need not be spurned.

India Is Still There

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA. By Kumar Goshal. Sheridan House. $3.

REVOLUTION IN INDIA. By Frances Gunther. Island Press. Cloth, $2; Paper, $1.

PEOPLES OF INDIA. By William H. Gilbert, Jr. Smithsonian Institution. 25 cents.

WITH the attention of the United Nations concentrated on the offensives in Europe and the Pacific, the problem of India has been left in the backwash of current world developments. In true perspective, however, the political status of India remains one of the inescapable issues of the war that is now being fought around the world. It is also an immediately practical issue in terms of war operations, since full enlistment of Indian national energies would lead to a much more rapid crumbling of the Japanese military position in Burma and Southeast Asia generally.

The Indian problem of today, despite its greater complexities, is as simple in its broad outlines as was that of the American colonies at the end of the eighteenth century. Too often its salient features are overlaid with irrelevant or subsidiary matter, or bogged down in technicalities and legal niceties. Kumar Goshal has so used the wealth of detail in his comprehensive analysis that it clarifies both the historical background and the contemporary issues. A straightforward and unpretentious style and a careful apportionment of space, which leaves roughly half the book to pre-modern developments, contribute to the same end. Mainly for these reasons, he has written one of the most cogent and powerful statements of the case for Indian freedom that have appeared in English.

Introductory chapters, which sketch the main aspects of India's early society and culture, provide an insight into the evolution of the Indian people. They also serve to re-create the situation which existed when the first Portuguese, Dutch, British, and French traders arrived in the sixteenth century. British penetration, developing slowly, passed through several distinct phases—Goshal's account in each case is documented from British sources. The wealth of the Indies was not a rhetorical phrase in the pre-industrial era. It existed in the form of well-developed artisan manufactures as much as in gold. Familiar speeches by Burke and Sheridan publicized the excesses of the early "plunder" phase, which became starker as the East India Company engaged in internal trade and monopolized the civil revenues. Less familiar are the two great economic turning-points, and their significance, in the history of the British connection with India. The sudden influx of Indian treasure after the Battle of Plassey in 1757 provided the capital needed to set in motion the combination of factors in England—demand for standardized goods, surplus labor power, and new inventions—which produced the Industrial Revolution. New economic requirements were thereby created. The rising industrialists sought to transform India into a market for British exports and a source of raw materials. It was their attack which exposed the East India Company, and finally broke the trade monopoly. Their victory, and the second turning-point, came in 1813. Thereafter, heavy tariffs discouraged British imports of Indian manufactures, the exports of British factory goods to India multiplied, and millions of Indian artisans were forced back on the land to grow indigo, tea, raw cotton, wool, jute, and food grains. This change set the pattern of the Indian economy. Industrialization was prevented for nearly a century, and is still retarded in basic respects.

The rise of Indian nationalism forms the dominant theme of the second half of Goshal's study. Beginning with the intelligentsia in the late eighties, the tide broadens and deepens until it sweeps in the great peasant and worker masses of India. The peasant *Kisan Sabha* and the trade unions give the Congress Party of today its roots in the people, which are its real strength and make it truly representative. Careful analysis is devoted to the great popular Indian struggles of this century, beginning with the successful fight against the partition of Bengal. The reader can come to but one conclusion: transfer of power, *if British policy favored it*, could be peacefully accomplished with a minimum of disturbance. Repression of the Congress and manipulation of the divisive forces—the Princes, the Moslems, and such devices as communal electorates—make it likely that the transition, when it comes, will create widespread upheaval and bloodshed. Unless real change in policy occurs, a chapter in early American history will be repeated in India.

This conclusion, inherent in Goshal's analysis, is openly expressed by Frances Gunther. "Revolution in India" is bitterly challenging, a denunciation not only of Britain but of the United Nations for failing to take more positive measures in behalf of India. It is also an arsenal of facts dealing with virtually every controversial issue affecting Britain's relation to India. Within its brief limits here is a mine of exact information primed with heavy charges of TNT. As a debater's handbook on India it is unexcelled, although to many it will not be as convincing as Goshal's more temperate argument. The author would favor a challenge to Britain's policy on India by the other United Nations, but evidently believes that the final sanction of Indian independence will have to be the strength and determination of the Indian people.

"Peoples of India" is an extraordinary document to appear in the Smithsonian's War Series. In its catalogue of languages, races, and castes, as well as its social and political comments on the side, it follows the typical line of propaganda on India which has been so overworked. In this respect it surpasses even the Simon report. When, in addition, one learns that Indian poverty is due to overcrowding and Indian malnutrition to ignorance, while poverty and famine are in turn cited as evidence for overcrowding, both the logic and the propaganda seem equally amazing. No reader should miss the list of Indian "temperamental characteristics," evidently designed to illustrate the hopeless backwardness of such "peoples." On the political side, so the author states, the United Nations must find a solution to "the decision of the Congress Party to refrain from cooperation in winning the war." This booklet will not help Americans to understand either the Indian people or the vital issues at stake in India.

T. A. BISSON

Invitation to Learning

FRONTIERS OF AMERICAN CULTURE: A STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRACY. By James Truslow Adams. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

ADULT education is, as Mr. Adams says, a jungle. It is, as he is too polite to say, a jungle with an additional undergrowth of pedantry and pedagoguese. When the American Association for Adult Education asked him to write a volume on the subject, he wisely bypassed as much of the jungle as possible, to follow a path marked out by his customary historian's sense and his customary command of pungent English. The result is a highly readable work of broad social meaning.

In this book, as in his earlier "Epic of America" and "The American," Mr. Adams lays down the thesis that Americans have been distinguished by their individual striving to get ahead and their collective faith in the "American Dream" of opportunity for all. As an explanation of a whole people's experience the thesis can be and has been sharply criticized, but few other theses would explain as well the continuing American quest for education beyond formal schooling. Perceptively, with humor but never with condescension, Mr. Adams traces that quest from the colonial period, when most adults could learn only by living, on through the era of organized self-improvement in such agencies as the Grange and the Rotary, correspondence schools, and radio institutes. His chapters on specific agencies are uneven in value—the sections on workers' schools and university extension courses dissolve into a succession of pleasant generalizations. But when the chapters are good they are strikingly good. His treatment of men's and women's clubs cuts through to the dilemma of the women's-emancipation movement, which for too many women resulted merely in winning the right to stand up in the bus and to be bored by Browning. Mr. Adams is optimistic about the newer trends of the movement, but his implied recommendations are a good deal less convincing than his analysis.

It is always in its normative phases that this book is least satisfying. Mr. Adams is far from uncritical of the way adult education has functioned, but too often the fangs of his criticism are pulled by a graceful "on the other hand." If adult education is as important as Mr. Adams says it is—and in that he is certainly right—it is important enough to be favored by unrelenting criticism. His tendency to substitute urbanity for cogency in looking toward the future has most serious consequences in the discussion of post-war adult education. How far such a program should be controlled by the federal government is a serious question of immediate importance, to be shaken down to its fundamentals as quickly as possible. Mr. Adams indicates that he wants as little federal control as possible, but he glides around the mine traps of the discussion by a jocular disavowal of "political" interests, by setting in opposition a vague something called "planning by a few" and a vague something called "the individualism of the many," by a persistent casualness. It is a pity that a book which does so much to make the past of adult education inviting should do so little to rescue its future from irrelevant clichés and inadequate dichotomies.

ERIC F. GOLDMAN

Fiction in Review

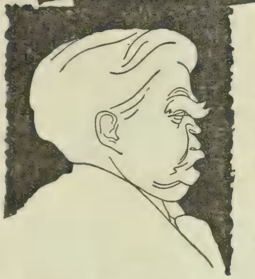
IT IS surely one of the significant aspects of our current fiction, especially of our current patriotic fiction, that its writing tends to be either so affectedly modest or so elaborate and pretentious. On the one hand, we have the prose of John Hersey's "A Bell for Adano": "Major Victor Joppolo, U. S. A., was a good man. You will see that . . . Major Joppolo was Amgot officer of Adano, and he was good," and on the other, the torrential stream of self-consciousness of a book like Joseph Stanley Pennell's "The History of Rome Hanks" (Scribner, $2.75). Here is a sample of Mr. Pennell's prose, which has been described as Joycean, John Dos Passosian, Proustian, and everything except fustian:

> Is it then so simple as this, Lee thought, staring beyond the desk-drawer with rapt eyes and a soft frown, that he had not been apprised of certain truisms of life with a capital L? Or was it perhaps that he had, at nineteen, been too subtly (or too subtly to mark his unique convolutions) apprised? Nor yet would that seem to have been true, for, later, through the vertical-cum-horizontal arc of his life, he was apprised—and that rudely—many times over of these truisms, but he could not, did not, or would not grant them a roosting place.

On first glance, the two styles seem to have little connection, but actually they have a close spiritual kinship. For these are not two literary manners designed to express two different ways of thought. Rather, they are two different expressions of immaturity and non-thought. Mr. Hersey tells us simple and obvious things so simply as to make us believe he is being profound. Mr. Pennell tells us simple and obvious things so elaborately as to make us believe he is being profound.

And of the two methods, I must say I prefer Mr. Hersey's,

MAX LERNER: "Wechsler has stalked and studied his subject for a decade. He has now, with a passionate detachment, imprisoned between the covers of this book the most elusive personality and the most heartbreaking career of our time in America. Read these brilliant pages and weep for a lost leader."



The Loneliest Man in America

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if only because it is easier to read. But in addition, "A Bell for Adano" serves some objective, if primitive, political end, whereas "The History of Rome Hanks" seems to me to be nothing, either in writing or conception, but self-indulgence. It often turns out that patriotism is a very self-regarding sentiment and that love of one's land is merely a manifestation of self-love. It is certainly the case that in Mr. Pennell's novel the assertion of the glory that is America shows itself to be basically only an assertion of the glory that is the author himself.

"The History of Rome Hanks" is a very chaotic affair and when I say that it has a central character named Lee Harrington I do not mean central in the sense of giving the book a center; I mean merely that Lee Harrington is the alter ego of Mr. Pennell. Lee Harrington has been taunted by the sneers of a Vassar girl—"I am sure your grandfather must have been a fine old Southern gentleman!"—into investigating his ancestors. Lee's ancestors fought in the Civil War and large portions of the novel deal with Civil War reminiscences. (There is perhaps an inordinate emphasis upon amputated legs.) For the rest, Harrington's excursion into the past uncovers the usual amount of fortitude and accident and life-energy which it takes to continue the generations. But what is interesting, and especially so in view of the confusion of Mr. Pennell's time sequences, is the fact that although Lee Harrington has frequently appeared in the narrative as a grown person (usually prowling a street of brothels), the last chapter of the novel is devoted to his birth. We are led to conclude, that is, that the whole point of "The History of Rome Hanks" was to discover just how much suffering and courage combined to produce Pennell-Harrington. And since the answer is, "A great deal," we are irreverently inclined to ask, "Was it worth it?"

"If it were quite certain that whoever writes the peace treaty—whether Mr. Roosevelt or another—would be hanged the instant the treaty was ratified, any reasonable agreement would be ratified like a shot. Unfortunately, though, the writer of a good treaty will not be hanged but will be praised and admired, and this a certain number of Senators cannot endure. Therefore, they will certainly try to kill any treaty that may be made, and with the two-thirds rule to assist them they have a good chance of doing so. You think not? Then read this book* and see what happened before."—GERALD W. JOHNSON,
N. Y. Herald Tribune Books

*** THE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE By Ruhl J. Bartlett, $2.50.**
The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, No. Carolina

Although no doubt one could find something touching in the youthful hankering of certain of our present-day novelists after an American past or an American spirit, I think I would be a great deal more sympathetic to these researches if they were less clearly inspired by and informed with the easy emotions of present-day journalism. For while it is true that journalism, the most widely traveled of all aspects of our culture, has been aptest to speak of a peculiarly American responsibility in the world, it is also true that it was journalism that created the concept of the American century, with its overtones of imperialism. Also we must remember that it is journalism, of all aspects of our literary life, which is least committed to a cultural tradition and consequently most impelled to seek or create a quick substitute for tradition. But the sad thing is, of course, that no cultural heritage can be established overnight; it can only be whooped up overnight. Our journalists are therefore in a fair way to making a nation with a rich if not always conscious culture into a nation of cultural *arrivistes*.

DIANA TRILLING

The Pagan State

PLEA FOR LIBERTY. By Georges Bernanos. Pantheon Books. $3.

GEORGES BERNANOS, French Catholic and friend of Maritain and Péguy, earned the esteem of many liberals in this country with his magnificent and terrible book "Diary of My Times," which described the Spanish war as he saw it. A devout churchman, he was one of a small but stalwart band who dared to speak out against the crimes that were committed by Franco's followers behind the skirts of the church and in her name. Thereby he earned the right to have his plea for liberty read by all who are troubled about what may follow the fighting which is still going on.

That plea is couched in the Biblical form of epistles—to the Brazilians, with whom he took refuge after Munich, to the English, whom he hails as brothers mutually responsible with the French for the future of Europe, to the Americans, whom he knows very little, to the Europeans, of whom he himself is one.

In these epistles he shows himself master of a style of writing which has almost disappeared from English literature. These are exhortations in the grand manner—witty, brilliant, powerful in their analysis and their warning, persuasive in their appeal, reminiscent of the great sermons with which our grandfathers scourged their consciences. In the subtle and glowing translation by Harry Binsse their language provides an exhilaration too seldom met with in this journalistic age.

But the purpose of exhortation is not so much to please as to admonish and convert. Cut away the wit, the skill with hortatory dialectic, the passionate and stimulating anger, the wealth of quotable phrase, and what have you?

What kind of liberty is this French mystic pleading for? What kind of tyranny does he fear?

He finds that France fell because it was betrayed by its middle class, which was more interested in security than in honor. This middle class—not the Marxian bourgeois, but the great timid lump of mediocre dim-wits—is a potential danger in any country, even in England or the United States. The dry rot of materialism which reduced them to a cowering shell in France is already spreading to their brothers in other countries.

The real menace of our age is not Nazism or communism but this materialism beloved of the middle class, which feeds the pagan state, the Moloch state. Rome first raised this god-state to greatness; then Christianity with its emphasis on the spiritual value of the individual undermined and destroyed it. Now it threatens us again. Germans through Nazism, Russians through communism, perhaps—though he is not specific—Americans through advocacy of a strong central government, are all trying to raise it up on a new pedestal.

"The pagan state," Bernanos says, "is not only reincarnate in institutions: it has stamped itself upon minds and consciences. Communists or totalitarians, workers or bourgeois —each conceives the god in a different image and prays to him after his own fashion. . . . Today, just as it was twenty centuries ago, they base their hopes on a colossal bureaucracy. Henceforward too slothful freely to assume duties, and none the less rent with fear at the thought of the probable result of their vices, they will gladly hand over to the government the task of saving them from themselves, of forcing them to do what is necessary, provided only that their vanity may be spared, provided that they may always call themselves voters and be deemed in control of that vast machinery."

The pagan state "already regulates our toil and our lives." So what shall we do? Electing republicans won't save us, for at the rate things are going "a change of deputies or senators will matter no more than a change of umbrellas." What is needed is, first, a renewal of Christian virtue. The free man's bulwark against the menace of the pagan state is the church. Of it he expects "what God himself expects: that she shape men truly free, a breed of free men peculiarly effective because freedom is for them not only a right but an obligation, a duty, for which they must render God an accounting."

The second step toward salvation is even more provocative. With a renewal of Christian virtue may come, says M. Bernanos, a new chivalry which shall divorce power from wealth. In the eleventh century, which was singularly like our own, the kings had power, prestige, divine right. The Jews had money, but little else—not respect, nor power, nor even security. When the rulers needed money they took it. And there was more honor in being a poor but chivalrous knight than in being a rich man with a craven soul.

M. Bernanos is prepared for jeers, and it should be said in his defense that he is disarmingly frank about the difference between his ideal church and the recent practice in Spain. Readers familiar with medieval political and economic conditions may shudder at an attempt to abolish the slaveries of this period by returning to those of that older age. But mystics can always escape practical objections by a counterattack with their own variety of double-talk. It is as difficult to debate with them as to fence with quicksilver.

What is more important than trying to refute M. Bernanos's argument is to recognize that he is making himself the eloquent spokesman for three ideas which are appearing with increasing frequency in European writing. One is the assumption that communism has shown itself to have no more to offer men seeking liberty than has fascism or democratic capitalism. One is the plea for a rebirth of Christian virtue. One is an opposition to the power of money.

These ideas have appeared in speeches by De Gaulle, in the writings of Yugoslav Partisans, among certain Italian radicals. Singly or in combination, they will probably form

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part of the new radicalism which is being born in the cloudy depths of European suffering. What shape that new radicalism will take, where it will come from, is not yet clear. Its eventual appearance is inevitable as fascism disappears, democratic capitalism moves toward the right, and communism takes the center position. For a Protestant American it is very difficult to see a Catholic mystic as the Messiah of the new dogma that will surely come to fill the vacuum on the left. But M. Bernanos might be its John the Baptist crying in the present wilderness.

MILDRED ADAMS

History as It Should Be Told

THE MAKING OF MODERN CHINA: A SHORT HISTORY. By Owen and Eleanor Lattimore. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.50.

IF THE purpose of history is to provide an understanding of the peoples who now live in this world and of their problems, this brief volume is a brilliant example of competent history writing. Most Americans know practically nothing of Chinese history. This is in part a reflection on the curriculum makers of our schools and colleges, who have taken an extraordinarily narrow view of human history. But it has also been due to the technical difficulties of writing histories of ancient countries like China or India, which have so much history to be covered.

Mr. and Mrs. Lattimore bypass most of these difficulties by concentrating on the development of the Chinese people, their ways of making a living, their ways of thinking, and their contacts with the outside world. Political developments are not neglected, but they are viewed in relation to the more basic social and economic changes. Fully half of the book, moreover, deals with modern China, the relatively brief period in which China has been influenced by contacts with the Western world. The result of this approach is to reduce the number of difficult, unfamiliar Chinese names to a surprisingly small number. Yet the great characters of Chinese history are all here, and they are treated in such a way as to impress the reader with their distinctive contributions.

Surprisingly enough, it is in the treatment of contemporary China that the book comes nearest to falling short of its objective. This is obviously not due to any lack of knowledge on the part of the authors. The historical sections provide an excellent background for the understanding of the problems of the present. Yet many of these crucial problems are glossed over by sweeping statements such as the following dealing with the totalitarian tendencies in the Kuomintang. "China is a democratic country," the authors declare, "in the sense that the party and the government represent what the vast majority of the people want." To buttress this statement, they give an extraordinary amount of space to a description of the functions and activities of the People's Political Council, an institution that could more accurately be cited as an example of the frustration of democratic aspirations in China than of their attainment. It is easy to understand why Mr. Lattimore should hesitate to criticize China in time of war. But is unfortunate that this extremely valuable book should be marred by short-range political considerations.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

FILMS

LATE as it seems, and little use as it is likely to be, and bad as in most respects it is, I am glad to see a moving picture which may help to remind a few millions of us of the people who—along with their attackers—have been involved in this war longest, most exhaustingly, and with the least help from their nominal allies. There are other things about "Dragon Seed" which I am more than glad to see in a movie. It is good to hear a man have the simplicity to tell his war-eroded wife, when she asks him whether he would have married her if she had been as she now is during their courtship, that he probably wouldn't have. It is good to hear it explained of a collaborationist that he was motivated entirely by devotion to his family. It is good to be shown, even sketchily, the mutually enriching sources of the reverence and contentment and fortitude of an old and upright man—his land, his wife, his sons, his grandchild. It is good to see this natural piety of his, and his sense of the sovereignty of the family, yield so slowly and with such pain to the imperious force of mere generalized community; and to see for the first time in a film even a little of the enormity and anguish it is for a family to destroy and to abandon its home and its farm.

It is good, too, to match a man who feels that killing, under no matter what circumstances, is a fearful act, as thorough in its consequences in the killer as in the killed. Or to hear a young man—an ally and a patriot—who has developed a vengeful obsession for cruel killing, spoken of by his father as "the sort of man I hate and fear most." Or to see a man wonder—and doubt—whether a people which has spent years at war can ever hope, as he says, to "get back to ourselves," except possibly through the memories of peace which the old transmit to those who are too young to have endured the guilt.

Such matters aside, however, "Dragon Seed" is an almost unimaginably bad movie. Mrs. Buck persists in a questionable habit of making her Chinese peasants talk like a Bible revised by Butcher-Leaf-Lang-and-Myers. This Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer film is a limp-leather-bound, goosefleshy Golden Treasury of such talk—"the wind has brought the rain" instead of "it's raining" or just watching it fall; "you place the book where my hand cannot reach it" instead of "put that back, damn it." I wouldn't like it any better, I must grant, if the same characters talked like vaudeville laundrymen, or internationalized themselves with phrases like "by heck" or "tarnation strike me"; in fact I think that finding a diction proper to so-called simple folk is one of the most embarrassing, not to say hopeless, literary problems we have set ourselves.

M.-G.-M. was up against still other problems. The California countryside they chose for location shots, Mrs. Buck is reported to have said, was a deadringer for parts of China before they got busy terracing it, reterracing it, and finally painting the terraces to make sure they would show. The film's backgrounds are full of the evidence of this immense, earnest, rather pathetic labor: they look about as real and as habitable as a miniature golf course, and very likely cost as much as it would have to transfer the whole company to China.

Against these unearthly, sepia-tinted landscapes, speaking their inhuman language, move such distinguished Chinese as Katharine Hepburn and Walter Huston and Aline MacMahon and Akim Tamiroff and Henry Travers and Agnes Moorhead and Turhan Bey; indeed, I've never seen another picture so full of wrong slants. Since there are plenty of genuine and good Chinese actors around Hollywood, some of whom appear as the Japanese in this film, it was entirely unnecessary for these principals to undertake their hopeless assignments, and I shan't even try to say how awful and silly they looked—Miss Hepburn especially, in her shrewdly tailored, Peck-&-Peckish pajamas—with the occasional exception of Miss MacMahon and the rather frequent exception of Mr. Huston. Both of them obviously realized that it was much more important to convey the emotions of human beings than the charade mannerisms of Little Theater Chinese. In fact I cannot think of any other non-Chinese actor simple and sincere enough to manage so finely, under such difficult circumstances, as Walter Huston has done. To mention only two more of the main things wrong with this picture, "quaint" psuedo-Chinese back-ground-music was never more insultingly out of place. And I have never so intensely deplored the more and more stylish device of transitional narration, which here cosily, rather patronizingly, as if it were prodding those whom it talks of with its pipe-stem, comments upon the courage and endurance of a people—in the wheel-chair voice, if I'm not mistaken, of Dr. Gillespie.

JAMES AGEE

RECORDS

OF THE last recordings of Mozart symphonies that Beecham made with the London Philharmonic, Columbia has issued the one of K.338 (Set 548; $3.50), which replaces the old Beecham-Royal Philharmonic recording in the Columbia catalogue. That leaves—if I am correctly informed—one more still to be issued here: a recording of K.201.

The three movements of K.338 are like those of K.297 ("Paris"): an exquisite and affecting slow movement, preceded and followed by a brilliant Allegro. But the first movement of K.338 has more than just the rush of brilliance of the first movement of K.297; it has also majesty, power, and

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quietly poignant interludes like those of the first movement of K.385 ("Haffner"). The rush of high spirits in the finale also is interrupted by moments of wistful reflection, by powerful outbursts. In short, the content, stature, weight, and impact are those of one of the great symphonies.

Most readers will want to know only that the new performance is superb and is recorded as beautifully as most other Beecham-London Philharmonic performances; and that the surfaces of my copy produce a little grit and crackling and sputtering. Some will be interested, as I was, in the differences between the old and new performances (to compare them I had to reduce the speed of my motor for the old recording to get the performance down from C sharp to C major). In the old performance the first movement is slower, and slows down for the quiet interludes; this increases the majesty and power and poignancy, whereas the faster and unslackening pace of the new performance gives the music urgency which is heightened by the sharper inflection. The second movement, on the other hand, moves a little faster and more easily in the old performance. In the finale the only difference is the sharper inflection of the new performance.

Columbia also has issued Schubert's Piano Sonata Opus 120 played by Casadesus (Set X-236; $2.50). This is the one that is most played by students and amateurs—which may be why the public has the idea that all of Schubert's sonatas are minor works with only the pretty melodies and the archnesses of this one. And if the public thinks of them as insipid and trivial it has got that impression from performances like Casadesus's of this one. A performer's inflection of a melody—his differentiation of its sounds and lifting of some into higher relief than others by gradations of force and pace—is his way of making the meaning he hears in it apparent to the listener. And Casadesus conveys to the listener how little meaning Schubert's melodies have for him with the pallid murmur that comes from his fingers, and that is in addition made dull and muffled by recording. The surfaces in this set are much noisier than the ones in the Mozart set.

For one of its two July record classics Columbia has chosen from its catalogue another superb Beecham-London Philharmonic performance and recording—the Suite from Bizet's "Carmen" (Set X-144; $2.50). One can accept this choice even though one can think of better ones; but it is downright perversion of the idea to feature as a record classic the set (440; $2.75) of Patter Songs from Gilbert and Sullivan sung by Nelson Eddy. His voice, when he sings, is fine; but his style, whether he sings or uses parlando, is poor; and the orchestra sounds terrible. The surfaces in these sets also are poor.

A reader writes to ask: "Why are many recordings so unspeakably bad in the sheer mechanics of catching the sound of a musical performance? I refer to gritty sounds, harsh passages, and scratching. Has the war made things worse because certain materials are not to be had? Or don't the recording companies give a damn? They certainly passed off some inferior stuff before the war." My correspondent has correctly answered his questions. The war did make things worse by creating a shortage of materials, the most important of which was shellac; but the companies have been getting all the shellac they can use since last March or April; and they did produce records with the defects my correspondent describes even before the war. The buying public, in effect, didn't give a damn about those defects; so the companies didn't have to. If it should ever become necessary for phonographs and records to be without defects in order to sell, the manufacturers will give a damn about producing them without defects.

Mr. Jay Leida of 6227¼ DeLongpre Avenue, Hollywood 28, California, writes that he is preparing a translation of Mussorgsky's letters and would welcome information about the existence of Mussorgsky manuscripts and documents in American collections.

If anyone else has written me recently and not received an answer will he please write again, since my letterbox was broken open while I was away.

To brighten things up after this painful item I will quote part of a publicity release from the Philadelphia Orchestra about Ormandy's visit to Australia. Ormandy spent an hour with General MacArthur discussing music; and the release quotes from his letter to Harl McDonald, the orchestra's manager, as follows:

> When I referred to your "Bataan" which you dedicated to him, his face suddenly became very serious, and he said: "Bataan was not a happy day in my life—and there will not be any happy days until we take back Bataan and everything that goes with it." Then he looked me straight in the face and said: "Ormandy," (here the censor deleted the two lines of the General's statement).

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Tributes to Wallace

Dear Sirs: I wonder if Henry A. Wallace, despite being a "good loser," thinks of Aristides, whom the Athenians ostracised because they were tired of hearing him called "the just"? Wasn't the outstanding "liberal" in the Democratic Party, President Roosevelt himself not excluded, too frank and straight-forward to please the machine politicians who constituted most of the personnel of the Chicago convention?

Who else "called a spade a spade" and dared to denounce race discrimination on the convention floor? Didn't machine politicians feel that renomination of Mr. Wallace would alienate the Solid South and even result in a "white supremacy" party being organized there? What did they care for Gallup and other polls of public opinion which showed that Wallace was the overwhelming favorite of their party's rank and file?

That machine politicians assume a "public be damned" attitude is no more obvious than the fact that a new political alignment in this country of ours is long overdue. H. M. MERRILL

Laconia, N. H., July 22

Dear Sirs: Mr. Stone's prophesy "Wallace it will be" in the current edition of *The Nation* makes melancholic reading today.

What shall the liberals of America do now? We must take advantage of the fact that Mr. Wallace, in all probability, will be free of official restraints in January, 1945, and we must keep in mind that it has been the weakness of American progressives that they have lacked unity and leadership of character and vision for a long time.

May I suggest that you should give serious thought to how we can use Mr. Wallace's great abilities and popularity for the further advancement of American liberalism. HANS LAMM

New York, July 22

Dear Sirs: It is unfortunate that a great American like Henry A. Wallace lost the nomination for Vice-President because of "bossism." He lost it also because he lacked stronger support by the President. The Vice-President is definitely the man of the people. He is a great liberal. He is the voice of the masses in this troublesome era. He fought against racial persecution and oppression; he fought for labor; he fought for the farmer; he fought for the "little man."

It is unfortunate that the electoral system of this country does not permit the people to reelect Wallace together with Roosevelt even though he lost the nomination of his party. Such an event would be a slap at "bossism."

ALEXIS J. MORTOLA

New York, July 24

The Real Health Problem

Dear Sirs: Your editorial "The Health Scandal" draws attention to a situation that needs attention, but—like many current discussions—it misses the real center of this problem. Medical care, as practiced traditionally, becomes operative only when something has gone wrong. The patient, then, gets treatment which in quantity and quality varies with his financial position; but it is doubtful that this means that the indigent gets the poorest care and the richest gets the best. (See the many excellent free clinics and hospitals.)

The main difference between medical care in civilian life and that in the armed forces is not the financial availability, but the fact that in private life the patient goes to the doctor while in military life the physician searches for disease in the apparently healthy person.

To make present-type medical care available to all by proper financial arrangements will unquestionably prevent some premature deaths and some chronic, disabling conditions. It is unlikely that it will create a generation of men better fit mentally and physically.

In private practice the patient pays, according to a silent contract, for the particular service he desires. And, under this contract, the physician's responsibility ceases when that specific service has been rendered. It would come under the heading of questionable professional ethics, if a physician insisted on examining your heart and lungs when you go to him to have a foreign body removed from your eye.

A fitter population — statistically speaking—can hardly be expected by a more equitable distribution of therapeutic medicine—as much as the latter is to be wished for—but only by the fullest application of preventive medicine.

The present-day fight between individual practice and socialized medicine goes deeper than the much discussed financial implications for doctor and patient. In a much more fundamental sense, it is a fight for a different orientation of the physician's responsibility. The real question is whether the physician shall be responsible to his *patient* for the particular job for which he is paid or whether he shall be responsible to the *community* for the best possible health of all.

Any health insurance scheme *per se* will only give the poor the choice that the rich now have: to protect or neglect their health. A real advance in health matters must establish both the physician's *and* the client's responsibility to cooperate in the creation of optimum health.

MAX PINNER, M.D.

Bedford Hills, N. Y., July 24

Mr. Agee's Blood Pressure

Dear Sirs: It seems to me that Mr. Agee should immediately forego attendance at all movies. Surely he must be constantly on the verge of apoplexy.

MARTIN L. LAMER

West Haven, Conn., July 21

CONTRIBUTORS

RAY JOSEPHS has recently returned from Argentina, where he was correspondent for *PM* and *Variety*. His book, "Argentine Diary," is a best-seller.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG has spent most of her time since 1921 in Russia. She is the author of "I Change Worlds."

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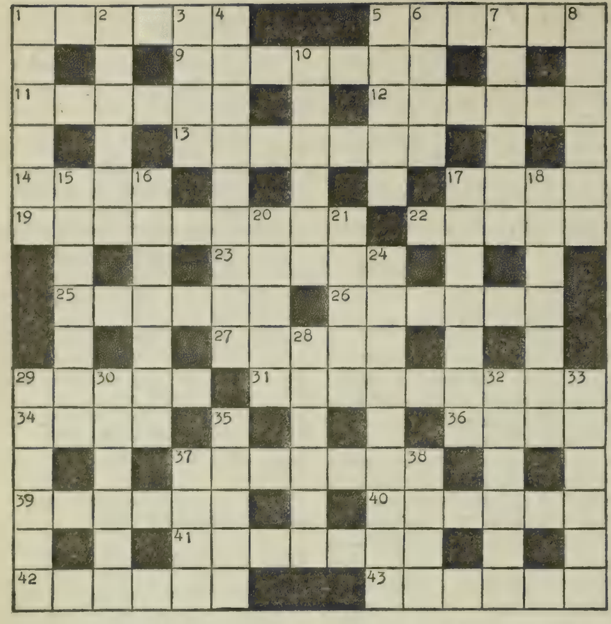
MILDRED ADAMS was in Spain when its constitution was adopted in 1931. She has translated a number of Spanish political works into English.

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 75 by JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 He stood up to Sitting Bull at Little Big Horn
5 A psalm (anag.)
[redacted] Half-a-score fit, so capable of being defended
11 Put off—by the man in red, no doubt
12 Artists' stands, but not their pitches
13 A man with ruffled hair? The Prince of Darkness, surely
14 Give [redacted] girl "the eye"
17 An operatic Prince
19 A poor state, except in the case of crops grown to sow again
22 What bakers do to make dough
23 The graceful creature is put off by being given tea
25 Relationship of Necessity to Invention
26 "How happy is the blameless ------'s lot!
The world forgetting, by the world forgot" (Pope)
27 Takes the plunge
29 "Liberty and -----, now and forever, one and inseparable"
31 A man of the world
34 One cannot truthfully call Broadway the Great White Way today, thanks to this
36 Sort of advice we get through the ages
37 Mien of the man who has just collected a relief payment?
39 Home of bees—not apes
40 Seventh President of the French Republic
41 A serial over the radio
42 Cathedral city where more than one Frenchman has been crowned
43 Barmy

DOWN

1 Bric-a-brac
2 Not hard to detect an M.P. in distorted stories
[redacted] Ante up
4 How Red-gauntlet was caught?
5 Attorneys do, in simple addresses
[redacted] I have an inclination for such [redacted] part of the joint
7 Similar to a sled, but longer
[redacted] Bard, us? Ridiculous!
10 Kempis told Sam I'd start tomorrow (hidden)
15 Relevant, which is more than [redacted] Teuton is
16 Numerically progressive, the author hopes
17 Drops into
18 A tree with heather attached makes it appear younger
20 Ever poetically, that is
21 Here a verse is cut
24 Ulster fly (anag.)
28 Varies from a community in Italy
29 Henna dye won't cure you of being this
30 Courtois discovered this universal antiseptic in 1811
32 "I'm a bus!" (anag.)
33 They rank below the nobility
35 This English poet [redacted] to be contradictory
37 A short snort
38 No man can ---- what he never had, Izaak Walton decided

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. [redacted]

ACROSS:—1 GOODYEAR; [redacted] CAMERON; 9 INNOCENT; 10 SECULAR; 12 EMMET; 13 NAPLES; 14 RATEL; 15 DANIEL; 17 BROIL; 22 WATER; 23 VENICE; 24 HAREM; 26 AERATE; 28 WELLS; 29 SIMPLON; 30 DALADIER; 31 YOUNGER; 32 INCENSED.
DOWN:—1 GRISELDA; 2 ORNAMENT; 3 YACHT; 4 AWNING; 5 CAMEL; [redacted] PERUSAL; 7 POMADES; 10 SPARE; 11 CERISE; 16 ENAMEL; 18 PECAN; 19 VILLAINS; 20 MEASURED; 21 HALIDOM; 22 WEAPONS; 25 PETAIN; 27 ROMEO; [redacted] WHALE.

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

IN JUST FOUR DAYS AMERICAN ARMORED columns swept like lightning across Brittany, cutting off the great ports of St. Malo, Brest, Lorient, St. Nazaire, and Nantes, and are now pointing toward Paris. The Russian army newspaper, *Red Star,* commented that the Americans "had carried the tactics of maneuver to their highest pitch." The Russians are fairly good judges in such matters. The British and Canadians, in taking Vire, have broken through the strong Nazi positions southwest of Caen and opened the way for them to meet the Americans advancing from the South. The western war appears now to have assumed a highly mobile character in that triangle whose broad sea-base is the French coastline from near Caen to St. Nazaire, whose sides are the Seine and the Loire, and whose peak is Paris. It is, however, foolish to predict that in the next weeks' fighting these particular topographical bounds will have much significance. We may well see a rapid German withdrawal from most of western France. It is a sign of the changed fortunes of the war that mention of Brest, Lorient, and St Nazaire as the once inviolable bases of the Nazi submarine fleet comes as a footnote. For the wolf-packs of the sea lanes have long since been whipped into submission.

*

INSIDE WARSAW TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND Partisans are reported to be savagely driving Germans out of fortified positions, seizing key buildings in the Old City, and standing firm against attacks by planes and tanks. As we write, General Bor, partisan commander, is fighting to maintain the initiative until the advancing Red Armies, whose guns can be plainly heard, effect a junction with his forces. It is testimony to the fortitude of a brave people that, after five years of unspeakable suffering and torture, the Poles of Warsaw should strike the first blow for the deliverance of their city. Such people have bought their freedom dearly and will properly insist on their right freely to choose their government. Elsewhere in this issue, Anna Louise Strong's story cabled from Moscow tells how the Poles from many sections of the underground in Poland set up their own Committee of National Liberation, which has been recognized by Moscow. There seems reason to hope that Premier Mikolajczyk, now in Moscow, may be able to bring about some understanding between the Polish National Committee and at least the more liberal elements in the London government-in-exile, which claim some support from underground Poland. Mikolajczyk is himself an agrarian leader and appears acceptable to the National Committee. A stable central Europe in the post-war period clearly depends on a Polish government genuinely representative of the Polish people and friendly to Czechoslovakia and Russia. Among the Poles in exile, the anti-Soviet die-hards who rest their claims on the dubious Pilsudski constitution of 1935 may be stubborn; the rest will welcome the democratic rebirth of the Polish people. It is to be hoped that London and Washington will not persist in backing the horse that looked like a winner in 1935 but is not even entered in 1944.

*

MARSHAL MANNERHEIM'S SUCCESSION TO the Presidency of Finland is generally expected to pave the way for a renewal of peace negotiations with Russia. At first sight it seems odd that Mannerheim, a dominant figure on the extreme right in Finnish politics, should be considered a suitable person to push negotiations with the Soviets. Yet stranger things have happened. Mannerheim's reputation as commander in the successful fight for independence against Russia at the close of World War I gives him a position enjoyed by no other Finnish leader. At the same time, unlike Ryti and Linkomies, the retiring President and Premier, he has made no commitments to Germany. Indeed, the old Marshal, brought up in pre-revolutionary Russia, has always been anti-German—as well as anti-Communist. Mannerheim may be the one man in Finland with sufficient prestige to accept stiff terms from Russia and strong enough to see that they are carried out against probable German resistance. Twice in recent months Finland has rejected terms that seemed extraordinarily lenient in view of the Soviet Union's favorable military position. Both times Finland's action seems to have been based on the hope that Germany would somehow be able to hold out in the Baltic and render some aid to the Finns. The trapping of the German forces in Esthonia and Latvia must have convinced the Finnish generals, headed by Mannerheim, that their position is now hopeless. It still remains to be seen, however, whether they are prepared to accept terms that will undoubtedly be a good deal harsher than those of June.

*

TURKEY'S LONG-AWAITED BREAK WITH Hitler's Reich has come. All Von Papen's bribes, threats, and devious methods of persuasion have failed, and his large staff of diplomats and propagandists have been sent packing. A full account of the methods employed in this prolonged attempt at seduction is contained in Michael Carter's piece elsewhere in this issue. To many in this country it has appeared that the move of the Turkish government amounts merely to a determination to be in at the kill and enjoy, unearned, the fruits of victory. But in justice to Turkey we must view its role in comparison to that of Hitler's Balkan satellites and Franco's Spain. If we have been exasperated by Turkey's refusal to come in on our side until the eleventh hour, Germany has been even more chagrined by Turkey's red-light neutrality that prevented the Reich from making use of the Middle-Eastern bridge leading to the Caucasus, the Suez, and North Africa. Had Turkey yielded to German pressure at the moment when Alexander's forces were backed up on the El Alamein line, or when the spearhead of the German forces was touching the Grozny oil fields, the Allies might have suffered a major disaster. Turkey's bets were probably on the side of the United Nations from the start and its action now will have an immediate effect on the crumbling loyalties of Hitler's Balkan allies—Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary.

*

LEOPOLD S. AMERY, SECRETARY OF STATE for India, has now officially rejected Mahatma Gandhi's compromise proposals which Louis Fischer outlined in *The Nation* of July 29. Mr. Amery admitted that Wavell had asked Gandhi to make an offer but insisted that the Indian's answer was not "constructive." Since Gandhi agreed to support the war effort and acquiesced in the Moslem demand for a separate Pakistan, his conciliatory gesture might at least have been examined by the British in the hope that the present ugly deadlock could be broken. But Wavell refused to talk with Gandhi, the Indian nationalist leaders, including Nehru, continue to languish in jail, and the situation is back where it was before Gandhi was released, only that bitterness and disillusionment have become more complete. Lord Munster, speaking for the British government in the House of Lords on July 25, made it clear that the stumbling block was India's wish for a responsible government. This demand, he said, "wrecked Sir Stafford Cripps's mission" in March and April, 1942. Munster is undoubtedly correct in surmising that England's refusal to accede to this demand is the key to the present Indian impasse. Gandhi has asked whether "the Four Freedoms include the right to be free." Apparently, the answer is no. Meanwhile, in the midst of this war for freedom, thousands of champions of freedom, thousands of anti-fascist Indians are completing two years of imprisonment without trial.

*

THE ANTI-NEW DEAL PRESS HAS BEEN USING up an enormous amount of precious newsprint to account for the latest series of reverses suffered by their favorites in the primaries. The ultra-isolationist Bennett Champ Clark lost out in Missouri, according to the New York *Daily News*, because he neglected "to keep in touch with the home folks." The unfortunate Representative Lambertson of Kansas, a self-appointed commentator on the Roosevelt family, was rubbed out because of "a matter of personality." Ham Fish had the closest call in his political life because his district had been shifted and because "Democrats, hired by the CIO, carried Republicans to the polls in their cars." The sinister influence of the CIO-PAC accounted for the three-party victory of Vito Marcantonio and Clayton Powell and the smashing victory against Tammany opposition of Donald L. O'Toole in Brooklyn. One simple common factor in all these contests—and in most of the reactionary upsets this summer—was largely overlooked: in every case where the domestic and foreign policies of the Roosevelt Administration have been a central issue, the pro-Roosevelt candidate has won or else made a surprisingly strong showing in a traditionally anti-Roosevelt district.

*

LOOKING OUT ACROSS LAKE GENEVA toward the massif of Mont Blanc there is a marble tablet that bears the inscription: "A la memoire de Woodrow Wilson, Président des Etats-Unis, Fondateur de la Société des Nations." Today, the League he founded is a ghost and Woodrow Wilson himself little more than a memory. In the magnificent motion picture "Wilson," that memory is clothed with the flesh and blood of a living man, an American President who belongs beside Washington and Lincoln because out of a daring vision and a high moral purpose he conceived a structure of world peace. Alexander Knox's presentation is distinguished and convincing. The mass spectacle, which has cheapened lesser plays, in this picture serves to set and people a great stage—broad as the world itself—on which, for a brief but decisive moment, Woodrow Wilson moved as the central figure. Had the ending been something other than the betrayal, the heartrending collapse of a mighty vision, we might not today be numbering in millions the deaths of fighting men and innocent civilians of all nations. Now we are back in a second Wilsonian era. Now we have arrived at a new moment of choice. It is a good thing that Woodrow Wilson has been allowed to speak once more.

*

THE ARRIVAL OF 984 REFUGEES FROM HITLER'S Europe links us with war's tragedy as pages of printed words, whole books of grim pictures, mountains of statistics fail to do. The human tragedy of any war is almost impossible for one to comprehend if one has not seen it at first hand. The calculated and pitiless cruelty of Hitler's sadists is so far outside of our experience that we tend to reject it as incredible. Yet here they are, lodged in a little town with the American name of Oswego, N. Y., and they are real—old men and women and little children—not so different from us. And in Hungary today there are 600,000 just like them, temporarily saved from death in the extermination centers of Poland by the protest of Americans and the American government. Some of these may be got out into Palestine—if we demand it insistently enough. Some into Turkey, which formerly refused even transit visas, now that Turkey has moved toward our side. And it is just possible that America could afford to receive a few more than the one thousand to whom the President promised refuge—America the war-rich land, the fat land, the land untouched by bombs, America, the deliverer.

Candidate in Search of an Issue

GOVERNOR DEWEY'S trip to the specially convened St. Louis conference of Republican Governors was part of his search for a campaign issue. At the moment it is questionable that what can't be found in Albany was turned up in St. Louis. Apparently there are two wings among the Dewey advisers. There are those who feel that saying little and praying is the safest method. The other group feels that firm statements on undebatable subjects are better.

But the problem still remains. Frank Kent of the Baltimore *Sun*, which this week came out for Dewey, reflects the Republican dilemma when he writes: "One of the difficulties the Republicans experience in this campaign is to find a line of attack upon Mr. Roosevelt to which the people generally will respond."

At St. Louis, the Governors issued fifteen theses which they will seek to nail on the door of the White House. As Dewey expressed it at a press conference in Albany, they are intended to resolve "areas of conflict" among federal, state, and local governments on "domestic" issues—labor, taxation, government expenditures, roads, insurance, and others. As for post-war employment, the surest guaranty is free enterprise, or, in the words of the Governors' manifesto, "private enterprise under a business system."

But if free enterprise and states' rights are to be the issue, it is a hesitant beginning to which it is doubtful that "the people generally will respond." The war cannot be an issue. It goes well; victory is too near. If, as some Republican leaders believe, victory over Hitler this summer might help their candidate, it would also serve to heighten the bitter inner conflict which today rages between "internationalist" Republicans and the "nationalists." For that will be the time to ask Dewey just where he stands on post-war collaboration among the United Nations. What Dewey can shunt aside now as "iffy" will have to be faced when Germany falls.

It is for this reason that Dewey now seeks to separate "domestic" issues from "international" issues, speaking of the latter in meatless generalities, but talking with great vigor and anger about "bureaucracy" and "New Deal inefficiency." Unfortunately, there are no "domestic" questions which are separable from international or foreign-policy questions. The administration of unemployment insurance and employment services involves durable economic planning not only at home but with other nations. International monopolies, cartels, high tariffs, and other trade barriers have a direct bearing on unemployment. Dewey's running mate, Governor John W. Bricker, has evinced little interest in the desirability of international trade free of major economic restrictions. He has been even more passive on the subject of post-war international cooperation. He is a "we-got-to-keep-our-own-sovereignty" orator, who may repel more votes than he attracts.

Dewey's attempts thus far to evolve safe-and-sane issues in other fields have been unsuccessful. His attack on the President's constitutional authority as Commander-in-Chief was swiftly stepped on by the saner elements within the G. O. P. Little has been heard on the subject since it was trotted out three weeks ago.

No less than the Democratic Party, the Republican Party is "a strange parade of incompatibles." What can be stranger than a party which is big enough—at the moment—to hold a McCormick and a Willkie? McCormick sits like a watchdog beside the citadel of isolation. Willkie, with his known hold on the mugwump, independent Republicans, has Dewey buffaloed by his silence. Dewey and his advisers know that until they take Willkie into camp they must step gingerly.

The Republican Party's tragedy is that it is not an opposition minority party. It is merely the right wing of the Democratic Party, a wing which must go along on New Deal legislation like the Wagner Act, Social Security, and the Fair Employment Practices Committee, but, in order to keep its franchise, must bleat about "curbing bureaucracy." Its attacks on F. D. R.'s foreign policy will not be on issues like Franco or De Gaulle but will consist of magic formulas like "secret diplomacy" and "selling out American interests."

The Republicans, of course, intend to raise all the hell possible about Sidney Hillman and the Political Action Committee. But even this plan is of dubious value. For Dewey and his political advisers know, from every poll and every other test of public sentiment, that the American people long for nothing so much as a clear and concrete program indicating the way to a future without war, in which working men and women can find security in their jobs and a chance of actually catching up with happiness. You cannot fight something with nothing. The PAC program offers hope of that sort of future to millions of Americans. To counter it Mr. Dewey will have to think up something better than mere accusations and warnings. He will have to find an issue.

The Philadelphia Strike

WE SEE two lessons in the Philadelphia transit strike. The first is that there is no point in wasting time on racial bigots. Neither patriotic appeal nor polite request by the military could get white Philadelphia transit workers to call off their ugly stay-out against an FEPC order giving eight Negroes a chance to work as motormen and bus drivers. The strikers began to go back to work only after the government showed that it meant business. We approve the steps the government took, and we hope they will be applied again, and more quickly, the next time there is an outbreak of this kind. The threat to cancel draft deferments of strikers, to bar them from other work under WMC orders, and to deny them unemployment compensation proved effective. The arrest of four strike leaders under the Smith-Connally act should prove a deterrent to similar demagogy in the future. It is time that backward elements in the ranks of labor as well as capital learned that racial discrimination in employment is contrary to the public policy and the ideals of this country, and that the government is prepared to punish those responsible for it.

The second lesson of the Philadelphia strike is that the sooner we take the FEPC out of the shadowy realm of existence under executive order and give it full statutory recognition, with power to enforce its decisions, the less trouble we shall have. The FEPC's present weakness invites disobedience and stimulates defiance. These Philadelphia transit workers have been working side by side with Negroes for years; the only difference is that Negroes will now be given a chance to qualify for some of the better paying jobs. We are not dealing in Philadelphia, as we might in the South, with ingrown attitudes and deep-rooted living patterns. We are dealing with the naked, greedy, and unashamed unwillingness of white workers to give Negro workers a break. That attitude requires no special understanding; it is racialism in its crassest form. Congress now has before it the Scantan bill to give the FEPC statutory authority and powers of enforcement and we hope Negroes and progressives will press for its enactment now, before the election, when they still have some bargaining power.

Finally *The Nation* urges Attorney General Biddle and U. S. Attorney Gleeson in Philadelphia to give the country a thoroughgoing grand jury investigation into all the circumstances of this peculiar strike. We call it peculiar because a majority of the employees of the Philadelphia Transportation Company had shown their own opposition to racialism by voting for the Transport Workers Union, CIO, several months ago in a union election. The TWU had compaigned on an anti-discrimination platform, in contradistinction to the "independent" union whose old contract with the company barred Negroes from the better jobs. The fact that the strike was led by old "independent" union officials and the readiness of the company's personnel director to give in to the strikers' anti-Negro demands provide grounds for suspecting that the racial issue was deliberately exploited to split the workers and hurt the CIO union. This strike delayed war production and hurt morale, and it disgraced the United States in the eyes of the world. We want to see it probed to the very bottom and we want to see those responsible in jail.

Hitler Underground

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

TODAY, when Hitler's power is threatened inside Germany as well as by the armies pressing toward its borders, we hear a lot of talk about the probable future plans of his followers. People are freely prophesying that the Nazis will "go underground" and pursue their aims by devious and conspiratorial means. I have before me, for example, a most convincing set of predictions by Walter Lippmann, published the other day in the New York *Herald Tribune*. Mr. Lippmann believes that the conduct of the Nazi leaders in the face of growing unrest and inevitable military disaster is that of men who "feel they still have something to live for and believe that they can still accomplish it." Their swift retaliation against the plotting generals not only prevented those gentlemen from repeating their masterly maneuver of 1918 and making the civilian authorities bear the onus of defeat. The Nazis, reversing the trick, have attempted to fasten upon the officers' corps responsibility for the defeat that is to come. Then when the Nazi movement goes underground and sets out to "exploit to its own advantage the inevitable suffering and frustration of the German nation," it will have an alibi to offer for the defeat.

I think this analysis is sensible. And it is not contradicted by the obvious determination of the Nazi chieftains to charge a high price for their defeat. If they are to lose, let someone else take the blame; and meanwhile kill as many of the enemy as possible, wipe out his towns, kill all the Jews and hostages and political opponents within reach—and begin again amid Europe's wreckage.

It is the meaning of these ugly probabilities that seems to escape Walter Lippmann; and I suspect it has equally escaped our official policy-makers. Mr. Lippmann is uneasy about the capacity of the Allies to cope with the problem. "Old conspirators like Hitler," he says, "know all the tricks of conducting an underground movement and one of the greatest difficulties the British and American leaders face in occupying Germany is that none among them has experience and few much knowledge of underground politics and of how to detect it and how to deal with it." But Mr. Lippmann has little to suggest. He realizes that the Nazis have doubtless worked out schemes of escape, that they have money and connections planted abroad, and that they will carry on their post-war conspiracies through a network of international communications. And so he insists that the occupying powers, after Hitler's defeat, must manage somehow to isolate the Nazi underground in Germany from its connections in other countries.

But nowhere does Mr. Lippmann reveal an understanding of the revolutionary character of the problem. The Allied armies can defeat Hitler's armies. Allied political power, even backed by force, can never defeat fascism. Nothing can end the threat of fascist conspiracy except a revolutionary change in Europe. If Mr. Lippmann shrinks from the thought, he is simply allowing the conventional, accepted attitude of a secure capitalist society to weaken his grasp of reality.

There are people in Europe who have both experience and knowledge of underground politics. Some of them are still alive in Germany. Perhaps they will have something to say about how to "detect" and "deal with" the Nazi underground. But if they are too few, after Hitler's execution squads have finished their work, men and women can be found in every European country who know the technique. They have been using it effectively for almost five years and are using it today in courageous support of the Allied armies. I suggest to Mr. Lippmann and to the inexperienced Allied leaders that the forces of resistance in occupied Europe be invited to share the responsibility of wiping out the Nazi underground. It is a job for underground fighters, not for the boys in the AMG. Indeed, I doubt if the School of Military Government at Charlottesville has even an elementary course in revolutionary strategy and the technique of underground conspiracy.

But that is only the start. A fighting force cannot reconstruct a continent; it can only create the possibility of reconstruction. In Germany as in the rest of Europe, Hitler's creed and his political influence will be ended only when a decent economic order is established. The destruction of the great industrial combinations in Europe, the end of the political power of big finance, the spread of social controls to insure employment and a better standard of living—these will do more to "isolate" Hitler's underground and ultimately scotch it altogether than any policing of communications that the occupation forces may put into effect. When the Allied leaders worry about the threat of a Nazi movement after this war, let them reflect for a moment on the conditions that gave rise to the Nazi movement after the last one. Let them recall the attitude their predecessors of the twenties took toward every attempt to unseat the big industrialists and the army men in Germany. Let them face the fact that now, as then, they must choose between social change and fascism.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES C. BOLTE

How to Read the News

ADMIRAL KING is credited with the wonderfully Bourbon remark, "During war, we should issue two communiqués: (1) We have been attacked; (2) The enemy has surrendered unconditionally." Doubtless apocryphal, but illustrative of the way many generals and admirals—especially admirals—fell about public information in wartime.

This feeling has given way to a more sensible information policy. Indeed, the pendulum has now swung to the other extreme, and we are so voluminously informed as to the progress of the war that Ernie Pyle threatened to stop reading *Dog Life* unless the magazine sent a reporter to cover the invasion from the dog's angle.

Volume doesn't necessarily mean clarity or accuracy, however; and though the American press and radio have given us millions of words of reporting, interpretation, and dream-analysis from and about the fighting fronts, I don't think they have done a good job.

The blame for this lies mostly with the editors in the home offices, and most particularly with the headline writers and the radio-bulletin writers. The full-page headline in the New York *Post*, "Yanks Invade Europe," is already famous in newspaper history: it appeared in the summer of 1942, and referred to the landing of a dozen Ranger observers with the Canadian force which raided Dieppe. The *Post* had another gem last winter: "We Land on Truk," which on close inspection was revealed to have been founded on an ambiguous Radio Tokyo report of the first U. S. carrier-based plane attack on that island group—where we still haven't landed.

More recently, we were kept on pins and needles for five days while Cherbourg's fall was variously described as "Imminent," " . . . 48 Hours," "Expected Momentarily," etc. Then there is the case of that Russian Army which for two weeks has been "Nearing East Prussia Border," while "Nazis Flee East Prussia in Panic," until we found last week that "the Reds" were now only eight miles away, having been four miles away a week earlier.

The editors have abetted the headline-writers by featuring the sensational dispatches. Morning dispatches have been rewritten in New York in the afternoon, with the sentences rearranged and an extra portion of scare-phrases added: "rolled forward on a broad front," "smashed through faltering enemy resistance," "tidal wave . . .," and the inevitable conclusion: "threatened to—" cut off, or by-pass, or encircle, or annihilate.

Nor are the correspondents blameless, though their record is far better. Many of them, more particularly the press-association writers, have an admirably consistent record of keeping ahead of the armies and capturing more thousands of troops than the enemy ever leaves behind. There are, of course, notable exceptions—actually too many to single out.

In many cases the military themselves have led the reporters up the primrose path. At Cassino and Caen we had official announcements of air power delivering a great smash and the ground forces breaking through, with nothing coming of it but letdown at home and comfort for the enemy. The air-power boys have sinned most grievously in this respect, and hurt their weapon by claiming feats for it too extravagantly. But all is better now, with victories galore, and the current malicious gag in Washington is that the war has finally caught up with General Arnold.

There is a lesson concealed in this ill-tempered essay, however: To find out how the real war is going, instead of the paper war, skip the headlines, read the first paragraphs with one eye closed, and jump inside to the communiqué-texts, following them on a map—a relief map, if possible, looking for rivers, hills, woods, and road-junctions. Then relax and read the color stories, always remembering Ilya Ehrenburg: "In communiqués a city is only a word. But actually a city means machine-gun nests, houses turned into forts, well-masked mortars, tommy gunners on rooftops, mines concealed in cellars, just hell in fact."

In this way every newspaper-reader can be his own military expert, understanding the soldiers' difficulties, and taking with a grain of salt the reports of the enemy's imminent collapse. When he reads, as he might have last week, "Canadian troops of the British Second Army, bursting forth in a new attack pointed toward Paris . . ." he will reflect that the Canadians have been bursting towards Paris ever since the first attack on Caen, and have thus far only burst about six miles. When he reads that the Americans are driving across the Brest peninsula against scattered opposition, he will reflect that this may be a planned withdrawal, not necessarily a complete disintegration of German resistance; and a withdrawal that may carry all the way back to the Seine or even beyond, where new and tougher resistance will be encountered, as Dr. Goebbels has promised.

Especially will he take his morning military expert with a double grain of salt, and realize that this poor mortal is far from the scene, either second-guessing or shooting in the dark about dim and future events. To illustrate the point, we will close today's sermon with an apt quotation, which appeared in print the day the Americans thrust to Rennes and the British were stalled at Caen:

> But many miles of the wicked *bocage* country lie ahead [of the Americans], and the Germans are strongly echeloned against the British, who face better country for fast going. (Charles G. Bolte, *The Nation*, August 5.)

On Reconversion

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, August 4

1. At short range, the outlook is poor. There is little chance that we will succeed in reconverting to civilian production on the basis of full employment.

2. From the longer-range point of view, much progress has been made. This is apparent if we glance back at the comparable period in the closing months of the last war. "Near the end of World War I," the Murray-Truman report points out, "many committees of Congress were working on post-war legislation. But the public was not particularly interested and Congressional action was dilatory. When the armistice came, the post-war legislation that had been worked on for months died in committee." There was no reconversion controversy last time, with the exception of the great debate over the return of the railroads to private ownership. There is general agreement today that it is the responsibility of government to provide an orderly transition to a peacetime economy.

3. There is also agreement on the necessity for achieving full employment after the war. The most conservative of the Congressional committees dealing with post-war problems, that headed by Senator George, is as fully committed to the principle as are the progressives. "This country," the George report said in June, "never has had and never will have real prosperity without full employment. A man vainly seeking a job is not a potential customer for the products of American farms and factories. Multiply that man many times and the combined loss of purchasing power starts a downward spiral of production, which in turn causes more unemployment and more loss of potential purchasing power. Government war expenditures of nearly $100,000,000,000 a year clearly demonstrate what mass purchasing power can do for American business." These are truisms. The point to remember is that they were not truisms twenty-five years ago. We have here a great historical change in the thinking of the American people.

4. This change will not make itself felt immediately, for there is as yet no general agreement on how to achieve full employment. Those who think that private enterprise can do the job alone have the upper hand, and their ideas will rule the reconversion period. But if the attempt to achieve full employment by private enterprise alone fails, as it almost certainly will after a few years of somewhat spotty prosperity, the importance of this change in public thinking will have immediate effect. It will provide a framework of economic understanding and expectation that should make necessary governmental measures to produce full employment possible. Whether a conservative or a progressive Administration is in power when the slump comes, it will be able, and it will be compelled, to take steps far beyond the timid pump-priming of the New Deal period. It is important to keep in mind that basically this timidity was the fault neither of Mr. Roosevelt nor of his advisers. The timidity reflected the prevailing state of public opinion. That will be different in the next slump. The key sentence in the quotation above from the George report is the last, "Government war expenditures of nearly $100,000,000,000 a year clearly demonstrate what mass purchasing power can do for American business." The question only a few raised before will be raised by many in the next depression. "If for war, why not for peace?"

5. These long-range perspectives are not advanced as cause for complacency but as a corrective to undue pessimism. Profound historical changes sometimes seem to take place suddenly but they are always germinated slowly. A people as individualistic and proudly independent as the American, living in a country which has made great progress under private capitalism, cannot be expected overnight to accept large-scale measures of state initiative and direction in the economic sphere. I am inclined to think that our chances of achieving a successful "mixed economy" with a minimum of social disorder are pretty good, perhaps all the more so because private enterprise will have a last opportunity to prove or discredit its claim to be able to provide full employment without state direction. The fact that almost everywhere else in the capitalist world, and notably in Britain, there will be "mixed economies" with large admixtures of socialism in operation may help to reduce the kind of stubborn intransigence in our own capitalist class that leads business men to support fascist movements.

6. Another passage from the George report may help us to get at the fallacy that will keep us from reconversion on a full-employment basis. "One school of thought," the George report says, "approaches the problem with the proposition that if business is profitable, the jobs, and consequently the purchasing power, will be provided. Another school of thought approaches it from the standpoint that if there is full employment at adequate wages business is bound to be profitable." These two approaches, the George report asserts, "are merely different ways of stating the same thing and accent the interdependence of full production and full employment." This is untrue. Large sectors of business can be fairly profitable while the economy is carrying a large load of what might be called stabilized unemployment,

as in the New Deal period, when the number of jobless seems to have been "stabilized" at about eight million. Time does not stand still, and the danger is that after the war business will seek to satisfy the country with the New Deal palliatives it once fought. Business will seek to supplement private employment with WPA-ism as a means of blocking the kind of governmental planning that can alone give us full employment.

7. Everyone is talking full employment but few have any conception of the enormous increase in the American standard of living necessary to achieve it. Gunnar Myrdal's comprehensive analysis of "Economic Developments and Prospects in America," to which I referred several weeks ago in *The Nation,* provides a glimpse of the dimensions of the problem. Even "if the production of motor cars," Myrdal says, "should be expanded to eight millions a year, compared with six millions at the pre-war peak in 1937, the motor car industry would nevertheless be forced to dismiss several hundred thousand men." There must be a sharp rise in consumption of all kinds of goods and services and this requires a sharp rise in wages.

8. But the fight in the Senate over the amount of unemployment compensation to be paid during the reconversion period not only indicates that this is not understood but that many business and big farming elements hope to use the distress of the reconversion period to lower wages. This is the meaning of the effort to keep unemployment compensation in the hands of the states and to reduce its amount, for unemployment compensation will put a floor under wages. When Senator Revercomb in a minority report from the Senate Military Affairs subcommittee pointed out that the Kilgore-Murray-Truman bill would give some workers more in unemployment compensation than they had previously earned in wages, the argument had an immediate effect. The idea of putting "a premium on idleness" was so abhorrent that a compromise was at once offered by the sponsors of the Kilgore bill, reducing the amount of compensation. But in the light of the concrete situation facing us, the argument is economically false, however appealing it may be to those who think in terms of the past. Unemployment compensation is the best weapon we have to raise wages, and the higher wages are raised, the less governmental direction and initiative will be required for full employment. The response of the Senate, the press, and the business community to Revercomb's argument indicates how little progress has been made in thinking through the implications and necessities of a full-employment policy.

9. Another indication of the inability of the business community to think in terms of abundance instead of scarcity may be seen in the Johnson bill for the disposal of surplus property. The supporters of the Kilgore bill, in an effort to obtain its passage, have dropped the surplus-property provisions of their bill. Byrnes and the conservatives are backing the Johnson measure. It would take durable surplus war supplies, from jeeps and machinery to wool and cotton, off the market for five years. During that time much of these goods would deteriorate or become obsolete. This is only a round-about way of destroying wealth, and another example of how closely wedded profitability is in our society to waste and destruction, first on the battlefield, then in the warehouse.

10. There is a considerable gap between the acceptance of a principle and a readiness really to put it into effect. In principle, the George-Murray bill and the Kilgore bill are both for full employment but the latter spells out more fully measures to achieve it. That is why there is such opposition to the Kilgore bill, for business wants to be "let alone" to do the job itself. But no business man can venture the unprecedented expansion of civilian production necessary for full employment without assurance of enough government aid to save him from bankruptcy. Unless the government takes steps to bring about a similar expansion by his competitors and by other business men, not enough purchasing power will be generated to enable him to sell his goods.

11. The weakness of the Kilgore bill is that it gives no indication that even its sponsors have thought this problem through in concrete terms. Its strength is that it sets up agencies, with full representation of business, labor, and agriculture, which could take those steps when the public wakes up to their necessity. The Kilgore bill is far too largely a statement of generalities, and the setting up of a National Production-Employment Board, as provided in the bill, does not necessarily move in the direction of full employment. It may as easily become an instrumentality for a new NRA-ism.

12. The Kilgore bill is menaced from two directions. In Congress it is being whittled away in favor of separate legislation on separate problems such as unemployment compensation, surplus-property disposal, etc. Even if remnants of it pass, there arises the problem of administration. The men at the controls will determine their use. And the White House by the Clayton and Hines appointments has already handed over the key post-war planning positions to men totally unsuited to the task of achieving full employment.

CORRECTION: A copy reader, exhausted by the effort to understand the intricacies of monetary theory, inadvertently added a misleading phrase to a sentence in our Washington letter last week on Bretton Woods. "The starting point of those who met at Bretton Woods," said the original, "was at the opposite pole from the Kemmerers." The phrase added was "who speak for the protectionists." Kemmerer does not speak for the protectionists; his gold standard views imply freer trade.

It's Hard to Seduce a Turk

BY MICHAEL CARTER

IT CAN be talked about now. At one time it was too uncomfortably effective to bring out into the open. For the Turkish government's decision to break off diplomatic and economic relations with Germany ends a brilliant psychological war fought by the Nazis inside Turkey's borders. Every German was in it, from Von Papen, the Ambassador, down to the humblest grocery clerk. They were all on the propaganda team; if they lost, it was not by reason of any amateur performance.

Naturally, the most effective tactics were directed at increasing Turkey's economic dependence on Germany. Immediately, the need was a two-way stream of war supplies, and at one stage in the war Turkey had to do business with Hitler because there was no one else within hailing distance. But Germany was looking beyond the temporary emergency and talked big in terms of permanent post-war markets. Prominent Turks were given posts of importance in German corporations. Krupp's representatives in Turkey were the former Turkish diplomat, Nureddine, and the former banker, Jahim. Junkers and other German aircraft firms were represented by Galip Ceilany, member of a good Turkish family. German insurance companies were tied up with Turkish insurance companies and with Turkey's biggest industrialist, Kazim, who directs the Turkish sugar industry and owns a bank.

The professional and upper-class society people required more subtle treatment. For them, it was German culture: Walter Gieseking was brought all the way out to Istanbul and Ankara to play to packed houses and be paraded through a gala round of receptions. General Rohde, military attaché, and Admiral Marvitz, naval attaché, were cultured Germans of the old school. They liked nothing better than to spend a long social evening with a group of German-trained Turkish officers who, after all, had been their comrades-in-arms during the last war. Weekly parties by DNB at the Ankara Palace Hotel, parties at the Embassy—there was not a dull moment for anyone who wanted to take advantage of Nazi hospitality. The whisky never ran out at the German Embassy, oddly enough; the British Embassy, on the other hand, was constantly threatened with drought, and the American Embassy was bone dry.

The Germans were thoughtful in little things. During last winter's typhus scare, one pro-British journalist appealed to the British Embassy for serum. There was none to be had. Herr Seiler, the German press attaché, heard about it. Promptly, thousands of units were rushed out from Berlin, more than enough to save the journalist, his family, and his friends—for Hitler. The Germans would solemnly point out to the two hundred German-speaking Turkish officials in Ankara how really fortunate they were to have such good relations with Germany and how unhappy they would be if these relations were terminated. It might even cost them their jobs. German-subsidized schools, hospitals, and churches interpreted in very broad terms their charitable and educational mission to the Turkish people.

When direct action was indicated a battery of no less than six German agencies were ready in place: *Deutsche Nachrichten Dienst* (DNB), *Transcontinent Presse* (TP), *Europa Presse Dienst* (EP), *Dienst Aus Deutschland* (DAD), *Transozean Presse Dienst* (TO), and *Nachrichten Presse Dienst* (NP). Equipped with the latest radio-teletype machines and staffed with first-rate newsmen, they had unlimited funds for entertainment and all other purposes. They operated chiefly through the Embassy. Their directing mind was Ambassador von Papen, whose devious wit and unflagging energy turned many a near-defeat into a propaganda victory.

There was the matter of getting the right stories placed. But since a German monopoly controlled the newsprint supply, ways could be found. The supply, of course, was strictly rationed through the Turkish newsprint controller. But extra paper shipments at low prices would mysteriously appear on the doorstep of a paper whose Axis sympathies had shown signs of cooling. On the other hand, a pro-Allied editor would discover that unavoidable delays had interfered with the delivery of badly needed supplies. When, after protest, the paper did arrive, it would turn out to have been damaged in transit.

Sometimes less subtle tactics were applied. A subeditor who was finding it difficult to make both ends meet on $85 a month would be visited by a fairy godmother with a slight German accent and shown easy ways of relieving himself of all household worries. A chief editor would be given a lump-sum recompense for placing a lead article. One editor of a pro-Axis paper had a regular retainer of $125 a month, simply for slanting his news and comments. Sometimes bulk subscriptions and heavy advertising provided an irresistible appeal to struggling papers that had been finding the competition heavy.

German bookstores attracted Turkish officers, engineers, doctors, and scientists with their technical and

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scientific books in German or in Turkish, printed in Germany. These bookstores also drew less scholarly customers, who on occasion would find funds and instructions inserted in the books they carried away with them. The well-edited German propaganda magazine *Signal*—somewhat comparable to *Life* in format—was filled with excellent photographs and drawings by cameramen and artists from the Wehrmacht and the German navy. The magazine appeared bi-weekly in German, English, French, and sometimes Serbian. In recent months it has deteriorated in make-up and quality of paper and its sales have fallen off. But it gets wide distribution and copies are occasionally picked up in distant outposts on the Turkish-Russian border. Only two Turkish magazines appear to be wholly subsidized by the Germans. Both are published by Nuri Pasha, who owns a large munitions factory near Istanbul and up to a short time ago depended on Germany for all his raw material.

Radio programs from Germany and from Axis satellite stations are listened to for the music; not so much for the news. Since the military reverses began the news has become more and more unreliable and has largely been displaced by comment. The Turks have not been impressed. German movies have been shown in theaters that would take them, theaters which have come in for the largesse of Von Papen's friends. Throughout the earlier and more successful stages of the war, the Embassy held private showings of military movies calculated to overcome even the most die-hard skeptic.

Somebody has estimated that the Germans have been spending at the rate of $1,200,000 a year in Turkey just for propaganda purposes. Much of it was in gold from Germany and from stores seized in the occupied countries. In their readiness to pay to get the job done, the Germans were second only to the Japanese. (A story went the rounds in Istanbul that an Armenian tipster worked well and contentedly for the Germans at $130 a month until the Japs upped the offer to $400.)

German propaganda did half the work of keeping Turkey out of the war. It failed utterly to influence Turkey to come in on the German side and so repeat the experience of the last war. But it is doubtful if the propaganda would have succeeded even as well as it did had it not been for the course of military events. As long as the Nazis were advancing down into the Balkans and moving toward Turkey's back door in North Africa, Turkey was in a position that made a break with Germany seem impossible. The situation was made even worse when the Nazi forces drove past Stalingrad into the Caucasus. It was at that time that Von Papen was particularly active in attempting to awaken Turkey's traditional fear and hatred of the Russians. As recently as last week, Germany threatened the utter destruction of Turkey's cities by planes based on fields across the Hellespont if the diplomatic break was made.

In an awkward spot, no matter how you look at it, the Turks were negatively, by military threat, rather than positively, by subtle propaganda, persuaded to lie quiet. Seeing certain immediate advantages in preserving friendly relations with Germany, the Turks were never convinced that their route to future happiness and security required a visa stamped in Berlin. As Allied victories mounted and the military threat on three sides receded, and as our own propaganda improved, the Turks moved toward the break with Germany that was probably inevitable from the beginning.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE SMALL VOTE CAST for judges of the Supreme Court in Tennessee last week shows the deterrent effect of a poll-tax. . . . The intention was to diminish the Negro vote, but it is found that a large proportion of the whites will not pay the tax. Then there is always a chance that some political manager may suddenly turn up just before election day with a pile of money and pay poll-taxes by the thousands, on the agreement that the voters thus favored will support his side. . . . The theory that a man should pay at least as much as a poll-tax towards the support of the Government as a prerequisite to having his say in deciding its character sounds all right, but in practice it generally works to the advantage of the corruptionists.—*August 9, 1894.*

THE SENATE COMMITTEE on Territories has reported favorably the House bills for the admission of New Mexico and Arizona as states, and apparently only a pressure of other matters will prevent the passage of the measures. New Mexico is still a half-foreign community, and Arizona has only about 63,000 people all told, but each is to be given as much power in the Senate as New York or Pennsylvania. Their admission will be a gross outrage upon the country, but each party thinks that it stands a chance of getting the two Senators from each of the new commonwealths, and nobody seems ready to make an effective protest.—*August 9, 1894.*

WE HAVE REFERRED to the way the socialists in Roubaix and Saint-Denis have had a free course and been glorified and got those municipalities deeply into debt. Reports from other French cities where the socialists are in control show a similar state of affairs, and make it clear that, for taxpayers, it is not only the first step in practical socialism which costs, but every succeeding step as well. . . . They give point to the growing conviction of the world that socialism may be very fine, but that it comes high.—*August 23, 1894.*

WE FREQUENTLY see startling figures as to the increasing number of the insane presented in the newspapers, giving rise to melancholy predictions. There is probably not the slightest reason for disquiet upon the subject. The definition of insanity, as everyone knows, is a fluctuating one, and it is not only true that many persons are now classed as insane who would not formerly have been so classed, but also more cases are returned than of old.—*August 30, 1894.*

The Supreme Court Today

BY WALTON HAMILTON

I. Nine Independent Men

AFTER an absence of some years from the front page, the Supreme Court is again news. It is, however, the antics of human beings, rather than the wisdom of judges, which has captured public attention. The antics move on the surface of legal process; the wisdom probes toward the depths of insistent problems—and each, useful in its own way, has been on parade. A reminder that men, even when they sit in high places, are not immune to the ordinary frailties is always wholesome. A demonstration that the feet of the Court are firmly, if somewhat fumblingly, set on the path marked "forward" is just now a welcome assurance. Upon casual displays of behavior columns of print have been lavished which might better be given to a recitation of what the Court has done.

Antics there have been; "decision day" has not been the dullest of Washington spectacles. The querulous voice, the soft tone that appeals to Posterity, the stubborn I-refuse-to-go-along, the mutual exchange of the word "gratuitous," the defiant I'll-not-let-him-get-by-with-that has been somewhat in evidence. Phrases which reflect on the omniscience of colleagues have been hurled even if they have not survived oral utterance to find lodgement in print. The concurring opinion has been employed to slap down a protesting brother. The dissent has often reflected more of unyielding opposition than of reasonable challenge. More than one opinion, written as a concurrence, has eventually emerged as a dissent.

To one whose study is the Court such antics are more amusing than disturbing. They have appeared before; their like will appear again. When Saint Paul said it was good that brethren should dwell together in unity, the evidence is not conclusive that he had our Supreme Court in mind. And, if among the members charity is in order, the command is not that they shall all think alike. If eight of them are appointees of Mr. Roosevelt, the nine—instead of freely choosing each other—have been conscripted to work together. Although in concert they have the power to say, "We are the law," among them as individuals differences are bound to arise; and when a colleague honestly cannot accept the judgment, candor commands that he give his reasons. As currently we pass into a new social order, a cleavage in views is everywhere visible among the most reasonable of men. It would be startling if the brothers on the bench were free from the perplexities of mind and belief by which all thinking men are beset. The drive of the work, the zest of inquiry, the pride in the craft all make for heat. The clash in attitude, idea, value is inevitable where decisions can emerge only from a conjunction of separate wills. If here it seems notorious it is only because the Court—unlike a corporation, an editorial board, a college faculty, an agency of state—has the wholesome habit of making its doings a matter of public record.

It would, I grant you, be more seemly for the gentlemen of the Court always to air their legal differences with courtesy. But the proprieties have always been powerful to corrode intellectual honesty; and as an outward sign of an integrity which refuses to be compromised, antics are to be accepted with tolerance. I can think of nothing more alarming than that the Justices should come to be of a single mind. For unanimity among able and wide-awake men can be had only on the assumption that ancient wisdom should not be disturbed or through the practice of suppressing the views of those who cannot go along. Against the dry rot of mutual agreement the whole tradition of the Court is set. A powerful prod to excellence is that "the opinion of the Court" must take the fire of its members; that arguments pro and contra shall have equal access to the reports. Our courts have decreed that justice-in-the-making shall be subject to critical analysis by the bench, the profession, the public.

The work of its last term measures up to the high standard of the Court. Actions at law reflect the times; and the record is such as a group of able, virile, uncloistered men might be expected to write. Never in its history have divisions occurred so often; never have its members so freely expressed their own views. Votes of eight to one and six to three are common; and, in spite of the overwhelming New Deal majority, five to four and four to three are still noticeable. A common division has come to be seven to two or seven to one; the unanimous judgment is now exception rather than rule. Votes, however, are but a faint index to views; concurring opinions, far more abundant than ever before, attest dissimilar roads to a like result. On the last day of the term the Court actually divided five to four as to argument when there was no difference as to judgment. More important, the division must be interpreted in terms of the issue before the Court. In question after question the current bench is in accord, where the old one—dominated by the Four Horsemen, Van Devanter, McReynolds, Sutherland, and Butler, plus Hughes and/or

Roberts—was divided. The cleavage in opinion is now far more often than not over an issue which a decade ago would never have been raised. The frontier of the law has been advanced; the craft is practiced in a manner more precise, intricate, and exacting. Often, perhaps far too often, simple arithmetic has been abandoned for the higher mathematics. The idiom of decision, as well as the plane of inquiry, has changed.

The chief reason for the shift has, of course, been personnel. The newcomers are not men of a like sense and reason with those who have departed. Stone, C. J., once with the left, stands now to the right of center. As his views, once voiced in dissent, have come to prevail, liberalism is to be preserved rather than won. The faith which a judge must keep with his conscience has been qualified by the anxiety of the Chief Justice for his institution. He captains a far more agile, if less stubborn, crew than the one over which Hughes used to preside. And whereas "the Old Fox" was able to get the jump on the brethren by his quickness in selecting the issue, Stone has a number of colleagues quite able to tell him that there is another way to put the question. Roberts has shifted—or rather been pushed over—from center to far right. A man of many minds, a vagrant in his intellectual positions, he has been prone of late to upbraid his colleagues for a lack of respect for judgments now outworn. He has become conservative without a departure from his former views.

The others, touched not at all or only slightly by judicial experience, are fresh from life itself. Black, with an uncommon "feel for the jugular," has won the place of primacy. He rarely misses what the case—as against the legal form in which it is cast—is all about. Although he professes more faith in "leaving it to Congress" than one with his experience in the Senate ought to exhibit, he has taken the lead in adapting "the enduring principles of the law" to the rapidly changing circumstances of life. Reed, it is true, is not comfortable when established landmarks are left behind. But, in spite of his meticulous craftsmanship, he is no legalist. His "conservative" utterances would startle the shades of some of the departed brethren. Recently he replied to a charge of Roberts that a decision had come to be like "a railroad ticket good for this day and train only" by citing from a Brandeis dissent a list of cases in which the Court had retracted outworn judgments. Then, speaking for the majority, he brought the list up to date. He can, in dissent, vote to tolerate Negro peonage disguised in circumspect legal form; he can, for an all but unanimous Court, announce that the Constitution assures the Negro the right to vote in the Democratic primary. Frankfurter, who has mounted the bench without discarding the professor's craft, is the current storm center. The greatest of Holmes's admirers, he is among the least Holmesian of men. He reverently occupies positions taken by Holmes, Brandeis, or Cardozo in dissent, and seems to regard it as sacrilege to advance the law beyond the outposts toward which they drove. He is sometimes right against the majority of his brethren; he argues, for example, that the idea that a state of the Union cannot be sued without its consent is a vestige of the dogma that the King can do no wrong. But he is likely to transmute a real into a verbal question and to lose the main issue in a frantic quest of some nice point of law. His standpattism is dictated far less by an urge to stand on the precedents than by a "felt need" at this time of peril to secure national unity by appeasing big business. In general he tends to convert the older liberalism into a dogmatic orthodoxy.

Douglas is a natural executive. On the bench his excess of energy is spent in doing more work and getting it done more promptly than any of his colleagues. As the cases come along, his feel is for reality. He is quite aware that the art of judging has its occupational hazards; he knows the stories of great judges who have lost touch with the times and become ossified. The youngest among the judges, he is most in fear of becoming dated. Murphy's dominant drive is toward justice. With him as with Brandeis, whose spiritual heir he is, the real search—for which he has been reproved by Roberts—is where righteousness lies. Neat crochet patterns of legalism, which get some of his colleagues all excited, leave him cold. But watch his limpid and driving prose when he proclaims freedom of speech, recites the dangers of the miner's trip from portal to face, or reproves the government for invoking the white slave act when the accused, by going on a vacation, had for a moment "lapsed into decency."

Jackson remains something of an adolescent who loves to try all the stops on the organ. At one moment he displays a picayune legalism—as when he catches up a rule of law contriving to save some poor wretch from going to jail for bigamy and uses it to allow the state most favorable to the employer to fix compensation for industrial accidents. At another he probes to the very vitals of public policy—as when he insists that the Federal Power Commission, far from being bound by the rigidities of a fair-return-upon-value formula, should shape the schedule of rates to secure from a public utility the largest service to the community. And Rutledge, last to take his seat, has already exhibited his independence. For him, as a dean accustomed to handle a law school faculty, mere judicial colleagues can have no terrors. He has the law teacher's critical attitude toward the rules, concepts, and moves which are the tricks of the jurist's trade. He is not often to be diverted from the path of justice in pursuit of some esoteric will-o'-the-wisp. In a recent tilt with Frankfurter over where the power lay to determine fair labor standards, Iowa talked right back to Harvard.

You cannot resolve such a bench, as you could that of old, into three parts. There is no longer a right wing of four, a left wing of three, and a center group of two to chant "We are the Court." The path of the law is now as likely to be blazed for the Court as in dissent. And when the cry is "forward," it is Black, J., more often than Stone, C. J., who directs the march. Black's leadership, always personal, is often executive; for when Stone dissents, Roberts, the next in authority, is likely to be with him, and to Black falls the task of naming the man to write the opinion. With him, especially when issues of public policy are dominant, Douglas and Murphy are likely to be found. And, as he gets his judicial bearings, Rutledge moves in that direction. But the accord is not a solid phalanx; and not even in a common dissent are the brethren of a single mind. At the right there is nothing even so loosely coherent. Roberts often proclaims that he is orthodox, that it is his eight colleagues who have gone astray; Frankfurter has exhibited a growing fondness for his companionship; Jackson has on occasion converted the duet into a trio. Stone and Reed are not above taking a stand with brother Roberts; and Murphy and Rutledge have been known to forsake the majority for his fellowship. But allegiance is fluid; positions have not yet been stabilized; any permutation is likely to turn up.

[*The second part of Professor Hamilton's article, discussing the current record of the Supreme Court, and analyzing its decisions in a number of important cases, will appear next week.*]

Polls, Propaganda, and Politics

During the months from now until election, interest in public-opinion polls promises to boom. Each week the latest poll results will be summarized in this column, along with some pertinent comment on propaganda in politics. The series begins this week with some suggestions for discriminating interpretation of public opinion polls. Next week's analysis will cover the trend of opinion between 1940 and 1944.

"HOW reliable are the public-opinion polls?" many people ask. There is no easy answer. None of the large, publicized polls is crooked or rigged, and only occasionally is bias a serious influence. But it is easy to be misled by poll figures. Here are a few pointers on allowances to make.

1. *Size versus representativeness.* People are sometimes troubled because poll samples are small, because "no interviewer has ever asked me or anyone I know a question." If a nation-wide poll is based on a sample of three thousand cases, as many are (at election time this usual sample is blown up to much larger figures), it would take more than five hundred years at the rate of one poll a week to reach all the adults in the United States. The reliability of a poll is more apt to be affected by selection than by size. The *Literary Digest* went wrong in spite of polling immense numbers because it selected homes listed in telephone directories and neglected to sample the low-income population. What gives poll statisticians gray hair is how to make sure that every income level, political party, race, region, occupation, religious group, age group, educational level, etc., is proportionately represented in the miniature population that is polled. A well-selected sample of one thousand cases may give a better basis for prediction than random polling of ten thousand. In forecasting Dewey's election as Governor of New York in 1942, the Office of Public Opinion Research at Princeton University with only two hundred cases in a carefully selected sample predicted that he would win 58 per cent of the votes cast; the Gallup Poll with two thousand five hundred cases gave him 53 per cent; the New York *Daily News* with forty-eight thousand interviews predicted 57 per cent. The election results showed 53 per cent for Dewey. The smallest poll was nearly as accurate as one 240 times as large. Nevertheless, size of sample remains a factor. Chance must also be taken into account. If one hundred polls were made, each covering two thousand voters selected in the same way, they might differ so that most of them would show 52 per cent for Roosevelt, with a few reporting 49 per cent and a few 55 per cent.

2. *Polls report the opinions of a cross-section of potential voters, but not all those eligible turn out to vote on Election Day.* A million votes, properly distributed, could have elected Willkie in 1940, but in New York State alone two million qualified voters didn't cast ballots. About one registered voter in five doesn't arrive to make his choices known. Fewer women vote. Fewer young people (21-40) vote. Fewer men and women from manual labor occupations ordinarily vote, and industrial migration will accent this factor in 1944. Smaller cities have more non-voters.

3. *The "Don't know," "No opinion," and "Haven't yet decided" vote is not evenly or proportionately divided between parties.* Studies show that these people have fewer opportunities for contact with politics, less interest

in the election, less education, but come from social strata which vote mainly Democratic. Hence, if "No opinion" answers are disregarded, the results tend to over-estimate Republican strength. The proportion undecided decreases as the campaign goes on, but in 1940 there were still 7 per cent of potential voters apparently sitting on the fence as late as October.

4. *The Electoral College system means that a popular majority may not bring a majority of electors.* Cleveland won with 50.1 per cent of all major party votes in 1884, but lost in 1888 despite his 50.5 per cent of the major party vote. Democrats "waste" a lot of votes in the South, where they do not add more electors. Whether a party has a bare majority or 90 per cent of the popular votes in a state, it gets the same number of electoral votes.

5. *No one is allowed to poll the soldier vote.* No one knows how many soldiers will vote, or how they will vote, or how many of their votes will be counted. We do know that in June of 1944, when about 52 per cent of voters were for Roosevelt, civilian *young people*, 21-29 years of age, were 62 per cent for Roosevelt. No one can be sure that army experience may not increase or decrease this difference.

6. *There is always need to watch the specific form of question being used.* Most people are against sin and will approve ideals in general. It is only when proposals show teeth that respondents take fright. Three out of four Americans are "for labor unions," but something like half of these can be counted on to object to any specific measure for which labor unions are fighting at the moment. More people will express approval of daylight saving time than will favor a Presidential order establishing it. When someone is asked what he would think "if" something happened, he doesn't always estimate his own intentions properly. As a rule, differences in wording are less apt to affect responses on questions about which people have strong feelings.

7. *Most interviewers are middle-class.* A large proportion are college graduates. Respondents usually sense differences in speech, manner, dress, background, etc., and workers may be as suspicious and reserved when confronted by a typical poll-taker as would be milady of the manor if a strange man of rough appearance and crude vocabulary rang her doorbell and began asking political questions. Interviewers may tend to avoid the poorest districts and the most remote rural areas.

8. *Finally, the balance is now so close that unforeseen events between now and November are likely to swing the election.* No conceivable analysis of opinion today will satisfactorily forecast what would happen to it if New York were bombed by robots, if Hitler surrendered, or if a Roosevelt son died in action.

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In the Wind

ONE OF THE THINGS that may have contributed to Wallace's defeat was a book. Its title is "Statesmanship and Religion"; its author, Henry J. Wallace. It consists of three lectures Mr. Wallace delivered at the Chicago Theological Seminary and another he delivered before the Federal Council of Churches, and was published in 1934 by the Roundtable Press. It was circulated by reactionary Democrats Thursday night and Friday of convention week, among a few important Wallace leaders. A dozen or more passages were marked. These passages were taken out of context to prove that Wallace was (a) anti-Catholic, (b) anti-Protestant, (c) atheistic, (d) communistic, and (e) fascistic. Anyone who read the book in its entirety could easily see that Wallace is none of these things, but the carefully marked passages appeared damning when read alone. The Old Guard argued that the Republicans might use these passages if Wallace were nominated.

THE PHOTOGRAPH DESK of a national news syndicate reports that Dewey insists on "serious, non-smiling" pictures, because, he says, the campaign is serious.

THE POST LIBRARY at Camp Perry, Ohio, with more than seven thousand volumes, has been closed for lack of funds to pay the librarian. At the same camp a private with a master's degree in librarianship is guarding war prisoners.

A RED CROSS CAR carrying a soldier with a heavily bandaged hand and another with crutches drew alongside a Fifth Avenue bus. "Isn't that a shame!" said a lady bus passenger. "Yes, those poor fellows," replied her male companion. "Oh, no, that isn't what I mean," said the lady. "Look at that sign: 'Donated by Local 32B, Building Service Employees International Union, A. F. L.' Isn't that a *shame* for the Red Cross!"

AMERICAN BUSINESS MEN may not trust the Soviet government, but they certainly intend to do business with it. *Printers' Ink*, an advertising journal, reports a 300 per cent increase in advertising by American industrial and engineering firms in "American Engineering and Industry," a Russian-language technical monthly published by Amtorg. "Catalog of American Engineering and Industry, 1944-46 Edition," another Amtorg publication, will have 1,350 pages of advertising placed by more than seven hundred American firms. The last edition, in 1942, carried about 250 pages of advertising.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Nazis are melting down the bronze statues of Paris, but one of Lafayette has escaped them. A crew of workmen removed the 1½-ton statue from its pedestal and hauled it away in broad daylight—and it didn't occur to passing Nazis that the workmen were guerrilla fighters from the *maquis.*

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

The Poles Take Over

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Moscow, July 31, by Cable

IN THE past week Moscow celebrated an unprecedented series of victories. Thursday night five successive "salutes" hailed with guns and fireworks the liberation of six important cities in a single day. Along the entire front, from the Gulf of Finland to the Carpathians, the Red Army drove forward, freeing the last areas of Soviet territory in German hands, plunging deep into the Baltic states, and crossing the Polish border in a mighty sweep from North to South, liberating many large Polish cities.

These military victories led directly to an event whose political significance for the future of Europe almost transcends the military victory itself. This is the establishment of the Emergency Polish National Council as the civil authority, with a large Polish army which expects "to set banners in Berlin;" also the appearance of the new Polish Liberation Committee as the temporary executive power forming the local administration in liberated Poland. This was accompanied by a Soviet statement that the Red Army sets up no administrative organs but regards itself as cooperating with the Polish army in the territory of a sovereign, friendly, allied state.

These events aroused world-wide comment, ranging from attacks on the "puppet government" to milder hopes by liberals to combine the Polish National Council with the Polish government-in-exile recognized by London and Washington. Something like this may eventually be accomplished, but most comment misses the important facts and implications which *Nation* readers deserve to know.

Name-calling is futile. Any present Polish government must rely on the armed power of the Red Army as Badoglio and De Gaulle relied on the armed power of the Anglo-Americans. Every exiled government in London expects to take power with the aid of foreign armies. Thus the impolite term "puppet" strictly applies to all future European governments until they hold elections and create armies adequate to defend their soil.

The most important questions for the future of Europe are the following: How can groups claiming governmental power arouse and unite their people and quickly create independent, democratic states? What policies can such states propose for unscrambling Hitler's Europe and making a peaceful, democratic Europe? Behind these lies a third question which everyone has been asking: What kind of independent states will the Red Army help to install and defend?

To all these vital questions the Polish National Council suggests the first and clearest answer.

Note that the first Polish National Council was not formed in Moscow. The Moscow organization, the Union of Polish Patriots, persistently refuses to consider itself a source of government. It has repeatedly stated officially that Poles in exile could not create a government, but only Poles in Poland. Its official position was that agreement with the London Poles for the creation of government was impossible since the latter considered the participation of the Polish underground "pernicious." The best government, they held, would be one created by all democratic centers of Poles everywhere, but if this were impossible then the underground in Poland might legitimately create a government, but not the Poles in emigration, whether in London or in Moscow.

This theory of government may seem superfluous, but it is important to understand that it is punctiliously observed here. This essentially democratic theory contrasts with the assumption of the Anglo-Americans that governments are legitimately created by their recognition, followed by elections and constitutional forms satisfactory to them. The Soviets assume that a government legitimately arises only inside a country, which creates its own forms.

How did this work in practice? The Polish National Council, the "RADA," was formed last New Year's Eve at a secret meeting in Warsaw, attended by thirty delegates from more than a score of underground Polish organizations, all engaged in active warfare against the Nazis. Some delegates were killed in attempting to reach the meeting. The list of participating organizations was fairly impressive, including the Peasant Workers' Party, the Socialist Party, the cooperatives, underground trade unions and organizations of democratic intellectuals, and various armed partisan forces.

The session supported the 1921 constitution, based on French democracy, and denounced the 1935 constitution, which so conservative an authority as the "Encyclopedia of World History" states was railroaded through by authoritarian groups. The session decided to unite the democratic partisan bands into "a people's army." It also formed a national council and decided to promote local councils to direct the fight for liberation.

Within four months this RADA gained enough popular strength to send a delegation to Moscow late in May "to contact all Allied governments." It traveled a great distance with an armed guard in Polish uniforms through regions supposedly controlled by the Germans.

What success RADA had in approaching Moscow, Washington, and London was not reported, but six weeks later the Red Army reached Poland. Then RADA took over the Polish Army of more than 100,000 men, organized and equipped in the Soviet Union. It combined these with the poorly-armed "people's army" already operating on Polish soil. It called for the mobilization of Polish manhood into a bigger army to liberate the country and enter Berlin. It set up the "Liberation Committee" as the temporary executive organizing local administration.

If all this originated in Moscow—as some claim—then Moscow is to be congratulated on scrupulously observing the forms of democracy in Poland—more than that, on stimulating democratic action and Polish nationalism to take over an army equipped by the Soviets.

Two examples show how punctiliously the theory of a government originating inside a country was observed. The commander-in-chief of the new Polish Army is not General Berling, who commands the well-equipped Polish Army from Russia, but General Rilia, who rose through service in the partisan groups and who has now taken precedence over Berling. Similarly the chairman of the new Liberation Committee is not Wanda Wasiliewska, who inspired the Poles in Moscow, but Moravsky, a Polish Socialist Party leader with sixteen years' prewar political standing, who organized Polish workers for defense in 1939 and later organized the Partisans.

In calling the Poles to fight for freedom the new committee made the frankest statement of policy. It operates on the basis of the 1921 constitution, repudiates the 1935 constitution, and has declared a speedy election of delegates to frame a new constitution.

In foreign policy the committee announced its participation in a strong bloc with the Soviets and the Czechs. It proposes to settle the boundary with the Soviets on the principle that land inhabited by Poles belongs to Poland while land inhabited by Ukrainians belongs to the Ukraine.

In internal policy the Polish committee encourages private property in farms and medium-sized enterprises. All large enterprises throughout Europe have been seized by the Germans. Those in Poland are to be administered by a temporary state body pending "regulations on economic relations," after which they will be returned "to their owners." This is a clear invitation to American capital to develop large Polish enterprises, since only America has the means. In the absence of American capital, the only practicable alternative would probably be some form of socialism. With American capital there will be a system of private initiative, regulated by a Polish "New Deal."

The Poles propose to annex considerable German territory. This may upset some Americans. The Poles won't settle the peace terms, but their demands will worry the Germans and encourage their own people to fight hard. It is clear at least that the Soviet Union proposes to support progressive capitalist democracies in Europe. It is also clear that the Soviet leaders are fully cognizant of an ancient democratic principle which we Americans tend to forget, namely, that no nation can be liberated by another but must fight for its own liberation, that after long suppression people need the pride that comes of actively creating a government and mobilizing for freedom. This is what the Polish Liberation Committee offers the Poles.

Will the present Polish RADA combine with the London government-in-exile? Certainly not with all its members. Certainly not with certain followers in Poland who have killed Polish Partisans and betrayed them to the Gestapo. But some among the London Poles might strengthen a democratic Poland. For these the RADA organization has already provided a place.

While the RADA generally is now elected on a definite basis from various districts of Poland, a special provision admits 20 per cent of members to be "selected by RADA itself from distinguished persons." This would seem to anticipate some such proposal as additions from the Polish emigration. Clearly it is now for the Poles in London to make the approach.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ABOUT the middle of July the following decree by the Gauleiter of Brunswick was published in newspapers and on placards throughout the city:

> All civilian party members and all compatriots who are not members of a party organization and who are able-bodied and capable of marching are ordered to attend a defense rally on July 16. All participants in the march, whether in mufti or in uniform, are to carry whatever weapons they possess, no matter what kind. No one must be absent.

Such "defense rallies" have been held in every German city and town during the past few weeks. The newspaper stories and photographs show that they all have the same pattern: the participants are always masses of civilians, and in the middle, like a backbone, there is always a detachment of soldiers, together with uniformed groups of Storm Troops, Elite Guards, policemen, firemen, etc. There are a few short speeches, a march of several kilometers, and some rudimentary military exercises.

What does it mean? The speakers say that the enemy is coming closer, the soil of the Fatherland itself is threatened, and all civilians—workers, old men, and children alike—must take arms to defend it. They pretend to be particularly worried about parachutists. Of a defense rally in Essen, for example, the *Kölnische Zeitung* of July 17 reports:

> For the first time a Storm Troop battalion for special tasks participated. This is a highly mobile force with special training for fighting British terrorism in the homeland.

And at a rally in Hanover on July 9 the Gauleiter said:

> Possible enemy attempts to land terror units among us to carry the war into our country will be opposed, at any hour, at any place, by our radical solidarity, which will thwart every attempt against our security, our work, and our transport.

But then the Gauleiter enlarged the circle of enemies. The purpose of the rally, he said, was "to prepare for any possibility whatsoever. . . . All measures have been taken to see to it that veterans of the last war and National Socialist youth take immediate action should there be any commotion anywhere." He described the purposes of such rallies throughout Germany as follows:

> First, to enable the government to estimate the number of men available at home. Second, to give every individual ready for defense the certainty that thousands upon thousands of comrades are at his side and are ready to take up arms whenever the moment demands it. And third, to demonstrate to potential disturbers of the peace and instigators of unrest that the National Socialist community is more closely united than ever, and is prepared by all means to preserve the fruits of our struggle. Increased watchfulness is necessary during the coming weeks and months. Any suspicious fact must be reported, and immediate intervention must be organized.

And, in case these hints were not clear enough, a commentator in the Essen *Nationalzeitung* clarified them fully on July 17. Thus:

> Parades have been rare of late, because urgent everyday tasks have left little time for them. But today it is advisable to demonstrate in a visible manner our united will. It will be useful not only for ourselves but more particularly for the numerous foreigners now living in our city, who do not share in our national and spiritual community. Some of them easily become the prey of enemy propaganda, since they have not the same political faith we have. The spectacle of a united phalanx of Germans under the swastika may discourage those foreigners who may feel inclined to work against our interests.

That, obviously, is the real purpose of this melancholy mobilization of children and old men, armed with "whatever weapons they possess." It is hardly likely that such "phalanxes" could stop "terror units" of parachutists. The mobilization is directed, rather, against the "numerous foreigners" in the country—the twelve to fifteen million enslaved workers. Evidently the time has come for Germany to fear them.

WARNING!

In the summer of 1940, when most people believed that the battle against Hitler was lost, we proclaimed our faith in the final defeat of the Nazis. In the summer of 1944, when most people consider the Nazis already beaten and expect the war in Europe to end momentarily—even Mr. Churchill's speeches breathe optimism.—we warn our readers that the enemy still has strength to resist. This is not paradoxical. It simply means that this war is not only a military but a political war. Military results may be influenced by political acts, and the power of the German army may be temporarily increased by the purge of half-hearted, anti-Nazi generals and the total Nazification of the internal as well as the military structure. The fight between democracy and fascism is literally a fight to the death. It is too early to assume that the force of Nazi fanaticism is wholly spent.

An epidemic which worries the government, but which is quite understandable, has broken out in the German public. The news of it comes from Danzig—that barometer of a city which six years ago was so enthusiastic about going "home to the Reich." The enthusiasm seems to have disappeared. An outspoken editorial in the *Danziger Neuesten Nachrichten* bears the title "Map Psychosis," and describes the disease as follows:

> Military maps are again laid out on the tables of the cafés. They are an infallible indication that the war has entered a phase charged with high tension. Now, the study of maps is a very good thing in itself. But if it degenerates into a mileage-mania, the basic value disappears in several respects. The all-around orientation reverses itself only too easily into sensations of geographical heart spasm. Then the miserable pseudo-knights of modern times emerge, whose thinking is even swifter than the achievements of instruments of modern technique. Bending over the maps, they draw what they call unbreakable circles with their right hands, while their left hands anxiously press their hearts. It is particularly in the Eastern corner of the Reich that these superclever map students are becoming visible and audible.

The paper finds especially dangerous a thought which the map-readers "occasionally" express—"the thought that the mission which history has laid upon us might better be passed on to coming generations for the sake of the convenience of our own generation." Never has the "occasional" thought that it is time to quit been more delicately expressed.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The World of Welles and Lippmann

U. S. WAR AIMS. By Walter Lippmann. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. $1.50.

THE TIME FOR DECISION. By Sumner Welles. Harper and Brothers. $3.

IN "Foreign Policy—Shield of the Republic," Mr. Lippmann hammered home a truth long accepted by students of international affairs, namely that any durable peace must depend on a nuclear alliance of the United States, Russia, and Britain. The hammering was so necessary and so effectively done that readers other than the professional historians were disposed to overlook some poetic license with the past. The difficult question as to how this tripartite responsibility and leadership were to be made acceptable to the world of lesser states was left dangling in an atmosphere of hope, and only the vaguest suggestion was vouchsafed us of that larger association in which the alliance was to be "nuclear."

"U. S. War Aims" has the same theme, some of the same virtues, and more of the same defects. The writing is columnistic, setting out many debatable propositions without supporting argument, and (notably on the subject of China and the whole Far East) ironing smoothly over the surface of profound uncertainties.

The nuclear alliance has congealed in this book into a perpetual harmony between a Russian orbit and an Atlantic community which includes at its eastern extremity Greece and at its western Australia and New Zealand. China figures as the great-power core of another community, and the future will probably see similar Moslem and Hindu associations. The author asserts that the most essential condition of peace between the Atlantic and Russian groupings is that neither should seek allies within the other's bailiwick or try to bring Germany or Japan into its own strategical system. He does not touch directly upon the disturbances which may grow out of conflicting commercial policies or out of rivalries between two regional communities for advantages in a third. Such risks may be present in his mind when he declares that "the wartime association . . . will break up into unfriendly blocks unless the regional groups cohere into a world order . . ."

The pages where we hoped to find this world order are given over to an attack on "Wilsonianism" of such virulence that it makes of the Fourteen Points a veritable devil's litany. The effect, though startling, is negative, and the general organization which emerges is so anaemic that one wonders how the author can expect it to perform any harmonizing function between regional blocs. He is right when he admits the danger that his great communities may degenerate into competing concentrations of power. But a world order capable of preventing this would have to be one exercising at least the authority to scrutinize all regional agreements to determine their conformity with general security. Mr. Lippmann's general organization, contrary to the Moscow Declaration, is to have nothing whatever to say on the whole subject of security. One result is that the lesser states are left with the sorry comfort of becoming clients of their great neighbors, their destinies dependent on unpredictable wills.

Doubtless the author's purpose was to bring out in strong relief the stubborn realities which make it folly to expect that, once this war is over, nations can be speedily fused into one democratically organized security system. Certainly the reader is left in no doubt about these realities. But even here Mr. Lippmann overshoots the mark when he presents the existing obstacles as eternal verities.

Some passages will stand to his lasting credit. He demonstrates, simply but unanswerably, the dependence of American security on the freedom of the opposite Atlantic and Pacific coasts from the grasp of conquering empires; he shows the vast disparity between the hopes that have been awakened by the promises of international organization and the actual trend of decisions; he is everywhere conscious of the dependence of political integration on devotion to common values; and he makes it clear how cooperation between the great powers will be conditioned by the recognition and enforcement of basic human liberties.

But, though I could hardly qualify as one of those Wilsonians against whom the author fulminates, his book as a whole leaves me rejecting its historical analysis, its moral premises, and its political conclusions.

Mr. Welles *is* a Wilsonian, and his thesis is diametrically opposed to that of Mr. Lippmann. In this instructive contrast, the long-experienced diplomat presents us with a plan which, by the journalist's standards of realism, is hopelessly utopian. Yet if Mr. Welles has gone far beyond any nearby prospect of world organization, Mr. Lippmann, it may be hoped, has fallen no less short of the actual purposes of our governments.

Carrying on a crusade which he launched in 1942, Mr. Welles urges the United Nations to create now organs which can design the permanent organization and at the same time act as interim world authority. Chief of these organs should be a Provisional Executive Council of eleven members—one each appointed by the four major powers; two elected by the group of European states; two by the group of American states; one by the Far Eastern states; one by the states of the Near and Middle East and Africa; and one by the British Dominions. Action would be taken by two-thirds majority including the affirmative vote of all four major powers.

Upon the world authority, whether in its interim or final form (and the process of transition from one to the other is by no means clear), Mr. Welles imposes exacting functions of immediate pacification and long-term administration. He divides Germany into three distinct nations, and these are to be occupied for an indefinite period under the "supreme authority of the future world organization" which here, as in Japan, is to enforce disarmament and control economic activity. But the author's devotion to self-determination will not permit him permanently to impose any regime on an unwilling people. So, if a new generation of Germans firmly establishes a democratic system, the world organization must allow them to decide their own political destiny.

For security, Mr. Welles relies heavily upon regional organization. But where this is inadequate, the world authority calls into action not an international police force, but contingents promised by the major powers. In these arrangements, the author treats tenderly the sovereignty of the Big Four. Each of these has a veto. Lesser states are not so favored, and their protests may well wreck this plan, which clearly disregards the basic principle of sovereign equality announced at Moscow. Outside the immediate domain of security, opposition may be expected from the colonial powers; for the author's vigorously enforced trusteeship gives far greater control over states administering dependent areas than anything contemplated in current British proposals.

If the nations want permanent peace, they will have to accept organization quite as powerful as that proposed in this book. But the great states also will have to be brought under the world authority, not set on top of it. There is little prospect that this can happen in the near future, or even that Mr. Welles's plan can soon be realized in anything like its entirety.

But—whatever happens in world organization—"The Time for Decision" has other claims to permanent value. Some of it is first-hand and first-rate diplomatic history. The high point is the narrative of the mission to Europe in 1940, a hopeless yet imperative enterprise carried through with courage and with dignity. Surprisingly enough, in view of the author's reputation for cold correctness, the book is rich in human sympathy. One defect is an excessive tendency to loyal tribute, which at some points unnecessarily expands the text and weakens the impression of impartial judgment.

P. E. CORBETT

Janeites Differ

SPEAKING OF JANE AUSTEN. By Sheila Kaye-Smith and G. B. Stern. Harper and Brothers. $2.75.

ALL true lovers of Jane Austen do more than read and re-read her; they would talk and write about her too; write essays and econiums and books; or, if worst comes to worst, write book reviews. Being a nearly perfect artist who kept to a very limited field, she offers her admirers few abstruse matters for speculation and no vast regions of inquiry; it may be that the harshest controversy she ever stirs up concerns the relative merits of her own six novels. But, for some, the temptation is also great to take up a kind of residence inside her world, to think of her as part of the family rather than part of literature, to be chatty and personal about her characters and scenes; in fine, to go on in a fashion at once too intense and too trivial to produce either a critical analysis of a writer or a psychological study of a woman. It was in this spirit that Sheila Kaye-Smith and G. B. Stern sat down and wrote, in alternating chapters, the present book; which, though it has its passages of criticism, has much more the solemn gaiety of initiates, the detailed gossip of lady authors and, in its worst moments, the gush of infatuated schoolgirls. I am not a true—or, at any rate, a typical—enough Janeite to be always easy in Miss Stern's and Miss Kaye-Smith's rapt company. Up to a point I can be interested in their treatment of the food and clothes in the novels, or of the characters who are mentioned but never appear; but when they take to such prose as "Dear Emma! dear snobbish, cocksure, deluded Emma!" I begin to think lovingly of the novels of Maria Edgeworth and Mrs. Humphrey Ward.

I think too—to dispose of my other complaints—that for a book about Jane Austen this one is somewhat deficient in verve; and that its authors' worries that some of their opinions may shock their fellow-Janeites possess a coyness ill-suited to a writer who was never coy. Finally, the one unforgivable sin in writing (for the *illuminati*) about Jane Austen is to dot her i's for her; as when, for example, Miss Stern ventures to explain what must be everybody's favorite line in the whole of "Mansfield Park." And there is the united judgment of the authors—to which I shall return later—that "Pride and Prejudice" is the poorest of the six novels. Otherwise, for any well-posted reader of Jane Austen, there is good matter here; there are many interesting small points and some useful bits of information; and the two authors are often enough at ladylike odds to keep their collaboration from being a mere duet.

They differ, for instance, over "Mansfield Park": Miss Kaye-Smith more or less accepting Fanny as a person, as well as Fanny's marriage to Edmund; Miss Stern being dissatisfied with Fanny and wishing she could have married Henry Crawford. Miss Stern, indeed, introduces a lively discussion of "the Mansfield Park quartette." Mr. Edmund Wilson, reviewing this book in the *New Yorker*, felt that Miss Stern's was a woman's attitude, women objecting to the prig and creep-mouse in Fanny because they tend to identify themselves with her, whereas men are willing to accept her for what she is. To wish that Fanny had married Henry is, I think, truly feminine; but with Fanny herself the nub of the matter may lie elsewhere—in Elizabeth Bowen's comment (to be sure, I am quoting another woman) that "Mansfield Park" is "the most nearly insincere novel that Jane Austen ever wrote." The real trouble is that Fanny is not seen clearly in the light of Jane Austen's own values; it is not what Fanny is that dissatisfies us, but Jane Austen's tone in delineating her. At Emma, Jane Austen is plainly always laughing a little; in Elizabeth Bennett she is living vicariously and plainly reveling; with Anne Elliot she is noticeably identifying herself. But Fanny she would seem to approve from too complaisant a regard for conventional worthiness; she seems, for once, not quite to have trusted her humor and taste. It would be different were Fanny a coldly objective study of a type; but Fanny is presented, in every approving way, as a heroine.

All this is regrettable, for in "Mansfield Park" the stage is really set for the finest comedy of contrasts in any of the novels—with the virtue in Fanny and Edmund marred by priggishness and conceit, and the vivacity in Mary and Henry marred by shallowness and indulgence. Here, if ever, Jane Austen herself should have served as a balance wheel; should have gone about her comedy of social and amatory cross-breeding with supreme detachment, and have emphasized the faults in both pairs by her own perfect discrimination. As it is, the scales seem weighted against the Crawfords, and the book gives off a faint odor of sanctimonious morality. There is superb finish to "Mansfield Park," but faulty equilibrium.

As for ranking the novels, both Miss Stern and Miss Kaye-Smith put "Emma" first, letting it just nose out "Persuasion"; a verdict with which I am slowly coming to agree. Discussing the relative unpopularity of "Emma," Edmund Wilson finds it the "Hamlet" of the novels, from its containing an unabsorbed, really an external, element which must yet be recognized; and he offers an interesting analysis of Emma herself as a woman more interested in managing other women than in fulfilling herself through men. This is probably true of Emma, considered realistically; but I wonder whether it isn't to obscure a more important point, which is that Emma is really handled satirically. Emma —endowed with all the assurance of youth, the complacence of a superior station, the arrogance of a spoiled darling—is a target for comedy; and in terms of her comic role, the point about her trying to manage young women is that she invariably mismanages them. At any rate, if "Emma" remains relatively unpopular, it is much less, I think, from an unabsorbed element than from its undeviating tone—a tone of comedy pure and unalloyed. Nothing farcical intrudes upon it, as in "Pride and Prejudice"; nothing romantic, as in several of the novels; nothing poetic, as in "Persuasion." And all these other elements are more readily apprehended and enjoyed; comedy so dry as "Emma's," a comic outlook so thorough-going, must always be caviare.

As for Miss Stern's and Miss Kaye-Smith's verdict on "Pride and Prejudice," it is the opinion of many official Janeites; perhaps one must hold that opinion to qualify as a Janeite at all; but it still seems to me dead wrong, and one of the dangers of over-cultivation. "Emma" and "Persuasion" may be caviare; but putting "Pride and Prejudice" at the very bottom of the list—after even "Northanger Abbey"—is of a piece with liking your wild duck very, very bloody and undercooked. As part of my homework, I have just re-read "Northanger Abbey," which I found extremely pleasant, but not in a class with "Pride and Prejudice." It hasn't a tenth of the virtues—of the freshness and high spirits, the bold scene-painting and brilliant character-drawing; and when it comes to the faults in which "Pride and Prejudice" abounds, "Northanger" has fault after fault to match them. If "Pride and Prejudice" has a storybook plot, so in a sense has "Northanger." If in "Pride and Prejudice" the comedy is spattered with farce, that in "Northanger" is splashed with burlesque. If Lady Catherine de Bourgh is wildly overdrawn (though, by the bye, Lord David Cecil, who should know as well as anybody nowadays can, says there were many aristocrats like her), what of General Tilney, whose behavior is as excessive without being a fraction as entertaining? And what goes for "Northanger" goes on different grounds for "Sense and Sensibility" also. Miss Stern and Miss Kaye-Smith are entitled, of course, to their preferences in the matter; but if they would pronounce a critical judgment as well, *we* are entitled to more formidable reasons.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

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Fascism—American Style

ARGENTINE DIARY. By Ray Josephs. Random House. $3.

NOT all the high-powered trivia and soiled confetti of Mr. Joseph's style could discourage me in the reading of this book. Its bright analine colorfulness, its excessively thyroidal vigor are not more than disfigurements of an unusually interesting book.

Perhaps one has no right to expect a contemporary foreign correspondent to write as well as Nevinson, Ransome, or even Richard Harding Davis. But when it comes to facts, to both their background past and their implication for the future, Mr. Josephs is first-rate. There is here no sense of deeply outraged morality, as there was in "Berlin Diary," and Mr. Josephs knows nothing of Mr. Shirer's economy of argument. Yet in its way this is another "Berlin Diary." "Argentine Diary" covers only a brief period of time, from January 1943 to January 1944, but it gives as reliable a picture of the establishment of the present pro-fascist or semi-fascist dictatorship in the Argentine as can anywhere be found.

Comparing charges made in this book with Mr. Hull's July 26 statement on Argentine policy, one sees that Mr. Josephs has provided a mass of evidence which is, point by point, confirmatory of Mr. Hull's case. Paragraph 2 of the State Department's paper declares that the present Farrell regime has given positive aid to the Axis. Not only the Farrell regime, says Mr. Josephs, but the preceding regimes of Castillo and Ramirez. That the dictators have not merely

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When YANKEE FROM OLYMPUS was published and selected by the Book-of-the-Month Club, the free American press greeted it as "a magnificent book . . . about inspiring men" (*Los Angeles Times*), that "ranks with the finest biographies of our time" (*Boston Herald*). The American public, by the democratic method of preference and choice, has made this distinguished biography of a distinguished American a national best selling non-fiction book. But an overzealous Congress, probably with entirely different objects in view, has passed a law which the Army has interpreted as forbidding the purchase of YANKEE FROM OLYMPUS and some other fine American books such as Charles Beard's *The Republic*. Officials of the War Department explain that it is not their place to criticize the law but to administer it. The framers of the Amendment contend it was designed to "prevent pernicious political activities." How, in the name of common sense, does YANKEE FROM OLYMPUS come into that category? Here is censorship in its most virulent form. Here is a frontal attack on Freedom of Speech and of the Press. We refuse to tolerate it in silence. We urge you to write your Senators and Congressman, demanding the repeal of that part of the Hatch Act which, in operation, makes all but inaccessible *to our men overseas* the free distribution of free ideas, one of the privileges for which they are fighting.

L B

LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY *and THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY PRESS*

BOSTON

tolerated trade with Axis countries but have flagrantly supported their propaganda machines in the Argentine is a point Mr. Josephs makes repeatedly. "Within the last two weeks," declares Mr. Hull, "newsprint imported under grant of allied navicerts has been supplied" to four fascist newspapers, Axis propaganda sheets.

Well-informed as he evidently has taken pains to be, Mr. Josephs is not strong as an analyst. That the Argentine militarists are steadily moving toward a more extreme dictatorship he sees, and he describes their technique with adequacy. He has no doubts that all their talk about neutrality is chiefly a cover for their interior politics. Confirming Mr. Hull, he notes that the Farrell regime and its predecessors have deliberately emptied their few anti-Axis measures of all significance while they have used constantly increasing severity in their suppression of Argentine liberties.

But so conscientious is the author as a reporter that he gives the reader of some political sophistication ample material for thought concerning the regime's success in resisting interior and exterior opposition. That the conventional left-wing explanations are bad, Mr. Josephs's intensely interesting page 91, dated July 19, makes clear. In this he gives a fascinating review of the ten reasons offered him by "best-informed observers" in answer to the question, why does Argentina cling "so stubbornly to her neutrality policy?" (Mr. Josephs's formulation.) Reason One expresses that fear of social revolution which was a considerable element in Chamberlain circles in Britain. Of the nine others, eight explicitly confess, or logically imply, sincere belief in neutrality, at one level of belief or another. Just as Mr. Chamberlain made use of the deep-rooted and quite honorable pacifism of the British people, the Argentine dictators, the author's report compels one to believe, are consciously utilizing a genuine sentiment in their own dishonest interests. In its exterior aspect Farrell's policy is not so very different from that of Irigoyen, whom Argentine and northern democrats admire, during the first world war.

Elsewhere, Mr. Josephs says that a very great part of Argentine public opinion, perhaps a majority opinion, desires a United Nations victory. There is no doubt about it. But an equally striking thing about this report is that there is nowhere in it any mention of popular resistance to Farrell or effective demand for a change in foreign policy. The Iriburu counter-revolution of 1930 and its consequences have, of course, made organizational resistance difficult. But while Mr. Josephs mentions student protests and cautious dissent upon the part of great newspapers, what resistance he describes comes chiefly from military and naval groups whose interests are apparently as personal as those of Farrell and his predecessors. In that he confirms the report of an Argentine Socialist deputy with whom the reviewer talked some six months ago.

Mr. Josephs would probably agree that it was the personalism of the Irigoyen democracy, or sham democracy, that brought it down. It has been so with Argentine democratic movements ever since. They have rarely sought vigorously to strike roots among the masses, or to organize in a solid fashion. The observation enables one to see the weakness of Mr. Hull's policy. There is, by the way, little sign that Mr. Josephs has any better understanding than the State Department. He has not, apparently, asked himself the necessary question, how could it profit the miserable day laborer of Mendoza to go to war against the Axis? Obviously it could only profit him if intervention brought with it the firm establishment of a creative democracy or if it produced conditions likely to lead to that. There is little in United States or British foreign policy to give the Mendoza laborers ground for believing that we care about such a thing. In Brazil there is a regime not greatly different from Farrell's; in Peru there is another such. Both, being on our side, are "good governments." The explanation is that we must not interfere in the internal affairs of other nations. Obviously the irreconcilable contradictions of our policy spring from distrust of the whole contemporary revolution. All of Mr. Hull's charges are true, and he is quite right to withhold recognition from Farrell. But there is no solution in the glacial formalism that so far has guided Washington. Mr. Josephs's comment gives little sign of revolutionary understanding, but "Argentine Diary" helps one to positive belief.

RALPH BATES

New Writing in Wartime

CROSS-SECTION. Edited by Edwin Seaver. L. B. Fischer. $3.50.

THE anthology of new writing has by now become as much an important part of the literary scene as the periodical. Hence it is natural to compare Mr. Seaver's collection to the volumes of The American Caravan, New Writing, and New Directions which have appeared for the past fifteen years. And such a comparison leads to the overwhelming impression that this is the weakest of the lot and that some extreme setback may have occurred in the quality of literary consciousness.

Mr. Seaver's collection contains a good deal of competent writing of a certain kind: it is not the absence of this competence, nor is it a naive expectation of masterpieces which gives one a sense of dismay. The depressing thing is the level at which the competence is active. The authors of fiction in this volume had available as models a whole generation—Silone, Malraux, Céline, Brecht, to name only the examples from Europe—to show how the experience of prolonged crisis, which is a leading theme here, can be dealt with without descending to flat naturalism or deceiving oneself with arbitrary experiment for its own sake. And, before Silone and Malraux, such authors as Mann, Gide, Proust, and Joyce were available as literary influences. Yet, apart from the brief representation of poetry, which presents some good poets but in weak examples of their work, there is very little to suggest that these new authors have begun to write in the same *literary* period as the models just cited. Perhaps this summary judgment ought to be qualified, since there is a play about the death of García Lorca. But the substance of the qualification can be judged by the line "Flowers of the world, unite!"

It is hardly just a question of sensitivity to literary influence. The best piece in the collection, "My Wife the Witch," by Ira Wolfert, is an extraordinary story in which Mr. Wolfert makes use of the powerful device of the apparition of the dead, and yet without any evidence that he has studied

Henry James's profound employment of the same thing. If one is as gifted at story-telling as this story and "Tucker's People" prove Wolfert to be, then one can get along very well without a knowledge of the method and style of the great authors of one's time, although it is hard to see how such knowledge would be harmful. But, as this collection shows, it is not likely that many story-tellers will have Wolfert's particular gift of being able to apprehend life with such directness that some of his pages have the genuineness and actuality of an overheard conversation. It is not desirable that all authors should have just that kind of gift. And if most authors are not moved by a sense of what has been done by the great authors of the period, what is likely is not directness, but the imitation of inferior literary models.

Here these are chiefly proletarianism, a term which now seems to belong to some other life, and the anecdotal idiom of the *New Yorker.* Proletarianism still functions in the old way by dictating the subject and emphasizing the topical as the important, so that Mr. Seaver includes a good many poor pieces about the oppression of the Negro; and again, as of old, this emphasis, fixed as it is upon abstractions, makes the story evolve and then resolve itself in terms of a cause worthy in itself, hence sanctified, hence triumphant in the end, like Cinderella, and like all melodrama. Richard Wright's ambitious story fails because of melodrama of several kinds, and because of the usual failing of allegory, the over-simplified correspondence between particular detail and theme.

The influence of the *New Yorker* shows itself here as in its native haunts mainly in the use of insignificant patter to provide movement and characterization; and it shows itself also in the quality of observation employed to get in the detail of the background. It is most often the kind of observation likely in professional women, who come home to make dinner, and are suburban liberals in every pore of their beings; which is all very well in a magazine where stories are surrounded by the distractions of cartoons and advertisements, but which is strange in a volume committed to serious new writing. And even the *New Yorker's* bogus sophistication seems desirable when, in a story about two old maid sisters, one arrives at this sentence: "Albert was a gynecologist, and maybe that was why he was more at home there, even on nights when two or three lady buyers were up."

Perhaps the fault is with criticism, or the critical views most of these new authors seem to assume in their writing. So much at least is suggested by the one critical essay in the book, an essay which concerns itself, in a way bordering on fantasy, with calculations as to the time, place, character, nationality, and authorship of the new "War and Peace." The blueprints are detailed enough to make the fortune of a publisher's scout, for we are told that the new masterpiece will be written in some ten years, the author will probably be Russian, he will certainly be a Marxist, and—breathtaking insight!—"certainly a genius!" "The leading contender" at present is Sholokhov, but the critic fears that he may have enough work on hand already. These computations go forward with a terrifying literalness; they come to sound like the ticking of a time-bomb; until, at the end, the critic annihilates his essay with the bland remark: "If this essay should lead to the production of a new 'War and Peace,' it would be a miracle to rank with any in Biblical history." The one consideration not taken into account is the possibility that this war, like many others, may not become the subject of a major piece of fiction which is a masterpiece.

The quest of the new "War and Peace" reminds one of the old search for The Great American Novel, and to complete the picture, there is a play which reads as if it had just been written by Eugene O'Neill for the Provincetown Playhouse. Its title is "The Man Who Had All the Luck," and it will soon be produced on Broadway. Perhaps we are returning to 1920. DELMORE SCHWARTZ

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BURLINGAME

Surrealist Painting

BY CLEMENT GREENBERG

I

SURREALISM is the only programmatic and more or less compact aesthetic movement aside from Pre-Raphaelitism to affect directly more than one of the arts. The number of parallels between the two movements—already glimpsed by Herbert Read and R. H. Wilenski—are surprising. Both are inspired by an ambition which looked first to change the décor and then the structure itself of industrial society. Dissatisfaction with the state of the arts grew into a more radical dissatisfaction with the very quality of life, which could vent itself only through politics.

Like the Pre-Raphaelites, the Surrealists have gone, although less consciously, in two different directions. Morris and Ruskin made their way to revivalist socialism, while the other Pre-Raphaelites, reconciling themselves to the status quo, became fashionable missionaries of aestheticism and religiosity. The orthodox Surrealists have stood firm on socialism, yet their stand has not kept Surrealism from becoming largely identified with the younger generation of smart international bohemia, to whom the movement has furnished a new principle of taste. The desire to change life on the spot, without waiting for the revolution, and to make art the affair of everybody is Surrealism's most laudable motive, yet it has led inevitably to a certain vulgarization of modern art. The attempt is made to depress it to a popular level instead of raising the level of popularity itself. The anti-institutional, anti-formal, anti-aesthetic nihilism of the Surrealists—inherited from Dada with all the artificial nonsense entailed—has in the end proved a blessing to the restless rich, the expatriates, and aesthete-flaneurs in general who were repelled by the asceticism of modern art. Surrealist subversiveness justifies their way of life, sanctioning the peace of conscience and the sense of chic with which they reject arduous disciplines. Not all the steadfastness of its leader in protesting against corruption wherever he could see it has prevented this ambivalence in the effects of Surrealism from eating back into and corrupting Surrealism itself.

The Pre-Raphaelites, for all Ruskin's insistence on going to nature "in all singleness of heart," looked mostly to the past for inspiration as to motifs, style, and décor. The Surrealists, promoting a newer renascence of the "Spirit of Wonder," have cast back to those periods after the Middle Ages which were fondest of the marvellous and which most exuberantly exercised the imagination: the Baroque, the late eighteenth century, and the Romantic and Victorian nineteenth century. Surrealism has revived all the Gothic revivals and acquires more and more of a period flavor, going in for Faustian lore, old-fashioned and flamboyant interiors, alchemistic mythology, and whatever else is held to be the excesses in taste of the past. Surrealism is "advanced," but its notion of the future is not too unlike the comic-strip fantasies about the twenty-first century.

The effects of Surrealism in art and literature have differed in much the same way as did those of Pre-Raphaelitism. In both cases literature has benefited more than painting—English poetry through the Rossettis and through Swinburne (who was at least influenced by Pre-Raphaelitism); French letters through Eluard, Aragon, Breton, and others. Both movements were essentially literary and placed all emphasis on the anecdotal, notwithstanding that the Pre-Raphaelite movement was made up largely of painters and that both Pre-Raphaelite and Surrealist poetry bears a strong pictorial impress. The pictures of the Pre-Raphaelites form a doubtful contribution, ratifying literary vices habitual to English art; while in the arts and crafts Morris and his followers practiced little more than antiquarianism. A good deal of Surrealist painting has similarly suffered from being literary and antiquarian.

II

Surrealist writing more or less fulfils the Surrealist theory of creation as an automatic procedure uncontrolled by reason or the deliberate consciousness. Inspiration is induced by surrender to immediate impulse and to accident; thus the writer—or painter—reveals his unconscious to himself and to his audience, whose own unconscious is stirred by echoes. But in the practice of painting it is much harder than in that of poetry—though equally difficult in theory—to tell where the unconscious stops and the reasoning will takes over. The poet, subjecting his invention to meter or rhyme or logic, knows that he thereby suspends the automatic process. But the Surrealist painter, beginning with the first thing that comes into his mind—with accidents met in the manipulation of his tools, or with hints from the seams and texture of Leonardo's old wall, finding in these ways suggested resemblances to actual objects, which he proceeds to improve upon—the painter is not so apt to realize that he interrupts the automatic procedure the moment he begins to enhance these resemblances by methods taught in art school. For the trained painter can exercise the consciously acquired habits of his craft while seeming to absent his mind's attention and rely solely on his hand and eye. This, however, is not the same as automatic creation. Rubens had Plutarch and Seneca read to him while he painted, but he did not withdraw his conscious attention from his work, he simply divided it, like any painter one knows who can carry on a conversation while working. There was indeed an element of automatism in Rubens's art, as there is in all successful art, but it was not the primary factor in the process by which it was created.

The difference between automatism as a primary and as a secondary factor is responsible for the two different directions in which Surrealist painting has moved. On the one side are Miró, Arp, Masson, Picasso, and Klee—the last two of whom are claimed by the Surrealists without their ever having formally attached themselves to the movement. On the other side are Ernst, Tanguy, Roy, Magritte, Oelze, Fini, and a myriad more, including Dali, who was several years ago excommunicated by the orthodoxy for political, not artistic, deviations. With the first group automatism may be relatively complete or incomplete, but in either case it is primary as a rule and intervenes decisively—even though it is impossible to determine with any satisfying exactness where in their painting the automatic stops and the conscious begins. The artist may doodle his picture from start to finish, or he may elaborate accidentally discovered representational elements, or he may begin with a definite eidetic image. But he will never use methods learned at art school, and the resemblances to actual phenomena will be schematic rather than realistic. A dog barking at the moon is indicated by certain unmistakable signs, but these are in the nature of provocations to the artist's "painterly" imagination, which seizes upon the signs as excuse for elaborating shapes and colors which do not image anything possible even as an idea off the flat picture surface. The dog and the moon become the springboard, not the subject of the work. Here the reliance upon the unconscious and the accidental serves to lift inhibitions which prevent the artist from surrendering, as he needs to, to his medium. In such surrender lies one of the particular advantages of modern art. Surrealism, under this aspect and only under this, culminates the process which has in the last seventy years restored painting to itself and enabled the modern artist to rival the achievements of the past.

The other direction of Surrealist painting can best be charted by fixing the almost invariable point at which the automatic procedure stops. Here too inspiration is sought by doodling, or in accidents of the medium, but it is found most often in images offering themselves spontaneously and irrationally to the artist's mind before he picks his brush up. Sometimes he claims to do nothing more than transcribe a dream. But even the doodling, the rubbing of pencil on paper over a rough surface, or the observation of Leonardo's old wall is a means primarily of anticipating or inducing images, not of creating the picture itself. Automatism is made a secondary factor; for this type of Surrealist painting wishes to preserve the identifiable image at all costs, and complete automatism goes too far in the direction of the abstract.

Having received his inspiration, the painter most consciously goes to work to clothe the given image in pictorial forms that will produce a strong illusion of its possible existence in the world of real appearances. The subject matter is different, but the result is the same that the nineteenth-century academic artist sought. It makes no difference that the creatures, anatomies, substances, landscapes, or juxtapositions limned by the Surrealist violate the laws of probability: they do not violate the modalities of three-dimensional vision —to which painting can now conform only by methods that have become academic. For all the problems involved in transferring faithfully the visual experience of three dimensions to a plane surface have been solved by this time, and where all the problems have been solved only academicism is possible. The Surrealist represents his more or less fantastic images in sharp and literal detail, as if they had been posed for him. Seldom does he violate any of the canons of academic technique, and he vies with and sometimes imitates color photography, even to the very quality of his paint. Dali's discontinuous planes and contradictory perspectives approximate photomontage. Ernst's volcanic landscapes look like exceptionally well manufactured scenic postal cards.

[*To be concluded*]

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DRAMA

Furtherest West

MAE WEST—at least so I am told—is described in a recent and very high-brow book on the movies as "an impersonator of female impersonators." Now there is a phrase the full significance of which I would not guarantee to expound without a considerable period of preparatory meditation, but one of its meanings is both simple and familiar. Miss West is not, to put it bluntly, the least bit sexy, and many have noted that upon the sophisticated spectator the final effect of her desperate seductiveness is the effect of satire. To see victims actually succumbing to a display of lubricity so patently phony is very much like watching the deluded male who makes love to Charlie's aunt when we know all the time that the latter's billowy bosom is stuffed with feathers.

For a long time the only question remaining in my mind has been concerned with—to stretch a couple of terms—the attitude of this artist toward her art. Is she, I have asked, deliberately making fun of female charm in much the same way that eunuchs and homosexuals like to make fun of it, or does she, by any chance, really suppose that a twitch of the shoulder and a verbal hint as subtle as a fire siren is all that it takes to make what used to be called "a dangerous woman"? "Catherine Was Great," written by Miss West and performed by her at the Shubert Theater, seems to answer that question once and for all. There is nothing else that I can think of to say in its favor, but it does seem to remove all further doubt as to the star's intentions. Its bawdiness is as deadly serious in intention as it is deadly dull in effect. Miss West hopes that we will giggle at her daring but she hopes also that we will continue to take sex seriously and we are obviously expected to go home to wicked dreams.

A few seasons back "DuBarry Was a Lady" demonstrated how one of the great female lovers of history could be burlesqued and so made to yield a reasonable amount of not very subtle amusement. But "Catherine Was Great" is not, so at least I gather, intended to be burlesque. It is true that Miss West's interpretation of the empress differs only in costuming from her interpretation of Diamond Lil but that appears to be the result of her histrionic limitations, plus, perhaps, a conviction that all the *grandes amoureuses* are fundamentally alike, and not at all the consequence of any intention to burlesque. The serious portions of the play—and believe it or not, there *are* serious portions with a great deal of pompous bowing-about by very fancily dressed courtiers who move through some of the gaudiest scenery seen here in recent years—involve Catherine's plans "for her people," and they are written in the general style of "The Young Visiters." When, for example, the empress interrupts a discussion of the Turkish situation to say meaningfully to Potemkin, "Now let's talk about *you,*" one is bound to conclude that such a historical drama as this has not been written since Beerbohm's "Savonarola."

As for the humor—there are, of course, supposed to be plenty of laughs—it is manufactured by the simple process of assuming that the audience may be trusted to find a double meaning in everything once it has been warned that a double meaning is intended. In the twenties, when we were easily amused, there used to be a very naughty parlor game which consisted in adding the phrase "in the middle of the bed" to the titles of books. Miss West has merely revived this game. If she tells a courtier that he has not filled her samovar this is supposed to be very dirty indeed. The game never was so very funny and it is not funny at all when solemnly played in the theater.

With a few very minor exceptions the large supporting cast is male and either very virile indeed, or quite nastily the contrary, so the star has nothing to match herself against. The best line of the evening will give some idea of what the others are like. Says Catherine when a rebel has escaped: "What do I have an army for? Don't answer that one."

I am very much afraid that we highbrows are going to have to give up the attempt to find something really significant in Mae. One of us—it may even have been I—once said that she was a vamp to end all vamps and that the evolution of Theda Bara into "Diamond Lil" showed how we were growing up. Miss West did not, I now fear, mean to end all vamps. She merely wanted to be a newer and more outspoken kind. But it is just possible that "Catherine Was Great" actually is "a Mae West Show to end all Mae West Shows" even though here again that was certainly not part of the author's intention.

Perhaps I should add that "Catherine Was Great" is not, as one would naturally assume, a musical show—except for one dirty song by the star. For once, the things too silly to be said on the stage are said anyway.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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Letters to the Editors

Will the World Wait?

(We print below a comment on Alvarez del Vayo's article, No Unity with Fascists, which appeared in The Nation *of June 3. Professor McMahon, well-known liberal educator, was dismissed from the staff of Notre Dame last year for refusing to allow his superiors to "edit" his speeches. He is now teaching at the University of Chicago.)*

Dear Sirs: Outside of a relatively few liberals in this country, I do not detect any burning zeal upon the part of the American people to support democratic movements in the rest of the world. I should be greatly astonished to learn that Elkhart, Ind., or Independence, Kan., is waxing indignant over the political situation in Italy.

This may be regrettable and exceedingly short-sighted, but it may likewise help explain the conservative flavor of Washington's foreign policy. The urge for peace and "order" seems pretty widespread, and we can expect an intensification of the spirit with the defeat of the Axis powers.

Popular indifference proceeds in part from overlooking the character of this war, which is as much an international civil war as it is a war between nations. We have trouble recognizing the enemy when he appears in civilian dress. Ill-prepared ideologically to fight the war, we are handicapped in even worse fashion for the winning of the peace. Education of course is the answer, but will the world wait?

FRANCIS E. MCMAHON

Chicago, July 25

Challenge

Dear Sirs: Are ten million Americans to be denied an intelligent approach to the coming election? Can a global victory and lasting peace be insured by placing American servicemen in the cultural void proposed under the recent interpretation of the Federal Voting Act, in suppressing our finest liberal magazines from Army camps?

How do you propose to meet this dangerous challenge to free thought? What can I do?

PRIVATE

Somewhere in Louisiana, July 24

Climax

Dear Sirs: Victor Wolfson's review of my book, "The Hollywood Hallucination," is rather transparently a silly slander. Even the more innocent among your readers should recognize the old-fashioned trick of "quoting at random," especially falsifying in my case since my style to a large extent depends on a double-perspective irony, the specific value of climax, and the important element of *context.*

As to this last, ignored so cavalierly by Mr. Wolfson, it contains those "extraordinary" arguments about the movies at which he hints but which he is at pains to omit. Though obviously somewhat hot under the collar, your reviewer has no excuse for his overcalculated frivolity but the intention of being impertinent.

PARKER TYLER

New York, July 11

Anti-Climax

Dear Sirs: Anyone who wishes to unravel Mr. Tyler's double-perspective irony style which also depends upon the specific value of climax, and the important element of *context,* is in for a jolly if somewhat strenuous time.

I can only caution them in Mr. Tyler's own words: ". . . the energy of man as an individual organism is limited; he must exile the light and return to the night from which he came in order to refuel the engine of his body and arise in the morning refreshed. (Context and double-perspective irony.) He *must* sleep." (Climax—and what a climax!)

VICTOR WOLFSON

New York, July 21

Froth on Mr. Wylie's Mouth

Dear Sirs: After reading Sex and the Censor in your issue of July 8, I went back over a few of Mr. Wylie's astounding sentences, *e.g.,* "Now there is no such thing as sex 'moral law' in any legal sense." "For the censoring of 'obscenity' is the work of the impure to whom all things are impure; illegal dirtiness cannot be detected save by a mind in which subjective dirtiness has already been installed . . ." Also took a second look at the penultimate paragraph which castigates Catholics for being "the most dogmatic group in these affairs" and ends with the prohibition amendment as an example of the resultant catastrophe. The well-known position of ninety per cent of the Catholic population on the latter issue didn't seem to Mr. Wylie worth mentioning.

If the article is to be taken for anything more than reckless fulmination it would seem to prove what I have long since suspected, namely: That the dogmatism and fanaticism of scientism make that of the older religions feeble and innocuous in comparison. The author should wipe the froth from his own mouth before ordering straight jackets for people caught going to church.

R. T. MALONE

Lincoln, Nebr., July 14

Music Critic 1944

Dear Sirs: I have been a reader of *The Nation* ever since I came to this country in 1939 and I am happy to say that in my opinion it is one of the best weeklies in the whole country. I therefore find it most regrettable that such a progressive and straightforward paper should have as its music editor a die-hard reactionary, such as Mr. Haggin has shown himself to be.

I read your music page with growing amazement and bewilderment. Is it true that today in 1944 there still is a music critic to whom the work of "Hindemith, Bartók, Berg, Schönberg, Stravinsky and the rest" is full of "aridities, uglinesses and horrors?"

As a member of the younger generation of pianists and one who proudly confesses to have boosted contemporary music on every possible and impossible occasion both in Europe and in this country, I simply cannot understand the attitude of Mr. Haggin about things modern and contemporary in music. He seems to be engaged in a one-man campaign against everything good written today in music. He goes even so far as to try to tell people that they should not believe their own ears and should not enjoy modern music even though they find it likeable and agreeable. A good music critic must first of all have two things: patience and understanding. Mr. Haggin has neither. I really begin to wonder sometimes: why does he write about music at all?

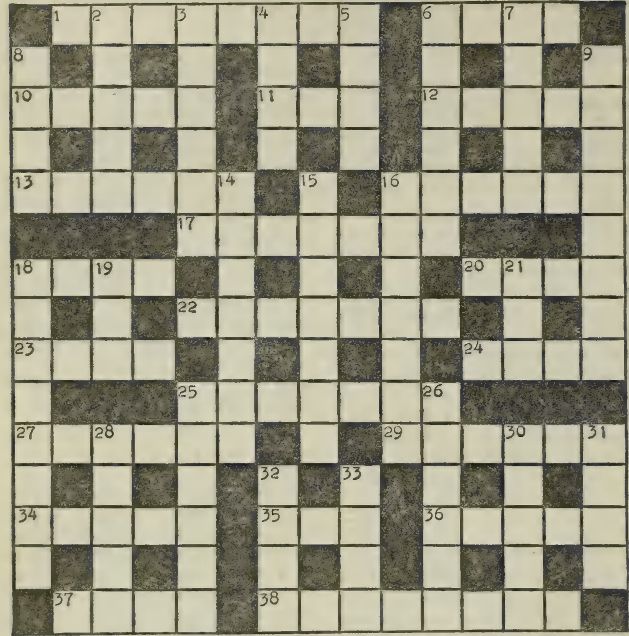
ANDOR FOLDES

New York, July 20

BURLINGAME

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 76

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 "In short, whoever you may be, To this conclusion you'll agree, When -------- is somebodee, Then no one's anybodee"
6 A tool, or a fool, may do this
10 She fell for Paris
11 Permissible perhaps, if white
12 Janus had two
13 Shot Pa? How affecting!
16 Is rare in a mountain range
17 A girl invited into the garden gets nothing in return for being sentimental
18 A pleasant-looking French Riviera resort
20 Its one object may be to give sauce
22 Hangs on to
23 Don't talk to a bad sailor about the pleasures of a sea cruise; he'll probably retort, "It's all ----!"
24 Rare product never found in the van
25 Larger edition of the weasel
27 Healing preparation for the lion after swallowing Holy Writ
29 May bring up oysters. Seems to make it a bit deeper, doesn't it?
34 An Oliver who asked for more
35 Out of shape
36 "Amens" might well come from this
37 A jar from Holland
38 Captain of the *Pinafore* who was never sick at sea. (Well, hardly ever)

DOWN

2 A man's man
3 When she read that a girl was being held for ------, Simple Susie wondered why ------ couldn't hold his own girl
4 They may be slow, but they have a reputation for wisdom
5 The fencing solver will guess it
6 Who'd ever want to go to Baffin Land? Well, *he* did
7 Horse with a heart like one
8 There's a report when it is cracked
9 Tam of a Burns' poem
14 Schoolmaster of fiction with strong biblical bias
15 Sticks to
16 Character in *Arabian Nights* who was in bad almost throughout
18 The only virtue, according to Juvenal
19 Study this word: it is a town in New Hampshire that has lost its way
21 Number of cartridges in a round
25 She presented herself at court
26 A part, or most, of Norway
28 This will test you
30 Ask a Scot what "I ----- ken" means, and the chances are he'll say, "I don't know"
31 What do you make a certain odd number if you behead it?
32 Portion of chicken, with dressing of course
33 Box

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 75

ACROSS:—1 CUSTER; 5 PLASMA; 9 TENABLE; 11 REMAND; 12 EASELS; 13 AHRIMAN; 14 OGLE; 17 IGOR; 19 SEEDINESS; 22 KNEAD; 23 DETER; 25 MOTHER; 26 VESTAL; 27 DIVES; 29 UNION; 31 EARTHLING; 34 NEON; 36 SAGE; 37 DOLEFUL; 39 APIARY; 40 LOUBET; 41 AERIALS; 42 RHEIMS; 43 YEASTY.

DOWN:—1 CURIOS; 2 SIMPLE; 3 ETNA; 4 REDHANDED; 5 PLEAD; 6 LEAN; 7 SLEDGE; 8 ABSURD; 10 AMIDST; 15 GERMANE; 16 EDITION; 17 INSTILS; 18 OAKLING; 20 EERIE; 21 SEVER; 24 RESTFULLY; 28 VARESI; 29 UNFAIR; 30 IODINE; 32 IAMBUS; 33 GENTRY; 35 NOYES; 37 DRAM; 38 LOSE.

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The Shape of Things

NOW THAT MR. BIDDLE HAS VERY PROPERLY rejected the ultimatum of Congressman Dies, it is up to the dying-duck Texan to make good his threat to start legislative action "to divorce the Government from the CIO." On the basis of records which his investigators secured with dubious authority from the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, Mr. Dies called on the Attorney General to determine whether government officials have violated the Hatch Act. According to his interpretation of this measure any government employee who speaks on the telephone to anyone connected with the CIO Political Action Committee engages *ipso facto* in unlawful political activity and should forfeit his job. If this interpretation were upheld it would, of course, be unsafe for any civil servant to answer a question put by any official of any political party or, indeed, by any ordinary citizen unless he inquired first whether his answer was to be used for political purposes. It is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. Biddle declined to undertake the task Mr. Dies assigned him. He has already had teams of FBI men studying the CIO-PAC records and has found no evidence that the group is engaging in illegal activities of any kind. Mr. Dies, curiously enough, has not yet sent his investigators on a similar errand and has not subpoenaed any of the CIO-PAC leaders to give evidence before his committee. Will he now do so or will he content himself with issuing publicity releases from Orange, Texas? Our own guess is that he will shrink from a contest of wits with Sidney Hillman. His farce has played its full five acts and even he must know that any epilogue would be an anti-climax.

*

DONALD NELSON IS DETERMINED THAT army stubbornness and the obstructionism of the big-business block in the WPB shall not jeopardize plans for reconversion. Mr. Nelson has pulled off the shelf a progress report of the WPB, prepared by statisticians V. L. Bassie and Irving Kaplan, which was suppressed on the order of their bureau chief, Stacey May. Mr. Nelson has refused the resignations of the statisticians and forwarded the report to the joint chiefs of staff. The report is said to show that there are vast stockpiles of war materials on hand, that there is no shortage of manpower except in a few specialized categories of workers, and that workers in curtailed fields of war production are being released at the rate of many thousands a month. Nelson has been insisting that, where possible, excess war plants should be turned back to civilian use with the express purpose of absorbing displaced workers into civilian occupations. He has met opposition from the army—particularly vocal through General Somervell and Assistant Secretary of War Patterson—from the War Manpower Commission, and, less openly but most effectively of all, from Charles E. Wilson, WPB executive vice-chairman, and the group of big-business vice-chairmen that surround him. Nelson's sole support on the Board has come from the two labor vice-chairmen, Joseph Keenan and Clinton Golden, and from Maury Maverick, chairman of the Smaller War Plants Corporation. The Wilson group's opposition is based on their determination to prevent small business getting in on the ground floor of reconversion, and to consolidate the over-all predominance of big business in the post-war period. Nelson clearly sees his major job as providing materials for the maximum prosecution of the war effort. But as that job is completed in various fields of ordnance supply, then he is clearly bound to get under way the program of cut-backs and reconversion no matter what the opposition. This is particularly true if the opposition comes from big-business government executives, who have a curiously predatory interpretation of the American way of life.

*

THE FAILURE OF THE MIKOLAJCZYK MISSION to Moscow may bring tragic consequences to the Polish people. If it were merely a matter of sloughing off a reactionary clique standing on questionable legitimist claims, the problem would be easy. We suspect, however, that the divisions go far down into the Polish population itself and that unless agreement can be reached between the liberal faction of the London government and the Polish Committee of National Liberation, Poland will be in for a prolonged period of civil strife. Elsewhere in this issue, Anna Louise Strong puts forward the Kremlin interpretation of the issue; it is interesting because we doubt if the Soviet point of view has ever before been stated so clearly. We must confess that we are not completely satisfied that it is the only valid point of view or that the choice is a clear-cut one between the Kremlin-backed National Committee and the Polish government-in-exile, standing on the reactionary 1935 constitution. The current shift in the London cabinet takes Sosnkowski out of the line of succession but leaves the conservatives largely in control. The immediate Polish settlement will undoubtedly rest with the Red Army, the Polish armies associated with it, and the Partisan groups that cooperate with them. They will constitute a steamroller to crush first the Nazi armies and then any internal dissent which may develop. Whether this combination is also capable of rebuilding Polish democracy remains to be seen. It appears to us that the building would have a stronger foundation if a compromise agreement, such as was reached in the case of Yugoslavia, could be arrived at between the liberal elements in London and the National Committee in Moscow.

*

IT IS REFRESHING TO READ THE OPEN AND informed criticism of the State Department that flows so freely these days from the able pen of Sumner Welles. To have a recent insider, now safely outside, analyze the policies of his erstwhile colleagues is a most salutary sort of public education. Whether one agrees with Mr. Welles or not, one reads his comments in order to find out what is going on as well as what he thinks about it. On the subject of American policy toward Argentina Mr. Welles is particularly sharp. He believes the State Department has exaggerated both the degree of Nazi penetration in that country and the amount of aid the Peron government has given Hitler in the war. He thinks that the Argentine dictatorship is in direct line of descent from the dictatorship of General Rosas a hundred years ago; in other words, that it is an old-fashioned nationalist-militarist affair with a few modern fascist trimmings. He insists that our break in relations will only intensify Argentina's nationalist emotions. And he does not believe the State Department has carried out the provisions in recent agreements for consultation with the other Latin-American countries. In fact, Mr. Welles suspects that we have "informed" those countries rather than consulted with them. And as a belated solution for what he considers a dangerous impasse, he proposes that a full meeting of the foreign ministers of the American republics, including Argentina, be held without delay to "consider the grave issues now raised and seek a satisfactory solution."

*

ALL THIS SOUNDS VERY CONVINCING. AND nothing could possibly sound more unconvincing than the reply of Mr. Welles's successor, Mr. Stettinius, that "we don't want fascism in this hemisphere." Nothing in our Latin-American policy suggests that we have any general objection to fascism. Like Churchill, we judge a fascist government by its acts and oppose it only if those acts directly aid the enemy. But if Mr. Stettinius's remarks sound a bit sententious and fishy, they at least represent an attitude we should adopt. Whereas the hands-off attitude of Mr. Welles is exactly what encouraged the development of fascism in many Latin-American countries. Indeed one might argue that the policy carried on under the aegis of Mr. Welles made inevitable the policy now being applied by Mr. Hull and Mr. Stettinius. It is quite possible that pressure belatedly applied will fail to cure the evil disease of Nazi-orientated dictatorship in Argentina. (We discount very heavily Mr. Welles's attempt to show that fascism is not an important factor in the Argentine setup.) But having refused to give any effective support to genuinely democratic elements in that country while they still had some opportunity to act, having rebuffed their emissaries and ignored their warnings, we may now be forced in defense of our security to take measures that will, as Mr. Welles fears, create in Latin America fear of a revival of "big-stick" diplomacy.

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CANADA IS IN FOR STORMY WEATHER, according to the political chart. Maurice Duplessis has just replaced Adelard Godbout as premier of Quebec, breaking the Liberal Party's hold on the French province. His victory lowers Prime Minister King's hopes in the coming federal election and raises once more to power a figure long regarded by Canadian progressives as the symbol of reaction. The results are to some extent an independent French protest against the war policy of the federal government—although the extreme anti-war Bloc Populaire showed surprising weakness. Duplessis's name is chiefly associated with the Padlock Act, passed during his 1936-1939 term of office, a repressive measure giving to the police extraordinary powers of search and seizure against anyone alleged to be in possession of "communistic" literature. The act has lain dormant during the more progressive Godbout regime; Duplessis now promises to dust it off and enforce it. Maurice Duplessis's Union Nationale represents a French-Canadian nationalism that sets itself over against the claims of the Dominion Parliament to have any say in the affairs of Quebec. His government, it is feared, may seek to block any measure aimed at national planning for post-war problems, whether introduced by the present federal government or by its successor.

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JUST NOW MR. KING'S FORTUNES APPEAR TO be at a low ebb. The loss of Quebec follows that of Ontario last year to the Progressive-Conservatives and Saskatchewan a month or two ago to the C. C. F. In Alberta, on the same day as the Quebec election, the Social Credit government regained power in a landslide victory. Apparently most of the "independent" vote—formerly Liberal and Conservative—went to Social Credit so as to block the C. C. F. In the fight the C. C. F. elected only two members but doubled its popular vote compared with last election; the independent vote was cut to one-third. Six or eight months may yet remain before the federal election is called, and the political situation is fluid. It is difficult to see where the Liberal Party can find the support necessary to return it to power; from this distance it looks as if the C. C. F. would muster the greatest strength of any Canadian party.

A Summer Task for Mr. Taft

SOMEWHERE along the line we have picked up the impression that a good many Republicans would like to dispense with the office of the Presidency from June to November of an election year. This year, *particularly.* Just look, they say, how the current President has carried the campaign to Pearl Harbor and Kiska, utilizing cruisers, destroyers, and a considerable number of auxiliary craft, conducting strategy conferences, visiting with troops, and inspecting bases—all mere window-dressing for partisan politics. One possible solution (Republican) to the dilemma created by a President (Democratic) who refuses to sit still and vegetate is to pass legislation similar to that designed for soldiers. No doubt Senator Taft, for one, could be persuaded to introduce a bill, henceforth to be known as the "No! No! Bill," forbidding the President substantial access to the outside world until after Election Day. An electric barbed-wire fence would be placed around the White House, telephones and radios would be removed from the mansion. Twice weekly, an impartial board consisting of Senator Taft would meet and select news items that might safely be sent along to the President. Naturally, any mention of politics, people, or things in general would be automatically excluded. Hints on (a) gardening and (b) summer recipes might occasionally get through, provided it had been conclusively demonstrated that they were not disguised to influence the President's thoughts about (a) reforestation and (b) the care and feeding of Europe. Once the items had been selected, they would be thoroughly pasteurized, homogenized, given the Shick test, wrapped in absorbent cotton, and dropped upon the White House roof.

In order to keep the President faintly amused until November, certain carefully screened phonograph records and films would be permitted entry. Among the former, Edwin Franko Goldman's *On the Mall,* and Frank Sinatra's rendition of *All Through the Night* might be considered eligible. Something like excerpts from *The Barber of Seville,* however, would be taboo, on the grounds that the record tended to arouse questions in the President's mind as to the future government of Italy. In the film line, it is safe to assume that some of the earlier works of Theda Bara would pass muster, but a newsreel shot of Dewey at Pawling, or, for that matter, at Manila, would be out.

At this point, we must not forget the influence of books upon mankind—man's craving for them and their possible evil effect upon his train of thought. It is a tribute to the liberality of the "No! No! Bill" that it permits the President to read any book published in America prior to the expulsion of Roger Williams from Rhode Island.

Having successfully insulated the President of the United States from the outside world, the bill provides furthermore—and this is perhaps the crux of the matter —for the insulation of the world from the President. The bill recognizes no distinction between the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, the President of the United States, and the Democratic candidate for President, and makes clear that any one of the above persons, or any combination of the three, shall be null and void until after election. Conferences with military advisers are to be permitted twice monthly, provided (a) that the situation clearly demands it, (b) that the Republican candidate for President is permitted a return match in the same arena and (c) that the conferences be broadcast overseas. Furthermore, digests of the conferences are to be dropped in pamphlet form to the troops of our enemies. In this way, the President, as Commander in Chief, will be prevented from slipping over a fast one on anybody, including his rival candidate, or even Hitler. Any profit our enemies might derive from a premature revelation of future military action would be more than offset by the spectacle—available to all the world—of witnessing democracy in action.

Timid Planners of the Brave New World

THE big problems of our day are being tackled by small men with ice picks. The Senate's passage of the George amendment to the Social Security Act in preference to the more liberal and realistic Kilgore-Murray bill is a case in point. It is unlikely that the House will show any more courageous imagination when it faces the same issue.

The debate on demobilization legislation is demonstrating as never before our need for new and better Congressmen. The most shocking feature has been the complete absence of discussion of the one concrete proposal for assuring full production in the post-war period—the plan offered by James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union.

Patton's plan, offered as debate opened in the Senate on reconversion legislation, was not a wild and undigested program. It was a well-studied proposal, in line with the thinking of such prominent economists as Dr. Alvin Hansen, of Harvard, and Robert Nathan, former head of the WPB Planning Board, to assure government action if private industry fails to provide jobs for all.

Under the Patton plan private industry could carry the load if it was able to do so. But if private industry failed, as many economists fear it will, government would step in to keep the economic machine moving and to prevent a nose-dive into depression.

The Patton plan is based upon the theory that capital investment of about $40,000,000,000 a year will be needed in the post-war period to keep everybody employed. Private industry would be encouraged to put up as much as it could. It would be helped by cheap credit from the RFC to carry the load. But the government would be authorized ahead of time to make up any gap between what private industry invested and the total needed to assure full production.

If Patton's proposal stirred the imagination of anyone in the Senate there was no sign of it. The Senate debate was on a far different level. The liberals were for the Kilgore-Murray bill, which proposed to set up machinery for the study of such plans as Patton's, but contained no assurance of the adoption of anything. The conservatives—the Republicans and the Southern Democrats—didn't even propose to study plans for full employment; they were ready to rely completely on private industry, and private industry alone, without guidance from the government.

The conservative coalition backed the George bill, drafted jointly by Senators Walter George (D-Ga) and Robert A. Taft (R-O). This bill sounded, on quick reading, much like the Kilgore-Murray measures. But it didn't provide the machinery for planning the demobilization or for programming full employment after the period of reconversion.

The philosophy of the George-Taft forces was disclosed by Senator Taft's admission that the best he expected in the post-war period was a national income of $120,000,000,000. This was a blunt rejection of the full employment goal. America is now producing better than $150,000,000,000, with 11,000,000 of its ablest men in the armed forces. A national income of $120,000,000,000 promises an economy of scarcity, with widespread unemployment and distress, rather than an economy of plenty with jobs and profits for all.

The same kind of timid, ignorant thinking, was even more obvious in the George-Taft proposals for unemployment compensation. Their bill was a states' rights bill, leaving the standards of unemployment compensation to the states. The states have established standards that are far from adequate. As Senator Robert Wagner (D-NY), one of the authors of the Social Security Act, pointed out, the most an unemployed worker can get in the majority of states is $15 or $16 a week, and this for 15 or 16 weeks at the most. Even with rapid reconversion to peace-time production, millions would exhaust their benefits before they could find new employment.

The Kilgore-Murray bill attempted to establish federal standards, not only for the protection of the workers, but for the protection of the national purchasing power. The conservatives opposed this as an invasion of states' rights, demonstrating how that bogey can be stretched to any limit to bar progress. The whole unemployment insurance system was established by the federal government, and is now supported by federal taxes. Yet Congressmen still argue that it would be a gross invasion of states' rights for the government to change the plan it established.

The Ambiguous Oil Agreement

EDITORIAL commentators on the newly signed Anglo-American oil agreement may prove, it seems to us, a little premature in their cheers. Admittedly, any step tending to allay antagonism between the United States and Britain is welcome. And the recognition of the interest of consumer countries does mark an advance on previous international commodity agreements, which unblushingly confined themselves to the protection of producer interests. But, we are bound to ask, can these protestations of non-discrimination, of equality of opportunity, and of fair prices for all be taken at face value?

The agreement, in very general terms, gives its blessing to a theory of free trade, but in the case of the international oil market we have to deal with a condition, not a theory—a condition of Anglo-American monopoly. (Dutch oil interests are so closely intermingled with British that they can be included under the same head.) British and American firms control four-fifths of the world's oil production and almost 100 per cent of the world export trade in petroleum products. And this situation is likely to continue for a long time, since Russia is certain to expand its consumption as fast as it can increase production and practically all the known potential fields elsewhere are under concession to the big American and British companies. The new agreement specifically declares that "the Governments of each country and the nationals thereof shall respect all valid concession contracts and lawfully acquired rights and shall make no effort unilaterally to interfere directly or indirectly with such contracts or rights." This underwriting of the status quo leaves "equality of opportunity" a rather shadowy right.

After the last war the British effort to secure a tight hold on Middle Eastern oil created a tense situation for a time. However, harmony was restored when the Standard Oil interests were cut in on the great Irak oilfields. Subsequently the companies participating in the Irak Petroleum Company signed the Red Line Agreement—a mutual undertaking not to acquire unilateral concessions in the Middle Eastern area. By the same instrument the Irak company agreed to limit its operations to this region. In addition an understanding appears to have been reached between the big British and American companies on the question of markets. At any rate they refrained from competing with each other on a price basis, with the result that the natives of Asia were forced to pay high prices for oil cheaply produced in their own territory.

The new oil agreement declares that "adequate supplies of petroleum shall be available in international trade to the nationals of all peaceable countries at fair prices and on a non-discriminatory basis." But who is to decide what quantity is "adequate" and what price "fair"? The practice of the Anglo-Iranian Company and its satellites, including Irak Petroleum, has been to restrict production to the amount it could sell at a price which gave it a very handsome margin of profit. The Standard Oil companies cooperating with it connived in and benefitted from this practice.

If the countries of the East are to develop industrially they must be provided with cheaper fuel and power, and the restrictive methods by which their natural resources have been exploited must be abandoned. The Anglo-American agreement may be interpreted as expressing an intention of pressing forward with a policy of expansion. But it can also be read as providing a governmental front for the Anglo-American cartel whose representatives took part in the discussion leading to its adoption. Certainly it contains no hint that the big oil producers will be compelled to give up their monopolistic practices. The International (properly Anglo-American) Petroleum Commission which is to be set up is not to be endowed with any powers which would enable it to force the opening of "reserved" fields or the reduction of profit margins. Its functions seem to be purely advisory.

We are told, however, that the agreement is preparatory to the summoning of a world petroleum conference. It is to be hoped that when this meeting takes place other countries, some of which are interested as the owners of oil resources under concession to Anglo-American companies and all of which are interested as consumers, will be allowed to make their views felt and not be asked merely to endorse this ambiguous agreement. It may be true that free competition in oil, if it were possible at this late date, would lead to the waste of a precious and limited natural resource. But if we must have monopoly in oil, then it should be subject to public international control and not left in the hands of private concerns whose primary objective is necessarily maximum profits.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

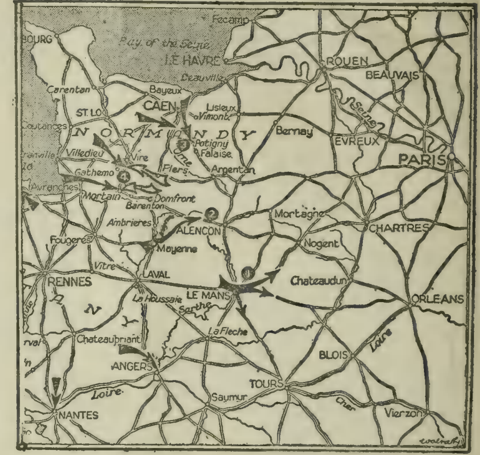
The Battle of France

WITH the brilliant sweep of the Allied right wing out of the Breton peninsula and the dogged advance of the left wing down the road from Caen, the Battle of France is on. The possibilities opened up by this successful beginning to the war of movement in Western Europe are great.

The advance of the right wing has been quite phenomenal, recalling the Red Army at its recent best, or the German Army at its past best. It took six days to go thirty-one miles from Périers to Avranches, along the narrow coastal strip of the Norman peninsula that was the choke-point of the western Normandy battle. Once through the choke-point, the right wing jumped to an average of thirty miles a day in the thrust to Brest, 150 miles away at the westernmost tip of France, and about fifteen miles a day in the advance south to the Loire, which cut off the Breton peninsula, sealed the fate of the U-boats, and established a firm flank to guard the most important thrust of all: east, towards Paris.

The Allied line-up in France in this phase of the campaign was strongly reminiscent of Sicily, where the British also held the toughest part of the front as a pivot of maneuver while the Americans under Patton wheeled swiftly around through the rest of the island, clearing out the enemy and scoring big territorial gains when the enemy's hard defenses had been broken. (Incidentally, the dash of the American advance in France suggests that the Germans were not dreaming when they reported that Patton was in command of the tank-army.) So far the most distinctive difference between the Sicilian and French situations is that in France the Germans had the strength and determination for a counter-attack.

The time and place of that particular counter-attack were obvious even from New York: against the side of the Avranches choke-point above referred to. That was the right wing's Achilles tendon: its sole supply line, running through a narrow coastal plain, with the enemy on the high ground east of Avranches. Early last week, the Allies were beginning to throw a pincers around this high ground, which spills over the boundaries of the Orne Department; the hinge of the pincers was the logical place for the Germans to strike. Unfortunately for the beauty of the plan, the Allied commander could also read the map; consequently we were strong on the ground and ready in the air. The Germans lost about 150 tanks in a single day—equivalent to nearly one and a half panzer divisions at present German strength.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LE HAVRE
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CAEN
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Coutances
NORMANDY
Bernay
EVREUX
Seine
Potigny
Falaise
Villedieu
Vire
Orne
Flers
Argentan
PARIS
Gathemo
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Mortain
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CHARTRES
Fougeres
Mayenne
Nogent
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LAVAL
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RENNES
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La Houssaie
LE MANS
Sarthe
ORLEANS
BRITTANY
La Fleche
Chateaubriant
BLOIS
Loire
ANGERS
TOURS
Loire
Saumur
Cher
Vierzon
NANTES

Courtesy the New York *Times*

Even after this defeat the Germans continued to attack, for the Avranches choke-point remained their most likely scene of success. Reinforcements were rushed up from southern France to strike a hammer-blow. But the British and Canadian attacks from Caen southwards and the sudden new spurt of the American mobile force to Le Mans and beyond made potential a closing of the pincers well behind the German thrust-point. The open flank of the American advance was being secured by the penetration to Nantes, Angers, and Orleans, along the Loire—the extremely rapid and daring leaps ahead to so many points suggesting again that this force is not just a tank corps but is in fact a new American army. If it were an army, Von Kluge would not care to bring his dwindling reserves inside its orbit; so perhaps the reinforcements from the south will be re-routed behind the Seine.

That was the situation as last week ended: the German line, once a great gate, was gone, with only the hinge—from the sea to Troarn—remaining; a counter-attacking enemy force between Vire and Mortain was threatened with encirclement; a highly mobile American force with a secure flank was racing towards Paris.

This means that if the strategic possibilities of this fluid situation are exploited we can take Central and Southern France in our own time, forcing a German withdrawal to the line of the Seine, from Le Havre through Paris southeast to Dijon and the Swiss border.

If our right wing is strong enough along the Loire to force the Germans from the south to move behind the Seine, the Biscay hinterland will be opened up, and the Mediterranaen coast made vulnerable to a landing, with its inviting prospects of a drive up the Rhone through Lyon to the left flank of the enemy's last-ditch defense line across the vital area of northeastern France.

This is the area he must hold, if he is to protect the very approaches to Germany; this, whatever the course of counter-attacks, routing of reinforcements, or landings, is where he is bound. A fighting retreat over a fairly short distance will take him there in the north, from Troarn to the mouth of the Seine. The potential encirclement around the high ground of the Orne Department should not be counted in advance; we have seen too many cases of his brilliant tactical improvisation in like times of distress. The wheeling movement of our right wing offers the greatest chance of strategic gain: a thrust to Paris or the Seine *southeast* of it, and a consequent disruption of the enemy forces below the Loire.

Much will then depend on the speed with which we get additional troops into action against the line behind which lie the buzz-bomb bases of the Pas de Calais. If the line is broken quickly, General Eisenhower's prediction of victory in 1944 will be fulfilled; if it is not, the enemy may be able to hold on through another winter.

Don't Call Us G. I. Joe

BY JEROME H. SPINGARN, LIEUT. (jg.) U. S. N.

THERE is nothing so shocking as the civilian's abysmal ignorance of the problem of army morale. He thinks of it in terms of shows, hostesses, free drinks, and recreation—in terms of a lot of guys named Joe or G. I. Joe (the latter being his idea of what soldiers call themselves in their own patois). He will do a great deal for these Joes—he will serve on all sorts of committees and canteens and will contribute to numerous organizations which concern themselves with soldier and sailor welfare. But he will forget all about his own friends who are now in uniform, about the men who are not Joe at all but Oscar or Irwin or even Horace.

At Christmas time, perhaps, he will send them a box of food, well mashed in transit, or a card that says "Merry Christmas to a Soldier Boy" or a form V-mail that opens with, "To the Members of the Lemonwater-Wells Family in Their Country's Service." Or he will write letters that contain such informative bits as "Of course you who are witnessing the Big Show aren't interested in such trivial things as the Broadway plays we've seen this season," or "You have doubtless heard of the three weddings among our friends this week, so I won't bore you with more about that."

It is unfortunate that this is so, because there is nothing a civilian can do for the service men he doesn't know that is half so effective as the things he can do for the ones he does know. Service men overseas are very lonesome people, not just a few of them but most of them, men who are healthy and normal in every respect. In a very real sense, all of them are still living in the States. The source of the strength that enables them to carry on is still in their home communities, in their private circles of friends. They appreciate, of course, the things that are done for them because of their uniform. But they appreciate even more the things they get because of what they are, things that carry some recognition of their own pre-war individualities.

This is particularly true of the man whose contact with the humanities went beyond comic books and the *Saturday Evening Post*. He has many interests that his fellow-soldiers do not share. He probably likes them a lot and gets on with them well, but they do not satisfy his thirst for intelligent conversation about books or music or art or public affairs or business. The army and the Red Cross do what they can to make life interesting for service men by providing various types of entertainment, dances, and socials. But there is little that these lowest-common-denominator activities can do for the fellow who doesn't get any deep satisfaction from prize fights or apple-ducking or whose marital fidelity inhibits his seeking chance alliances with women.

And, unfortunately, his friends, being sensitive and self-conscious intellectuals, are less likely to dash off frequent notes to him than are most other people. The taxi driver has no compunctions about using an odd moment to scribble a short, sentimental, and perhaps trite note to a pal overseas, and to pass it around the garage so that the other boys can add a few words of their own. But intellectuals are subject to strange restraints. A magazine editor I know, a highly literate gentleman, has several close friends at the front. He thinks about them a great deal, talks about them often, and bleeds himself white at the blood bank for their sake. But he hasn't written to them for months because he is shy about writing "until he really has something to say." He doesn't want to insult them with foolish chatter or waste their time with banalities. He just doesn't realize that they have endless hours on their hands with nothing to do, with no place even to sit but the ends of their cots, and that the high spot of their day consists of a walk to company headquarters to pick up their mail so that they can see who, if anybody, remembers that they are alive. If the editor realized that, he'd appreciate the fact that a short note saying, "Had lunch with Bob today and we spoke of you," or "I'm reading a wonderful new book that I know you'd like, and I'll send you my copy as soon as I finish it," could make the day for his friend in service.

There is a common misconception that a soldier or sailor is always busy. As a matter of fact, after the first hectic months of boot or basic training are completed, the service man is usually the least busy man in the world. He has more free time than he ever had in his life, and, in the Pacific area, has nothing to do but read two-month-old copies of the San Francisco *Examiner*.

The lack of current newspapers and magazines is felt keenly. Air-mail and V-mail letters reach overseas posts in about ten days, but newspapers and other second-class matter travel by ship, and are usually from one to two months old when they arrive. They come in batches of ten to twenty copies at a time, and since some ships are faster than others, they do not always arrive in consecutive order. Current news is supplied by short-wave broadcasts from the United States and by army newspapers. Both of these sources limit themselves to brief and sketchy news summaries, antiseptically prepared by the Army News Service, which tries harder to avoid controversy than to present news. When I read the story of the government's seizure of Montgomery Ward, a two-line account in a news bulletin mimeographed on a South Pacific island, the reason for the action was not indicated. For all I knew, Montgomery Ward might have been condemned by Chicago as a fire hazard.

The first full treatment of news reaches South Pacific islands in the thin-paper overseas editions of *Life*, *Time*, and *Newsweek* which are printed in Honolulu and Australia and delivered by air to army officials for free distribution to troops. They arrive far in advance of the magazines to which soldiers have individual subscriptions, and thus enjoy a virtual monopoly of news dissemination in the area. All three of these magazines, of course, exhibit a strong bias in favor of the Republican Party. In contracting for them, the army was probably influenced by the fact that they were the only magazines which published special light-weight editions. Recently the *New Yorker* has been added to the list.

Overseas Post Exchanges usually stock only the most popular magazines and comic books. Publications like *The Nation*, the *New Republic*, *Harper's*, and the *Atlantic*, to say nothing of specialized or professional journals, are never found in their stocks. It is to be hoped that ways can be found to make liberal magazines available for distribution to the armed forces in the near future; certainly an effort should be made to give service men, as part of the electorate, a well-rounded picture of the issues in the coming election.

The scarcity of news and literate reading matter is often disheartening to the soldier whose chief inspiration during this period of trial is the thought that he is fighting to make possible a progressive and democratic America in a progressive and democratic world. He is completely dependent upon his friends for magazines and newspapers which give more than a superficial account of the news of the day or which make some attempt at fairness in presenting the point of view of labor and of the Roosevelt Administraton. A subscription to a magazine or newspaper therefore makes a handsome gift. But most soldiers like even more to receive clippings of news stories and magazine articles inclosed in air-mail letters. These arrive in about a week, before the overseas editions of magazines, and about a month sooner than subscription copies arrive. An envelope full of clippings is usually appreciated as much as a letter, and it solves a perplexing problem for civilians who are anxious to write a letter but can't think of anything to say.

I realize that I shall never be able to convince people that a few inches of newsprint from yesterday's paper can be so precious a commodity to a soldier overseas. Last Christmas Joe Thompson, an army captain who manages one of the expeditionary radio stations, sent five hundred greeting cards to friends asking them to mail him clippings which might have interest for the soldiers who listen to the radio in his theater. Up to the time when I last saw him, about two months ago, only one person had taken his request seriously. It is similarly useless, I guess, to tell people that a clipping often means more than a whole newspaper because it carries with it a personal touch, an implication that "this is about something that you and I are both interested in"; or that every newspaper and every clipping sent to the forward areas is usually read by from twenty to forty people. And I suppose I would be set down as excessively sentimental if I said that magazines that had been read and left around the house for a few days, collecting assorted fruit and egg stains, would mean more to a lot of men overseas than brand-new copies mechanically wrapped and addressed at the press.

It is hard, too, for the average civilian to realize that his letters can mean so much to overseas service men he knows only casually. But if he will close his eyes for a few minutes and try to envision himself separated from his family, thrown in with a disparate group of men whom he gets along with but never really gets to know, living out of a foot locker or barracks bag, having no conversation for weeks on end save a few words concerning the immediate problems of military life or some good-natured but repetitious banter about the weather, the chow, or the general's new car, he will begin to realize how much it would mean to him to be reminded of a fuller and richer life. The mere mention of some half-forgotten name is enough to remind him of some half-forgotten facet of his own personality, and to lift him out of the bleakness of his present rut. Most men overseas like to write letters—it is one of the most popular ways of using spare time. But pride restrains them from writing to people who answer slowly or not at all. They don't want to force themselves on people like a disabled vet selling poppies on a street corner. They want to feel that they are as big a shot as they ever were, that people still seek them out, that you need them as much as they need you.

I remember seeing a yeoman sitting in front of the operations hut at a seaplane base reading a letter and glowing with a broad smile. "You seem very happy," I said. "Is that from your girl?"

"Oh, no," he answered, "this is from the lousiest little son-of-a-bitch I know. The sort of guy who is only nice to people who can do things for him. It makes me feel wonderful to get a letter from him. I guess I'm probably going to amount to something when this war is over after all."

Failure of a Mission

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Moscow, August 8

THE past week has recorded additional victories for the Soviet Union both in the military and in the economic field. A good harvest is being reaped from thirty million additional acres, twenty thousand miles of main line have been relaid to date by railway workers, there has been a 31 per cent increase in coal and a 34 per cent increase in pig iron in July 1944 over July 1943—these too are victories.

Meanwhile the Red Army advance through the Baltic states and Poland definitely cuts off the Baltic states from Prussia. Farther south the Red Army's close approach to Krakow recalls the strategy proposed by Voroshilov and rejected by the Polish government five years ago.

Nation readers recall the tense days of 1939, when the British and French military missions in Moscow discussed with the Soviets joint action against Hitler's threat to invade Poland. The Soviet Union offered to send two armies: one against East Prussia in the north, and one through Krakow against central Germany. The Polish government's refusal to accept this plan was the immediate cause of the breakdown of the Allied conference.

It is worth while to recall this, for today, when the Soviet Union is attacking East Prussia in the north and Central Germany through Krakow, the same Polish government's unresolved differences with Moscow are again the chief hindrance to Allied unity and therefore to the future stability of world peace.

The visit of the Mikolajczyk delegation to Moscow therefore gains importance beyond the actual strength of the Polish government-in-exile. They have been here over a week, dining with the British and American Ambassadors, conferring with Molotov and Stalin. They have met the Polish Committee of National Liberation.

The Poles from London are highly accessible to all American correspondents. I spent two hours with them yesterday, briefly with Mikolajczyk and exhaustively with the press representative, Karczewski, to whom Mikolajczyk referred me for a line on the position of the delegation. Hopes for mutual collaboration between the Poles and the Soviets ran high while we talked generalities but dwindled when we got down to details.

The Poles stated that the Polish government in London is not only the "legal" government but also is most widely representative of the chief political parties of Poland—Peasants, Socialists, Nationalists, and Labor. They insisted that all these four chief parties are against the 1935 constitution as "imposed by a regime of colonels who seized power," and that all these parties dislike General Sosnkowski, who is also the Soviet Union's *bête noire*. "He has no support in the Polish government. We'd all be glad if he would leave."

This seemed promising enough, except for mild wonder why the government waits so politely for Sosnkowski to leave instead of throwing him out. When I posed this seemingly minor technical problem, I learned that the "government" couldn't throw out Sosnkowski since the President is responsible to no one in making his appointments. The "government" is presumably a representative but actually a powerless committee.

The solution still seemed easy to one of my political inexperience. I asked whether the democratic representatives from the London "government" would be willing to desert Sosnkowski and combine with the Liberation Committee now organizing in Poland. If so, on what terms? They, however, objected equally to the leaders of the Liberation Committee as "expelled members" of the Peasant and Socialist parties. These expulsions apparently occurred in London since the outbreak of war.

Two other American correspondents who entered during the above discussion put the flat question: "Given a majority in the Liberation Committee and allowed to fix the eastern borders of Poland, would you agree to keep Sosnkowski and his clique out of Poland, where the Russians fear their influence creates fascism and enmity and civil war?" The Polish official representative sidestepped by stating that Sosnkowski is "politically unimportant since he is no longer the President's official successor but only the commander-in-chief of the army." It was plain that these "representatives of the four chief democratic parties" were unable or unwilling to drop Sosnkowski unless Stalin and the Red Army made them.

Unable to settle the question of personalities, we raised the question of Poland's eastern border. The Polish position was that friendship between Poland and Russia is very important—to this I nodded—but that the Polish people "couldn't feel friendship toward Russia if Russia took Vilna and Lvov, historic Polish cities."

Your correspondent was less impressed by the claim itself—which might be only bargaining—than by the persistent use of the term "Russia" as "taking," which completely ignores the local feeling of the inhabitants of those cities. The Moscow Press is just now reporting mass meetings in Lvov shouting "Hail the Soviet Ukraine" and passing resolutions that begin, "We, the citizens of this ancient Ukrainian city . . ." Even if the Poles consider the Lithuanian and Ukrainian Republics as Stalin's diplomatic fiction, they might wisely—under present circumstances—give lip service to Soviet terminology when asking Moscow's support.

Meanwhile the Red Army sweeps through Poland and items appear in the Moscow press about Polish girl students hanging garlands on Soviet tanks, Polish peasants bringing out bread and salt, Polish villagers lining the roads with offerings of flowers, apples, and cherries, and Polish townsfolk in mass meetings singing the Polish national anthem and cheering the Red Army.

One dramatic wire from Floront reports that a Polish girl ran across a wheatfield under German fire to warn the Red Army. She fell wounded, was picked up by Soviet surgeons, and delivered the message while being bandaged. Another describes a small-town recruiting station for the new Polish army flying two flags from the roof, "the red and white flag of Poland hidden for five years through God knows what peril and a Red flag made out of a tablecloth, to greet the liberators."

The Polish delegation from London is painfully anxious to climb on the Red Army bandwagon, which moves with the power and speed of the swiftest tank. All the Soviet leaders also want them to get on. Every Russian I have met strongly desires to combine "all democratic elements" of the Polish London government with the Liberation Committee in almost any proportion that will facilitate an immediate, harmonious, democratic civil administration in Poland. But will it succeed?

Soviet leaders feel that the situation is most important, not because the Polish government in London is important but because the slightest rift between the world democratic forces is for them today a tragic thing.

One Moscow editor expressed it to me in this way: "It is not enough to have a military victory. This is already secure. Everybody knows it, in Finland, in Hungary, in Turkey, even in Germany. Therefore the Hungarian government crisis, Finland's state emergency, Turkey's break with Hitler, and even in Germany an inner conflict. Everyone knows the Nazis are beaten.

"But in all these countries Nazi elements plan for survival and hidden rule. The world needs a long peace—the Soviet Union perhaps most of all. This can be made possible only by the political and moral smashing of fascism. This is happening now in Italy and in Yugoslavia, but in Poland the Sosnkowski faction threatens both democracy and peace."

I asked, "Would the Soviet Union and the Red Army support the extension of the American form of capitalist democracy in Europe for a long period?" He nodded. "If this is the form the people in Europe choose, then Europe would be better than before." Then he added: "Paradise is a large country. Not all of it is the same Paradise, but all of it is better than Hell."

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

SOME DAY, WE HOPE AND BELIEVE, the American people will find out what the League of Nations, as now planned, is really for. . . . Our view is, as we have repeatedly said, that the present League of Nations may become a device for enabling the economic exploitation of small and weak peoples without the risk and cost of war; . . . May the danger be guarded against soon!—*August 2, 1919.*

THE POWER AND SPLENDOR of Mr. Wilson's thought, the faith reposed in him by the plain people, the burning hopes and the new vision which he aroused deepen the tragedy. And the idealists throughout the world—who are indeed the plain people throughout the world, who lend a hand to an enemy in distress, and who would willingly beat their spears into pruning hooks—bewildered, defeated, betrayed, shoulder their burdens again. The braver even pluck up courage to seek anew the builder of more stately mansions. May their faith never fail!—A. A. BERLE, JR., *August 9, 1919.*

ALAS, POOR HUNGARY! The country seems destined to go from bad to worse: first, the administration of Karolyi, full of promise, and deliberately wrecked by the Allies; then Bela Kun and communism; and now a reaction to the monarchy under the dictatorship of Archduke Josef, with the Rumanians in control of Budapest, the whole complicated by a sudden outcropping of a most ominous anti-Jewish feeling. The challenge of this situation to the Peace Conference is most serious.—*August 16, 1919.*

The Supreme Court Today

BY WALTON HAMILTON

II. Nine Minds, One Law

THE Supreme Court is made up of nine diverse and independent minds. With such a personnel an old fiction has this term come into a new importance. The "opinion of the Court" is delivered by one of its members. He is a solo performer, yet he speaks with authority. In a sense the opinion is a personal statement; each of the nine exhibits his distinctive idiom of argument and of language. Yet the opinion is seldom the piece the spokesman, if left to himself, would write, for he must hold a majority or he cannot say the final word. In effect his opinion is what is in the mind of a single justice, compromised by what the brethren will let pass. The practice puts a premium upon literary expression. In a Court made up of able, informed, resourceful men, reaching for a pen becomes a general habit. And, when the urge is to address Posterity, every justice is likely to regard his own voice as that which will best carry across the decades. If the brothers are one bench, they are—and promise to remain—nine men.

In current utterance, therefore, the higher law lacks a dogmatic quality. If a step ahead is taken, a dissent at least cautions, "Watch your step." If all go along, a concurrence of opinions may display a variety of reasons or serve to hold the ruling flexible. In all the work it is direction, rather than a laying down of the law, which is uppermost. In the field of civil liberties, where in the last war it floundered badly, the Court has been rather surefooted this time. Its common sense told it that a confession of murder obtained after a police inquisition had run a thirty-six-hour course was not "voluntary." The dissent, engagingly enough, came from justices who cannot take the daily round of two two-hour sessions without signs of restlessness. In the one case in which a confession was allowed, it is impossible among diverse views to pick out the opinion of the Court. It was held, no brother to the contrary, that its official could not refuse to produce in court the records of his union—for the rule that a man cannot be compelled to testify against himself is purely "personal." The judgment is of the utmost importance, for it will apply to all executives in respect to their corporations. Its decision that the conscripted youth does not pass out of civil and under military law until he is actually inducted makes sense. A duet holding that martial law begins with the notice to report testifies to a will to dissent which cannot be quenched by a lack of reasons. On the last day of the term the sentences of two persons accused of sedition, fascist style, were reversed—one by an unanimous bench, the other by a vote of five to four. And in a case in which a lower court was reversed and spanked for taking away a man's political rights, Murphy sanely remarked that a naturalized citizen is "not required to imprison himself in an intellectual and spiritual straitjacket." The Court as a whole has been singularly immune to the war hysteria which paralyzes all civil rights.

A lack of unanimity on labor questions is alike chronic and deceptive. A vestige of the antique appears now and then. The federal employer's liability is still being interpreted as in the palmy days of due process, and the deceased—vicariously of course—must demonstrate his "master's" negligence. In a dissent, Black admits that judges are the better versed in formal logic and in legal principles, but wonders if engineers and brakemen do not have a little the edge in knowing how to operate a railroad. At least they can see the danger in leaving a broken rail opposite a derailer. The majority was clear that the miner's underground journey to and from work is a part of his employment for which he is entitled to pay. The minority forsook reality for the hypothetics of how to interpret a statute. When some years ago the Wagner Act was found constitutional, the judicial battle was shifted to an advanced front. The Court, in a shorthand summary of many cases, has just proclaimed that "the refusal of an employer to bargain collectively with the employees' chosen representatives disrupts the employees' morale, deters their organizational activities and discourages their membership in unions." And, in a case which catches up a long course of cultural change, the bench has declared null and void a series of written agreements between a corporation and its workers. "The practice and philosophy of collective bargaining," said the Court, "looks with suspicion on individual advantage"; to "reserve a field for the individual contract is contrary to the very purpose of the Wagner Act." The spokesman was Jackson; Roberts alone dissented; the age of liberty of contract is ended.

In the public control of business the law's progress has been attended by many a backward look. The Court has, so far as the cases would allow, plugged loopholes in the national tax system; in public utilities it emancipated itself from "the old hodge-podge of fair value"; indulged administrative agencies with a wide latitude of discretion. It has narrowed the patent privilege; asserted the dominance of the public interest in patent cases;

almost restored patent law to the advanced position from which it lapsed in the nineties. In the patent cases the clash between the levels on which the various members operate stand sharply out. In two cases a quadrumvirate of Douglas, Black, Murphy, and Rutledge, joined by Stone, refused firmly to throw the protection of a patent about an unpatented good. In a third case, the same group of four, this time joined by Jackson, found null and void a patent obtained by fraud, when some years ago the patent had been declared valid. The dissent did not question the rulings; instead it argued that, because the cases had been up before, they were not properly before the Court for decision. If one is to understand dissent it is necessary—as such instances show—to discover the question on which the brethren divide.

The great failure of the term has been in respect to regulation. After six months of sober deliberation, the Court allowed the great "glass container case" to go over. Its order indicates that it was persuaded that patents could not be used to create a private law for an industry; but the justices were unable, without further argument, to specify how a system of private industrial government was to be liquidated. Often the brethren fought the good old fight, for positions once sought by Brandeis, Stone, Cardozo in dissent—when the battle line had gone elsewhere. The "great liberals" sought to secure the independence of board, agency, and authority from judicial control in order that it might assert the public interest. But, if administrative oversight marks a revolution, commerce has staged its counter-revolution. It has converted controls which it must obey into sanctions which give immunity to its activities. The supremacy of the judiciary has in instance after instance been replaced by fealty to the honorable company. The majority, led by Frankfurter, is still decreeing an old freedom which masks a new dependence. The minority, with Douglas or Black as its voice, insists that judicial notice be taken of current reality. The clash appears in decisions which sustain the Interstate Commerce Commission as it guards the railroads against the competition of other forms of transport. It has been even more apparent in holdings affecting the Office of Price Administration. About the general powers of OPA, even its rather effective program of rent control, there is only a murmur of dissent. But legal illusion gets in devastating licks as the Court strikes down ceilings established by OPA and sustains rate schedules fixed by local authorities. As Douglas points out, so long as a state or a city can call anything it pleases a public utility, our fight against inflation is in serious jeopardy.

The dramatic story of the term cannot in its fulness be unfolded here. But a single case, decided at the next to last session, will serve to measure the health of the Court. An anti-trust action against a united front of fire insurance companies got hung up in a lower federal court in Georgia. The local judge could not see that the Sherman Act was aimed at insurance. The appeal, Roberts and Reed not sitting, had to be decided by a bench of seven. Black, joined by Douglas, Murphy, and Rutledge, found no legal obstacle in the way of the suit. In an opinion, in which the words are fitted to the very life of the thought, Black found that insurance is commerce; that the business is carried on "among the several states"; that Congress had set down no exception to its general command. In a common-sense way he disposed of "the precedent established three-quarters of a century ago" by pointing out that at that time the Court had refused to strike down state regulation in the name of a dormant power of Congress; and that the statement "insurance is not commerce" was at the most an unfortunate way of verbalizing a desired result. To a student of economics it is obvious that insurance is an aspect of the operation of the national economy; and only persons learned in the law could aspire to dissent. Yet three members of the Court proceeded to exhibit their skills in the sacred mystery. All of them—the newspapers did not catch it—admitted the power of Congress to regulate insurance; so on the Constitutional questions there was no division. But each had a decent reason for an unrealistic position. To Stone the judgment was revolutionary; insurance is now regulated by forty-eight separate states; this is no age in which to revise federal-state relationships. To Frankfurter the Congress which passed the Sherman Act knew that the Court had said "insurance is not commerce" and did not say to the contrary. For him evidence, which four of his brethren could not discover, is "overwhelming" that Congress intended to exempt insurance from anti-trust. His position is fortified by a rigmarole which he made up two years ago by which he can put labor, however local, under the Wagner Act yet exclude insurance from commerce. To Jackson, the most direct and least conceptual of the three, the Court had erred when it put insurance out of commerce. But upon that mistake an intricate system of control has been established and it is now too late to repent. In a word, error once vested must not be disturbed. To judges who shuddered at change—especially "at a time like this"—the higher legalism is a mighty arsenal.

And thus the Court ended a stormy and fruitful term, to meet again "at the time and place appointed by law." Its occasional displays of human behavior must not obscure a constructive performance; its newsy proneness to dissent must be set against the background of the more fundamental issues on which the brethren did not divide. If often its conduct has not been in accord with our angelic notions, the reason is that the public is let in on the performance. I wonder if any other agency of state—the Executive Office, the State Department, the High Military Command, the Maritime Commission, the

War Production Board—could under a like scrutiny exhibit either more brotherly restraint or a more conscientious regard for the general welfare. And in the midst of intolerance, the Court stands out as the great exponent of tolerance. The Chief Justice, by his own example as well as precept, has encouraged each of his colleagues to enrich and humanize the law that is to be by speaking his own mind. Neither the law nor the Court is to be regimented so long as Stone sits. In less than a decade the Court has been transformed. It has ceased to be a super-legislature; it stands today, more firmly than any other agency of State, in the great American tradition.

Polls, Propaganda, and Politics

Between the Elections

FOR four years and longer the decisions have been developing which will be expressed in votes next November. It is a mistake to think of political campaigns as guiding most voters' choices. Most of the choices are already made. Even among those who are not yet sure how they will vote many safe predictions can be made on the basis of occupation and other social indices. The campaign is more apt to activate latent choices than to teach people how to vote.

A study of the Presidential election in 1940 showed that about half of the change which took place between the 1936 election and that of 1940 had been completed by May of 1940. The trends established during the first three and a half years were reinforced rather than reversed by the campaign itself.

There is no proof that the same relationship will hold this year, but one clue to what will happen in November may be discovered in what has already happened during the third Roosevelt term. In grand totals here is the picture.

In 1936 Democrats received 63 per cent of the major party vote.

In 1940 Democrats received 55 per cent of the major party vote.

In 1942 Congressional elections Democrats received 49 per cent of the major party vote, which needs to be increased by about four points to allow for the difference between Democratic strength in off years and Democratic strength in Presidential elections, giving an estimated 53 per cent of the major party vote as of 1942.

Now what is the picture as of convention time in 1944?

That depends on the poll you choose. Gallup's "American Institute of Public Opinion" has found a steady decline in the proportion of Democratic voters—from 55 per cent of those with a definite choice for either Republicans or Democrats in August, 1943, to *only 51 per cent* of those with a definite choice *in February, April, and June of 1944.* (The 7 per cent of all voters polled who were not definitely Republican or Democratic are not included in these comparisons. The Republican strength was therefore 45 per cent in August, 1943, rising to 49 per cent in 1944.)

Elmo Roper's *Fortune* poll estimates the probable Democratic vote, as of *June, 1944,* at *56 per cent of the major party vote,* leaving 44 per cent for Republicans (again excluding the 21 per cent of persons polled but not yet decided).

Between these two estimates lies a difference great enough to mean victory or defeat, for, as was explained last week, the Democrats with so much more than a majority in the Solid South need about 52 per cent of the total national vote to carry enough states to win.

Evidence from other polls cannot be decisive because it is not nation-wide. Minnesota gave Roosevelt 52 per cent of the major party vote in 1940, and the poll conducted by the Minneapolis *Star-Journal and Tribune* indicates 47 per cent for the Democrats now (excluding 23 per cent undecided). Iowa also gave Roosevelt 52 per cent of the major party vote in 1940, but the recent poll conducted by the Des Moines *Sunday Register* showed only 42 per cent who now "want the Democrats to win this fall" (excluding 23 per cent undecided). Gallup's "trial heat" for that region (West Central) showed 49 per cent for the Democrats in 1940 and 44 per cent today—an estimate in general accord with the regional polls.

If Gallup should be right, if support for Roosevelt has declined from 55 per cent in 1940 to 53 per cent in 1942 and 51 per cent today, and if the campaign, as usual, continues and accentuates the trend already under way, then Democratic prospects are not bright. The Gallup results are puzzling, however, in at least one respect. For some mysterious reason only 7 per cent of his respondents answered that they had not yet decided, as against 21 per cent to 23 per cent in the other polls. The latter figures are more common at this stage of the campaign—Gallup himself reported 17 per cent undecided at convention time in 1940.

How will the "undecideds" go? Even at Gallup's low estimate there are enough to swing the election. A study during the 1940 campaign showed, however, that the people who made up their minds at a late date responded to the same trends which had earlier influenced more alert voters. For example, if a drift toward the Republicans was under way in a given community, it showed first among the voters who had quickly made up their minds, and later influenced in the same direction and in about the same proportion those less interested voters who remained for a long time undecided. There is little reason to expect undecided voters to reverse a trend already apparent among those who have made their choice. One reservation may be noted. Many of the "undecided" are women in low-income homes; a large proportion usually do not vote. If the PAC or some other group activates these people, who ordinarily are not much interested in politics, that might change the picture. A later article in this series will be devoted to the probable vote among women.

It will be interesting to see in further polls whether these differences between the Gallup and *Fortune* polls diminish, and if so, toward which position. In 1940 the Gallup national forecast erred by 3 per cent; *Fortune* by less than 1 per cent.

One curious fact about the changes since 1940 is that class differences may have grown a little less acute. Labor, which gave Roosevelt 66 per cent of its major party vote in 1940, is now reported (Gallup, June 4) to be giving only 59 per cent of its voting strength to the Democrats. At the other end of the class scale, business men, who were 34 per cent for Roosevelt in 1940, are reported as 37 per cent Democratic today, when asked to choose between Roosevelt and Dewey. The relatively greater concern for foreign affairs today has probably influenced business attitudes somewhat. It will be interesting to watch the figures of the first polls after the nominating conventions. The data just cited were obtained before Dewey had been nominated. Usually the fact of nomination and the attendant publicity bring increased support for the new contender. But there is room for doubt as to whether the nomination this year aroused enough enthusiasm to boost the percentage of Republican voters above the levels of early June.

The shift in public attention from domestic controversy to foreign affairs seems to be reflected also in the regional changes that have taken place since 1940. Roosevelt has most nearly held his own in New England, where Gallup reports 52 per cent of the major party vote today as compared with 54 per cent in 1940. That is a region where there is little isolationism. He has lost most heavily in the mountain states (a drop from 56 per cent to 46 percent) and among Mid-Western farmers (a drop from 45 per cent to 34 per cent), where isolationism has been especially pronounced. Confidence in Roosevelt versus Dewey to manage foreign policy may overshadow domestic disputes in 1944.

Of course, no poll can include the soldier vote. An estimate in the Public Opinion Quarterly (Summer, 1944, p. 172) is that if six million soldiers vote along with forty million civilians, the Democratic total will probably be raised by about 1½ per cent.

In the Wind

JACQUES BARTHAUT, news commentator on the Nazi-controlled Paris radio, in a recent broadcast had this to say about Spain: "The Jew Alvarez del Vayo is in Algiers assembling troops for resumption of the revolution in the Iberian peninsula. . . . Revolutionary preparations are being completed in territory controlled by the Anglo-Saxons with the consent of Washington and London. While in Madrid they reiterate assurances guaranteeing Spain against the return of armed Bolshevism, Roosevelt and Churchill assist the plots of Bogomolov and Del Vayo. It is now felt in Madrid that the only safeguard for Spain is the collapse of Bolshevism and the Allies. The Falangists are ready." [This all goes to show! The last we heard of *The Nation's* editor of Political War he was vacationing up the Hudson.]

WE LEARN that two large companies doing war work are encouraging their sales and promotion staffs, who have little to do these days, to engage in a "spontaneous" campaign, urging the more conservative employees to register and vote.

REGINALD E. GILLMOR, president of Sperry Gyroscope, reports that his company's experience with Negro workers in skilled jobs has been excellent. A considerable number of them are leaders. All of them get along well with white workers. And Negro workers in general, says Mr. Gillmor, "are neither so prone to absenteeism as other workers nor do they change or lose their jobs quite so frequently."

AN EIGHT-PAGE REPRINT from *Comic Cavalcade* is being distributed by the National Maritime Union, CIO. It is entitled "Heroes in Dungarees," and pictures the role of merchant seamen in delivering the goods to the fighting fronts. It presents arguments, on the comic-book level, in favor of unionism and against racial and religious discrimination.

WALTER F. CROWDER, chief of the distribution division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, writing in *Printers' Ink*, says distribution costs "should go even higher and thus broaden market facilities, which would mean more production and more jobs."

A RECENT "March of Time" film presented an unsubtle defense of Ireland's neutrality. We now have at hand some advance publicity for a forthcoming film by the same outfit, attacking the British Empire.

FESTUNG EUROPA: Mrs. Vidkun Quisling is in a hospital. Melancholia. Her doctor has a police escort.

[*The prize for the best item received in July goes to* Labor News, *Long Beach, California, for the story of the formation of a policemen's union, published July 29.*]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Friends, Romans, Monarchists!

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

ON THE evening of July 13, a banquet was tendered in Rome to General Clark, commander of the Fifth Army, and to General Hume, AMG military commander of the Rome area. "The banquet was attended by several ladies of the Roman aristocracy," *Progresso-Italo-Americano* reported. And in one of his reports from Rome, Alexander M. Uhl, *PM* correspondent, made the following comment:

> The Monarchy's staunchest supporters are the old Roman aristocrats whose chief job at the moment is the charming of all the high ranking British and American officers that come their way, particularly of the Allied Control Commission and the AMG. For the most part it isn't too difficult.
>
> They have lovely apartments or houses. They have servants, and good food from the black market. And for the most part they speak excellent English, always a tremendous advantage in dealing with men who don't know Italian. Right now the Roman season is on in full swing for these charming people.

Many Italian noblemen gilded their escutcheons by marrying wealthy American women. The Rome correspondent of the Associated Press mentioned just a few of these ladies in a report on June 17: Countess Roberti, whose father is Ogden H. Hammond of New York, a former Ambassador to Spain; Countess Casardi, the former Virginia Harris of Columbia, Missouri; the Duchess of Villarosa, a friend of Churchill and Bernard Baruch (her son by a former marriage, Robert Goelet, Jr., is a grand-nephew of the late Brigadier General Cornelius Vanderbilt). The list could be swelled by hundreds of names.

In Florence, the number of American-born or English-born, or at least English-speaking, gentlewomen and noblemen is no smaller than in Rome. Even before reaching the "City of Flowers," one of the AMG officers came across Marchesa Torrigiani, wife of the late Marchese Carlo Torrigiani, a gentleman-in-waiting of the Duchess of Aosta. The Marchesa was Lucy Davies of Worcester, Massachusetts, a relative of former Governor John Davies of Massachusetts and a descendant of James Russell Lowell. Marchesa Torrigiani's town house had been taken over by General Schelwitz, the German commandant of Florence, "an awfully nice man," who paid her a visit in the country and gave her an automobile permit. The Marchesa was very much upset by an unbelievable insult she had suffered. Her insensitive chauffeur had become "mysteriously indoctrinated with subversive democratic thought" to the point of joining up with the local Partisans. The AMG officer, apparently having nothing else to do, talked with the fellow and told him that certain things simply are not done. The chauffeur grew wise and "came around asking for his job." But the Marchesa had inherited the firmness of her great-grandfather, a Boston Howard. She told him that it was not going to be as easy as all that; she would let him work for another month and then decide what to do with him.

Besides members of the Anglo-Saxon-Italian nobility, the AMG officers are meeting representatives of American firms in Italy. On July 2, Major Paul D. Shrivet, Regional Property Control Officer for the Rome area, sent the good tidings to America that forty American concerns, representing investments in Rome of about $30,000,000, are enjoying enviable health:

> Firms now under protection of the control office include the American Express, Otis Elevator, International Business Machines, Eastman Kodak, General Electric, Western Electric, Barclay's Bank of London, the Italian-American Bank, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Paramount, Warner Brothers and other film exchanges, Singer Sewing Machine, and a dog track. . . . The dog track is owned jointly by American and British interests. . . . Arrangements are being made whereby the track proceeds will be devised among the American, British, and Italian Red Cross when the course reopens. (New York *Times,* July 3, 1944.)

Most of these gentlewomen, noblemen, and big-business men yesterday were loyal Fascists and Nazis, and today, consequently, are loyal Monarchists. As such, they are naturally much concerned with the communist menace. Unanimously, they see but one protection against such a menace: a prolonged occupation by the American and British armies. The Associated Press has imparted to us an inkling of their forebodings and desires:

> A large part of Italy's population, especially business men and others with property, are fearful of what may happen when the country is given back to the Italians. Some think Italy will go communist; some think there will be civil war; some think the people will flounder for lack of leadership. Some Italians are saying the present Bonomi government is a Kerensky government which will lead to communism. . . . One Rome business man said: "The Allies ought to stay here and govern the country for five years. How can a

> people with so little training in governing themselves take over the most difficult reconstruction job in history?" And then he said: "I'm afraid that as soon as the war is over America will go isolationist again, and the British will pull out, too. Then there's almost sure to be civil war and communism." (New York *Herald Tribune*, June 16.)

Other American and probably British correspondents told the same story. A journalist, essayist, and politician, once an intimate of Mussolini, who has given up his Fascist ways and, quite logically, is now a Monarchist, told Edd Johnson, correspondent of the Chicago *Sun*: "The United States must build up Italy as a bulwark against the Bolshevist menace. You can be sure of Italy only if you give us a strong government. It will not be necessary to do this openly. You can invest your capital in our industries and rebuild them, but you must leave a strong government to protect your interests. Through your capital you can continue to control the country and make sure that it does not fall into Bolshevism. . . . Your leaders were wise in favoring the monarchy. It will be the best thing for Italy if the monarchy continues."

Richard Morgan writes in the Chicago *Daily News*:

> A lot of people in Rome, from the highest authorities down, have been wondering how long the Allies will stay in Italy. "You must not leave too soon," one influential Italian said to an American official. "We need time to recover our senses. We could not stand serious internal strife after what we have been through." A Hungarian writer, who has been known in Rome intimately for eight years, gazed out of his apartment window and told me sadly: "The worst agony for Italy will be the day when the Allies depart and leave the Italians alone, all by themselves."

If that Hungarian writer was known in Rome for eight years, he went there in 1936 when the Rome-Berlin Axis was created, and if he has remained in Italy ever since, he must not have been too unfriendly to the Fascists and the Nazis. No wonder he thinks that Anglo-Saxon military occupation is indispensable.

It may not seem logical in Italy today to combine fear of Bolshevism with loyalty to the Monarchy. Was not the communist Trojan horse brought into the Italian government in April, 1944, precisely by a Prime Minister loyal to the King and to Marshal Badoglio? But probably Italian Monarchists expect the horse sooner or later to be demolished by the very men who brought it in. If American and British armies are at hand, obstacles will be easily overcome when the moment to strike arrives.

The business man who confided his fears to the correspondent of the Associated Press asked for five years of Anglo-Saxon protection. In the Vatican, longer-range views prevail. According to the New York *Times*, on May 11, 1944, a plan for the reconstruction of Italy was "elaborated in a special message from Pope Pius XII to Archbishop Spellman of New York." This scheme provides for "a ten-year plan of political metamorphosis. . . . During this period, civil administration would be handed back to the people at certain definite stages." By whom would it be handed back? Why, by the American and British military authorities, who keep law and order in the country. And who will be "the people"? Why, the people loyal to the House of Savoy and big business. That same General Hume, who was wined and dined by the ladies of the Roman aristocracy on the evening of July 13, told the Associated Press correspondent, on December 19, 1943, that "the AMG's task in Italy is *not* to squash Fascism." And this last June he said: "The problem of what to do with the Fascists, *against whom many people have believed this war was directed*, (italics mine), remains unresolved." (Chicago *Sun*, June 15, 1944.) The ladies of the Roman aristocracy need not worry. The problem seems to be in safe hands.

It is doubtful, however, whether the majority of the American and British people will agree to leave troops in Italy for five, let alone ten years after the war has come to an end, merely to please the nobility, big business, and the Vatican, especially if the threat of "Bolshevism" is used to keep them. Joseph Stalin has become our dearest friend. Will we have to break with him as soon as the war is over in order to still the fears of upper-class Italians and their American collaborators? Some more suitable argument will have to be devised to make a five- or ten-year occupation palatable.

The argument is at hand. The Italians need to be reeducated, educated to democracy. This job already is on its way. It will be interesting to see how it is carried out.

(This is the first of two articles by Dr. Salvemini. The second will deal with Allied plans for the education of the Italian people.)

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

HERE is a news story just four lines long, which might serve as prologue to a most interesting chapter in the future history of Germany. It is a dispatch from Berlin to the Stockholm *Aftontidningen* of July 29:

> Himmler has issued an order prohibiting the dyeing or altering of Party uniforms, and also prohibiting the changing of boots to make them look like shoes. Offenders are threatened with the death penalty.

So they are already starting that sort of thing, while Himmler is still there. When he disappears and the

Allies come, the rank and file of the Party, with dizzy speed and miraculous thoroughness, will have dyed, altered, and removed all signs of the past. The insinuation that anyone had ever had anything to do with boots or brown uniforms, either on his person or in his heart, will be an undemonstrable slander and a deeply wounding insult.

More details of the latest "total mobilization" are now at hand. Among the various new measures for conserving labor are several which can only be described as scandalous. Consider, for example, this order by the "Reichsführer of the Dentists," released to the press by the official news bureau on July 31:

> Only treatment vital to health may henceforth be given. Treatment which is just desirable is no longer permitted; for instance, no bridging of gaps between teeth by insertion of fixed substitutes known as bridges. Plates may be replaced only if front teeth or several molars are missing. Crowns are permissible only when the dentist considers such work to be indispensable for the conservation of indispensable teeth. Teeth with deep cavities or affected roots should be extracted in any case, since proper treatment would take too much time.

Other measures might have some point if they were really new, if they were being applied now for the first time; but the solemn prohibition of residential construction and street repairs "except in cases of the most urgent necessity" merely makes official a condition which has actually prevailed for a long time, and a sudden tightening of the screws at this late date can't possibly have much effect. The same can be said of the measures described by the Berlin correspondent of the Stockholm *Tidningen* on July 28:

> Even women over sixty-five are conscripted for work in stores and for light manufactures at home. Children under fifteen are given much more responsible jobs than hitherto. Again, thousands of stores will be closed and their staffs sent to the armed forces or the factories. From now on only one barber shop and one stationery store will be permitted in each district. Many movie theaters, legitimate theaters, and restaurants will be closed. The population is urged to eat in *Volksküchen* (community kitchens where people bring their own food). Maid service will be permitted only in the most urgent cases.

The same paper reveals another device for increasing the output of labor:

> In factories, a food distribution system is now being introduced, scaling food allotments in accordance with piece-rate production. Those who produce more get more or better food.

The old "combing-out" procedure has been revived, once again, to catch up with "shirkers"—both real and imaginary—and to eliminate "superfluous" occupations. A dispatch to the Stockholm *Tidningen* reports:

> Himmler and Bormann have examined the entire Nazi organization and are sending tens of thousands of officials to the front and into factories. This is largely done to pacify the army, which for some time has maintained that many Nazi officials were simply shirkers.

And *Aftontidningen* of July 29 says:

> Ninety thousand post office workers have been conscripted. Even the military mail service has been reduced by half, and the soldiers will get letters only once a week.

All these things may make available a certain number of new recruits (of doubtful quality) for the army and the war industries. But such measures as the one reducing military mail service can only worsen conditions that are already critical. Measures that hit the soldiers at the front, increasing their irritation and war-weariness, are extremely dangerous. Considering how much the fighting spirit of the troops has already deteriorated, one would think the Nazis would avoid such steps. But they have already taken one more dangerous than any of these, merely because it promises the greatest numerical results: they are trying to use soldiers as workers.

Hitherto, the personnel of the army has not been employed in building fortifications, military roads, etc. Such work has been done by the "Todt Organization," the "Speer Organization," and similar outfits. Now, however, the hundreds of thousands of men in these organizations are to be released for armed service or work in the war industries, and henceforth their work is to be done by regiments of soldiers stationed on quiet fronts and inside Germany. The work is in addition to their military duties. *Das Reich,* Goebbels's personal organ, announced the new system on July 27:

> German soldiers, with the exception of the sappers, seem to think that they need not work physically while in uniform. These days no branch of the armed forces can merely let others serve them. The entire Wehrmacht must become an untiring work camp, where perhaps less singing will be heard but more hard work will be done.

Consider: a regiment, decimated in weeks of heavy fighting, is transferred to an inactive sector; there, against all traditions, it must work eight to ten hours a day, digging, mixing concrete, and laying track. The feelings of such a regiment are best left undescribed. The Nazis' chances will not be improved if, in the midst of obvious military disintegration, they double the soldiers' burdens.

Approaching Ur

A SKELETON KEY TO FINNEGANS WAKE. By Joseph Campbell and Henry Morton Robinson. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

THIS volume is the first full and painstaking attempt to translate, page by page, the dream-language of Joyce's last work into English. The authors have attempted to trace, furthermore, "in thin lines" the skeletal structure of the enormous and baffling book. They have provided a synopsis of the whole, given indicative names to the four large sections and to the chapters. They have identified and translated many of Joyce's quotations—those in identifiable human tongues. They have tried to keep his alternately looming and dissolving characters straight; listed references and cross-references in footnotes; have labored, that is, to give the reader some intelligible ground to stand on and some recognizable space to move around in. Like archaeologists, whose tasks theirs of necessity so much resemble, they have uncovered one more layer of Joyce's extraordinary verbal buried city. They also supply, in an introduction and conclusion, another fairly impassioned defense of the book as a work of art, and of Joyce as a great conscious artist.

The quality of being *closed* becomes more and more evident as expert attention is directed toward "Finnegans Wake." The book does not seem, like certain structures of great literature, to be a tower or high place, built on earth and open at the top and on all sides to the Nature about it. Into a limited locale (at its largest, Dublin, on the island of Ireland) are brought all ages of man and some of nature. In one narrow room and one sleeping mind, the developing human faculties, from the brute upward, grow and dissolve and re-form. The circle of Vico's history is superimposed upon the circle of Dublin. Macrocosm and microcosm, symbol and reality, inextricably mix.

The present "translation" proceeds page by page; but the translators have of necessity chosen certain passages, and what has seemed to them the core of these passages, for detailed comment. It is interesting to notice what portions of a knotty (or merely repetitive) passage the elucidators have separated out; and what portions—sometimes containing matter which another observer might consider interesting or crucial—they omit. The footnotes, too, while generally filled with the most helpful kind of information, have moments of complete blankness as to what the text seems to present in the most forcible way. The use of this "key" is therefore stimulating to the thoughtful student in more ways than one. It brings up new problems with every step of ground it clears.

Time must pass, and thorough research be made, before certain fundamental questions concerning "Finnegans Wake" can be answered. One question that comes to mind is: are we dealing with a work (always granting that it is work of incontestable genius) essentially small in inner meaning and even in essential design, a work that has nevertheless exfoliated into a *semblance* of growth and complexity? Are we dealing, that is, with a work, the product of a man and artist who has never come into maturity? Or are we dealing with an essentially great work, the product of a man and artist who has suffered life and transcended his suffering; who is no longer the victim of his talent, his circumstances, or the tensions within his own character, but has become master of them all? Are we getting from this fantastically distorted and interwoven speech, these amazingly contrapuntalized themes, illumination and truth; or are we being led into the mystery of a childish individual's dreaming game, with the rigmaroles and jokes and tricks of the child (or immature man) presented to us neat?

Joyce's lyric gifts, his full equipment as a trained realist, his ingenuity as a fabulist, his skill as a parodist, his sharp wit and Jesuit-trained learning, his innate musician's ear—these attributes are as clearly evident in "Finnegans Wake" as they are in any piece of writing he ever produced. What difference does it make if we are listening to the operations of neurosis, more than to the supposed operations of sleep; we have heard such operations in great pieces of literature before this. Even if Joyce was a sick man, we are listening to a writer who was in many ways a martyr to his genius and to his age. But we want to penetrate the disguises he has had to throw about himself; or the symptoms he has been forced to assume. We have this desire not out of niggling curiosity, but out of real interest: that we may receive the help and refreshment that any true artist's struggle with his material gives us, particularly when we are caught with him into the same deforming time.

The poet and the "comic fabulist" are equipped with uncommon gifts, by which they are able to get around interior "censorship." They have tricks, as it were, to get the information through. They transpose the dangerous and (actually) untellable truths of the subconscious into imaginative terms, not easy to bring, otherwise, into the light of day. What strikes the more detached observer when faced with the extreme opacities of certain portions of "Finnegans Wake" is the certainty that concealed beneath his very eyes is a *submerged* fable having to do *directly* with Joyce, with Joyce's relations to the world, with Joyce's attitude to his time. Is not the whole book a masked attempt at the fullest *apologia pro vita sua* that Joyce has yet given us? And this last "confession" and apology certainly must be more revealing (consciously or unconsciously) than anything written in his earlier career. Under the ostensible action, under H. C. Earwicker and Anna Livia Plurabelle, and Shem and Shaun, and the multitude of other clear or ambiguous figures, from time to time another drama shows: the drama of Joyce's own life, up to the writing of the book, and *during* the writing of the book. It is a drama terrifically malicious in expression; it flays one contemporary after another; it brings down all façades of learning and worship in one mass of mocked-at débris. Joyce is doing more than returning compulsively to the Dublin from which he is an exile. He is razing more than Dublin structures with the fires of his love and hatred.

What exterior situation, then, brought Joyce to the pass where, to get his secret across, he had to resort to a kind of desperate cunning? To resort, as well, to the often monotonous, often trivial, often brutal, ruses of the accomplished *farceur?* Or to the insistent sobbing minor lyric passage? (It seems at times that these two "tones" are the only ones in the book.) Does this work stand like a terrible half-buried monument, both to the recent past and the near future: outlining a deforming epoch when art must become oblique expression—a joking show, a wry song, a cock-eyed cinema-mythology—in order to exist at all?

"The price of virtuosity is abject slavery to a complaisant tool; that of creative artistry is wilful dominance over a recalcitrant tool." What do we finally see in Joyce: virtuoso or artist; compulsive neurotic or a writer with himself entirely in hand? This question requires a deeper analysis than has yet been dared by Joyce students and disciples. It is not a skeleton key we need, so much as eyes to see in spiritual (was it?) darkness; and ears with which to separate cunning (are they?) confusions. LOUISE BOGAN

The Gentle Anti-Fascist

GERMANY AND EUROPE: A SPIRITUAL DISSENSION. By Benedetto Croce. Translated and with an Introduction by Vincent Sheean. Random House. $1.50.

THIS small volume of 83 pages (of which 24 are taken up by an irrelevant introduction by the translator) contains four brief essays on Germany by the Italian historian and philosopher. Three of them, "The Germany We Love," "War as Ideal," and "Duties and Duty," are minor expositions of the well-meaning liberal attitude that is incapable of effective action when confronted by anti-liberal forces which challenge and mutilate the liberal spirit but promise at least, as have Nazism and Fascism, not to destroy its economic basis. In this unpleasant situation the liberal tends to stall and to compromise in the sphere of political reality while maintaining his good conscience by means of humane and courageous private conduct. This book is a distinguished expression of the liberal state of mind. This is said without malice. But respect for Croce's literary achievements and his personality must not make us overlook his political position as a "disciplined citizen." So he calls himself.

In the main essay, "Confessions of an Italian 'Germanophile,' who cannot discover within himself in this respect anything for which he should repent," Croce dissociates himself from those crude and doubtful anti-Nazis who are anti-German almost to the same degree that Hitler is anti-Semitic. But he completely accepts the thesis that a fundamental dissension exists between Germany and Europe. According to this thesis, as put forward by a "learned German," Nazism is—in Croce's formulation—"a terrible crisis which has been brooding in the history of Germany through centuries." The "learned German" fixes precisely the birth-date of this unfortunate development—in 9 B.C., on the day when Varus was defeated by Arminius. That battle "decided the Romans to renounce forever the Romanization of Germany, abandoning that country to itself." Today, almost two thousand years later, we are supposed to experience the consequences: Naz-

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ALFRED · A · KNOPF

ism, led by a son of Austria, surely one of the "other European regions" where an affinity exists that "emanates from the inexhaustible vitality of Latin culture." Croce does not seriously probe the perplexing fact that this vital Latin culture has been unable to protect Italy from Mussolini and Fascism, or Spain from Franco, or Austria from Dollfuss (Mussolini's friend and pupil), or France from collaborationists. He also ignores completely the fact that the lack of Roman culture in Scandinavia, England, and America produced in these countries neither Fascism nor Nazism on a grand scale, and that there conceptions of political freedom are cherished which have become, to some extent at least, realities.

To his satisfaction, it seems, Croce has solved these contradictions for Italy, by calling Fascism "a superfetation foreign to the history of Italy" and by illustrating this with a little dialogue that once took place between him and a "Nazi Greek scholar":

> Croce: All things considered, we Italians are greatly superior to the Germans.
>
> The Nazi: Superior, why?
>
> Croce: Because our Italians, which is to say those of us who play the Fascists, know that they are acting in complete bad faith, but Germans believe in it for true.
>
> The Nazi: And what is the superiority in that?
>
> Croce: This: that we, with our bad faith, at least keep the intellect lucid, and we remain bad men, but men, whereas you lose it altogether and become beasts.

This seems to me not much more than an indulgence in cynicism, which the Italian, Austrian, Ethiopian, Spanish, Greek, and Yugoslav victims of the Blackshirts will hardly be able to appreciate.

Croce's outlook on the future is, of course, brightened by humane intentions. But he answers merely the democratic victims of Hitler's propaganda when he says:

> What a misfortune it would be if race were that which the Nazis and the philosophers of Nazism believe! The Germans in that case would be outside of history and humanity, irreducible to the former and unredeemable for the latter. But this concept is a phantasm of disordered and incoherent imaginations—as are, by reaction, the excogitations which nowadays are springing up in order to diminish the number of Germans, of sterilizations on the example given by the Germans themselves, or of chopping up Germany into little states to which all union or federation would be forbidden, supposing them for this reason easier to watch over. Multiple foolishness thus replies to folly, thinking so to defeat it. But foolishness can be dissolved only by reasonableness, which alone is capable likewise of resisting the blind impulses of passion, even when those were originally set in motion by moral indignation.

Croce expects much from "the shame which it [Germany] cannot help but feel over the evil for which it has made itself the instrument." This shame "will be converted into a force of good—as with those great saints who were once great sinners." But how long will it take the Germans to get rid of an alleged character which has been formed during two thousand years? Will it be a conversion overnight, or a long historical process as Croce seems to indicate by saying: . . . "The evil to be cured has an historical nature, was historically born and will historically die." True, but the problem is what to do tomorrow.

"Germany and Europe" packs into its small space a great deal of disappointment. I am afraid it will merely add to the confusion that characterizes the debate about Germany in the wide circle of those who defend the status quo, who see no way out from the impasse apparently reached between personal liberty on one side and economic efficiency and security on the other, and who do not want to understand that Fascism and Nazism are features of the social revolution on the march everywhere, whether we like it or not. Such persons manipulate the doubtful category of a people's character, and other metaphysical and psychological concepts, as if nations as a whole had reached anywhere a level of freedom, education, and health upon which clear-cut responsibilities could be assigned. Of course historical elements do color the actions of people, but the emergence of fascist tendencies in every nation proves that they cannot be attributed to a single people.

Croce ignores completely the political consequences of industrial and technological progress, as most liberals incline to do. But neither nostalgia, nor stalling and compromise, nor a humanistic optimism will change the ugly face of present-day reality. In contrast to the tremendous developments that are taking place all over the world, this kind of inquiry and its results have already the appearance of atavism. They have as much to do with reality as the schemes of Versailles had twenty-five years ago.

FRANZ HOELLERING

Stage Business in Shakespeare

SHAKESPEARE AND THE ACTORS: THE STAGE BUSINESS IN HIS PLAYS (1600-1905). By Arthur Colby Sprague. Harvard University Press. $5.

MANY people are fascinated by antiquarian lore concerning the theater, and much of it is exceedingly curious even if there is not much else to be said about it. There seems, on the other hand, no good reason for doubting that some of the great actors of the eighteenth century, for instance, really *were* great, no matter how inadequate their scenic arrangements may have been and no matter how slovenly elementary stage discipline often was. And for that reason knowledge of their methods can be of interest not only to the antiquarian but to others as well.

No contemporary description survives to give us the faintest or most general idea of even the broad style of Burbage (for whom Shakespeare's major tragedies were written), but from the time of the Restoration on more or less illuminating comments on actors are available and many of them have been used again and again by historians. The author of the present volume has, nevertheless, made a genuine contribution. He set himself the laborious task of examining surviving prompt books and "acting editions" of Shakespeare's plays, as well as the contemporary criticisms of actors, and from these sources he has collected bits of information now so arranged that the reader may conveniently ascertain (in so far, of course, as the author has been able to discover) what "business" the various famous performers of a part employed in this or that important scene in twenty-three of Shakepseare's plays. The period covered is 1660-1905 and thus approximately the same as that of Odell's standard "Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving," but Mr. Sprague has limited himself to one single aspect of the subject, which he can therefore treat in fuller detail, and his book is a valuable supplement to the older one.

The plays most completely covered are "Hamlet," "Othello," and "Macbeth," these being among those which have most consistently maintained their popularity and been longest acted in versions nearest the original. "Hamlet" is accorded fifty-eight pages, "Macbeth" almost as many, and though, even so, the material thus presented is more or less fragmentary, it is full of things both surprising and illuminating. One shudders to learn that at one time Horatio used to give Bernardo his hand to illustrate his supposed meaning when Bernardo asks, "Is Horatio there?" and Horatio replies, "A piece of him." One shudders equally when one is told that Bernhardt used to knock the heads of Rosenkranz and Guildenstern together to show how little she valued them and that she caught a fly to illustrate "Buzz, buzz." But not by any means all the ingenuity which has been expended was so misplaced. Dover Wilson's insistence that Hamlet should reveal his distrust of Marcellus when he addresses Horatio in the former's presence was anticipated by Henderson and Kemble, though Garrick had overlooked the point. The problem of what to do when Hamlet says, "Look here, upon this picture and on that"—a problem which recent Hamlets have solved in diverse ways—was long ago solved in both the two ways still most current and also in a third. Hamlet may carry miniatures, he may merely imagine them, or he may (and this seems to have been the Restoration solution) point to pictures on the wall.

Mr. Sprague advances few theories and indulges in few generalizations. For the most part he is content to give fact after fact, and for his purpose the method is certainly the proper one. It does not, however, make for easy reading, and his book will probably be read from beginning to end only by those who have a very deep interest in the subject. But it will be widely useful as a reference work. Nowhere else can one find in such profusion answers to questions which inevitably arise, not only when one of the great plays is to be staged but when a careful reader tries to visualize an action. In an amazing number of instances one will be able to discover what one or more of the great actors of the past did during a scene which can be interpreted in more ways than any single reader is likely to think of.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The Negro in Industry

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE NEGRO. By Herbert R. Northrup. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

DR. NORTHRUP'S book fills an important need, for it brings together in one volume more up-to-date information on its subject than can be found elsewhere in readily accessible form. The author has not only carried on considerable field work and made extensive use of primary sources; his work also represents in large measure the fruit of an unprecedented amount of research by others during the past five years. Much of his material is based on the comprehensive manuscript prepared under the direction of Dr. Paul H. Norgren for the "Negro in America" inquiry sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Moreover, Dr. Northrup has made good use of the valuable material accumulated by the President's Employment Practices Committee as well as recent information obtainable from other government sources and from miscellaneous publications.

As the title indicates, major emphasis is placed upon the relation of the Negro worker to trade unions. Yet adequate presentation of this subject when applied to particular industries necessarily involves a preliminary analysis of the Negro's position in the industry, or group of industries, concerned. In fact, at least one-third of the book deals with this aspect and thus a two-fold presentation is obtained. After an introductory chapter portraying the diverse policies of American trade unions with respect to Negro wage earners, nine industries or industrial groups (and the grouping is somewhat arbitrary) are discussed: construction; railroads; tobacco processing; textiles, clothing, and laundries; longshore work; coal mining; iron and steel; automobiles and aircraft; and shipbuilding.

Dr. Northrup's thesis emphasizes the importance of environmental factors in determining the racial policies of trade unions. But the very dependence of union policies upon social-economic factors means that they are flexible in the

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long run. Thus the increased strength of the industrial unions, principally the CIO, the more clearly enunciated policy of government with respect to equality of opportunity, along with the general increase in governmental control of the labor market, are placing exclusionist unions on the defensive and making more difficult the extension of organization by discriminatory unions into new fields. The author concludes by recommending that present legislation be amended to the end that no union discriminating against workers on racial grounds may receive the protection of state or federal labor relations laws, or of agencies engaged in the mediation or arbitration of industrial disputes. He advocates that all closed shop agreements involving discriminatory unions be specifically declared illegal. The federal anti-discrimination program sanctioned by Carey McWilliams is approved.

The book contains several inaccuracies. For example, Ford has a union shop, not a closed shop agreement, which is generally construed to entail union hiring control; the Seafarers International Union does not exclude Negroes entirely but admits as members only those employed in the Stewards' Department. The United States Post Office does not bargain with the Railway Mail Association in the sense that private employers haggle with unions over wages and conditions of employment, as the author indicates. Railway mail clerks are under Civil Service, and practically the only instances in which the federal government, or its agents, does bargain in peacetime are in the operations of the Inland Waterways Corporation and the TVA. Many of these inaccuracies are due to overgeneralization and the occasional use of unreliable or incomplete sources, but do not noticeably alter the reliability of the general picture.

The concluding chapter is the most thought-provoking in the book yet one is forced to conclude that the broader implications of the proposals advanced as well as the administrative problems entailed are largely overlooked. The chapter raises more questions in the reader's mind than it answers. In fact the 250 pages allotted to the entire work are totally insufficient to do justice to a subject as complex as that chosen by the author. This indeed is the principal shortcoming of the book.

LLOYD H. BAILER

Clothes-Horse History

THE WAY OUR PEOPLE LIVED: AN INTIMATE AMERICAN HISTORY. By W. E. Woodward. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.95.

THOUGH one may quarrel occasionally with his judgments, Woodward has given us many lively and provocative books on the American scene. This is not one of them, which is our loss, for the basic idea, while not new, is excellent—a portrait of the average American down the ages.

Here are Boston three centuries ago, a Puritan village in 1680, a Virginia plantation of the early eighteenth century, New York about 1750, Philadelphia at the time of Independence, Augusta (Georgia) when King Cotton was just mounting his throne, Cincinnati as the westward surge reached flood time, the trek of the Forty-niners and early San Francisco, the Windy City at the time of the great fire of 1871, a Southern mill town in the 1880's (autobiographical and by far the best section in the book), and the gaudy splendor of New York at the turn of the century.

A varied bill of fare, to be sure, but to this reader's taste disappointingly flat and downright dull. There are many interesting details about every-day existence here and there, but the book never jells in whole or in part.

In telling his story Woodward chose to present in each sketch a cast of characters, some real and some fictitious, and then put them through their paces to make more graphic the manner of their lives. The intent was good, but more than that was required. Whatever his other talents, Woodward has not the storyteller's gift for creating characters—they are as wooden as the cigar-store Indians he speaks of—and his ear for dialogue is wretched. As he has one of his characters say after meeting McGuffey (of the famous School Readers), he "lectures us—and everybody, for that matter—just as if we were a class of college students. You can't have any conversation when he's present. He doesn't discuss anything; he just tells you what's what, and lets it go at that."

To which the "petulant" girl's mother replies (perhaps speaking also for Woodward): "I don't see any objection to that. . . . I want people to tell me whatever I don't know, and I can listen all day. Everything the professor said interested me."

Well, it didn't me.

After all, you can't get much of an idea of the way our people lived when the people never come alive. There's nothing very "intimate" or revealing about a clothes-horse.

GEORGE WILLISON

Fiction in Review

I AM not sure I know what Christopher LaFarge means when, in the preface to "East by Southwest" (Coward-McCann, $2.50), he speaks of his stories as a fictional supplement to war reporting. Perhaps he is describing only those pieces in his collection which, though superficially cast in the form of fiction, have no plot and merely trace certain recurrent patterns of war conduct—how fatigue shows itself, how gossip circulates, and so on. But on the other hand, his volume includes several perfectly orthodox short stories to which Mr. LaFarge's statement of his dependence on fact is irrelevant; these stories may suffer from being written too quickly but they wear no special documentary stamp. For instance, All the Comforts of Home, the first piece in the collection, is an account of the mounting chagrin of a French official who, having been told to arrange recreation for the incoming American forces, transforms the best hotel on his island into an officers' brothel: it is a story full of dry charm, somewhat suggestive of the manner and literary tradition of Harold Nicolson's "Some People." Or the last piece in Mr. La Farge's volume, the story of a young navy lieutenant who, because he wants to keep his girl for himself, spreads word through the island that she is a leper: By Word of Mouth has the material for a very fine short story; and although one sighs over the carelessness with which it is disposed of, one scarcely excuses its insufficiency on the ground that it was intended as an adjunct to reporting instead of as pure fiction. The point is—obviously—that a story is a story, good or bad, successful or insufficient, quite without reference to the circumstances of its composition or the practical purpose it was meant to serve.

And yet I suppose that all our war fiction so far might be described as only a fictional supplement to war reporting—in the sense that it suffers from being too close to the source of its inspiration. In the same week with "East by Southwest," I read Hobert Douglas Skidmore's "Valley of the Sky" (Houghton Mifflin, $2), a war novel which protests no factual limits on its imagination but which is actually little farther removed from its factual material than the sketchiest of Mr. LaFarge's reports. A novel about a bomber crew and a bombing mission in the Pacific, "Valley of the Sky" is both more exciting and more sorrowful than the stories in "East by Southwest"; but even its vein of drama is already familiar, having been bared, early in the war, by our war correspondents.

Having several times written in praise of the historical novels of Howard Fast, I regret having to report, now, my deep distaste for his latest book, "Freedom Road" (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $2.75). Mr. Fast's novel is set in South Carolina during the Reconstruction years; it is the story of an experiment in communal democracy in which groups of newly freed Negroes joined with dispossessed white farmers to buy land and farm together and then try to protect themselves against the savagery of the Ku Klux Klan. I lack the knowledge to pass on the historical validity of "Freedom Road." But even if all Mr. Fast's historical facts can be documented, the novel strikes me as profoundly untrue because it bears no resemblance to human life under any circumstances. I am quite certain that no group of people—black, white, or mixed—could behave with the unmitigated virtue of Mr. Fast's Negroes.

As a matter of fact, I find "Freedom Road" a disturbing blend of piousness and condescension, a book in the least attractive spirit of present-day liberal and radical thought. It is pious because it assumes that people are good in proportion as they are oppressed, and it is condescending because, by denying oppressed people human fallibility, it in effect makes them rather less than human. And people so different from ourselves of course require even a language of special consideration. From Steinbeck on, we have been developing in this country a prose for minorities, a kind of Biblical croon, over-cadenced and putting the distance of Biblical years between writer and subject. This is the narrative prose; the dialogue prose is even more offensive. "You wonderful horse, you sure enough beautiful little horse, you got a heart like a cannon blasting, you got a heart like a big sun rising—," says Mr. Fast's young colored boy in a typical burst of lyricism: progressive fiction likes to assume this false poeticism of speech in people whose lives are unmistakably corroded or commonplace. Similarly, it likes to assign to people of little or no education a special sensitivity to art, nature, and family feeling; we should not be surprised, then, that the hero of "Freedom Road," an ex-slave who has just painfully taught himself to read, has an immediate instinct in the direction of Whitman, Emerson, and Dickens, and against Poe!

"Wives of High Pasture" by Worth Tuttle Hedden (Doubleday, Doran, $2.75) is also an historical novel, about the Oneida colony, one of the Christian-communism communities that flourished before the Civil War. Although I cannot recommend it for any special literary interest, I found very entertaining its slant on what the Oneida disciples called "amativeness."

DIANA TRILLING

Surrealist Painting

BY CLEMENT GREENBERG

III

THE Surrealist motive for a naturalistic technique is plain. The more vividly, literally, painstakingly the absurd and the fantastic are represented, the greater their shock. For the sake of hallucinatory vividness the Surrealists have copied the effects of the calendar reproduction, postal card, chromeotype, and magazine illustration. In general they prize the qualities of the popular reproduction because of its incongruously prosaic associations and because the reproduction heightens illusionistic effect by erasing paint texture and brushstroke.

Another motive is the desire to sin against decorum, violate all the rules, do the disreputable thing, and attach oneself to whatever seems discredited. Advanced painting since the Impressionists has established a certain decorum, a notion of the aesthetically relevant, which the Surrealists find pompous, as they profess to find all relevancies pompous (this makes another of the possible rationalizations of the disassociated or disconnected image). Dali turned on post-cubist painting, praised Meissonier and commercial illustrations, and asserted his contempt for "formal" values by the deliberate but just as often unconscious negligences of his own painting. Thus he made a virtue of his shortcomings. Granted that irreverence has a necessary function in our time, yet irreverence as puerile and as widely welcome as Dali's is no more revolutionary than fascism. But of course, Dali is not to be taken seriously as anything other than a symptom. He is the Ossian of our day.

IV

The decisive question is whether the Surrealist image, as illustrated in the works of Ernst, Dali, Tanguy and the other painters of their kind, provides painting with a really new subject matter. That is, must hitherto untapped possibilities of the medium be explored in order to accommodate the Surrealist image? As far as painting alone is concerned, does it involve a new way of seeing as well as new things to be seen? For such painters as Miró, Arp, Masson, and Picasso, it certainly does. But not for Ernst, Dali, Tanguy, Oelze, Roy, Magritter, Dominguez, Brauner, Delvaux, Fini, *e tutti quanti*, who do indeed see new things, but no differently in essence than painters of the past would have seen them had they accepted Surrealist notions of subject matter. The Surrealist image is thus a new object to be posed and arranged, but it requires no fundamental change in the conventions of painting as established by the Renaissance. Given the same subjects, Meissonier, Ford Madox Brown, or Greuze would have approached the same effects. There would be the same

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modelling, shading, and spacing, and the same color schemes, although the hues themselves would be a little less saccharine or brassy and a little less unbroken.

The Surrealist image provides painting with new anecdotes to illustrate, just as current events supply new topics to the political cartoonist, but of itself it does not charge painting with a new subject matter. On the contrary, it has promoted the rehabilitation of academic art under a new literary disguise. The maxim *nulla sine narratione ars* is true enough, now as before, but the Surrealists have interpreted it vulgarly to mean that there can be no picture without an anecdote. The tradition of painting which runs from Manet through Impressionism, Fauvism, and Cubism has created the first original art style since the French Revolution, and the only original one our bourgeois society has been capable of. All its other styles are revivals. That style is now threatened for the first time from the inside by Surrealist painters, and by the Neo-Romantics and "Magic Realists" who bring up their train. These painters, though they claim the title of avant-garde artists, are revivers of the literal past and advance agents of a new conformist, and best-selling art.

The Surrealists have, like the Pre-Raphaelites, reinvigorated academicism by their personal gifts—which are undeniable—and by going to either a remoter or a more discredited past for guidance; in distinction from self-confessed academicists, who try to keep abreast of the times by watering down yesterday's advanced art. Taking their lead and most original impulse from Chirico—that archaizer who made a small but valid contribution—the Surrealists prefer Mantegna, Bosch, Vermeer, and Böcklin to the Impressionists. This does not make their painting any the less academic, but it does make it livelier, disturbing, and more attractive to new talents: adroit talents who read Rimbaud, have a sense of format, finish, and *mise en scène*—and can at least draw seriously. (The drawings of Ernst, Dali, and especially Tanguy are adventurous and original in a way that their paintings are not. The compelled economy of the line exposes their art to problems which are on the order of the day and which they otherwise evade by taking refuge in the ancient arsenal provided by the traditions of oil painting.)

Prompted by a real dissatisfaction with contemporary life, the art of these Surrealists is essentially one of vicarious wish-fulfilment. Its very horrors are nostalgic and day-dreamy, having associations with a more pleasant-seeming past, which is resuscitated in brighter, iridescent colors, smoother contours, glossier surfaces, and sharper outlines. The artist shows us how he would prefer life to look or how—as children do—he would prefer to be frightened. His wish is painted with such an illusion of super-reality as to make it seem on the brink of realization in life itself. The result is indeed a new and interesting kind of pictorial literature, but it is more literature or document than painting or art.

It is possible, I believe, to construct faithful duplicates in wax, papier maché, or rubber of most of the recent paintings of Ernst, Dali, and Tanguy. Their "content" is conceivable, and too much so, in other terms than those of paint. But the pictures of Picasso and Miró attain virtuality as art only through paint on a flat surface, and they would disappear utterly if translated elsewhere. Which is also true of the works of the old masters.

FILMS

WILSON" is by no means the first film in which one might watch Hollywood hopping around on one foot, trying to put on long pants. Nor are the immense responsibilities and potentialities of moving pictures so nearly Mr. Darryl Zanuck's personal discovery, patent applied for, as he apparently feels them to be ("Intolerance," after all, is nearly thirty years old). Yet Mr. Zanuck may be better than excused for regarding his new film as an important one, a test case. Very likely it is, not only for him but for Hollywood in general, for a long time to come. For as a hymn to internationalism, performed with all the stops pulled out, at just this time, "Wilson" becomes an extremely powerful campaigner for the Fourth Term, whether or not Mr. Zanuck so intended it. It thus undertakes more crucial and specific political responsibilities, more boldly, than any other American film to date. Still more important, from Hollywood's point of view, it represents the steepest investment, so far, in a would-be serious picture. When you count in a million dollars' exploitation costs, "Wilson" set Mr. Zanuck and the other little Foxes back about $5,200,000. No other film has ever cost so much.

If "Wilson" fails, Darryl Zanuck has promised never again to make a picture without Betty Grable. If "Wilson" fails, worse things than that may happen. It seems very possible that even any attempt at making "serious" or "idea" films of this sort might be postponed in this country for years to come. If "Wilson succeeds, on the other hand, it is likely that we will get a lot of other pictures like it, not only because a new box-office formula will have been established but also because, I feel sure, Hollywood is as full as any other place of men of fairly good will who would gladly devote some of it to the public weal so long as no risk is involved.

If this conception of maturing and seriousness becomes generally accepted, I will be more sorry than glad. Pictures like "Wilson" have little if anything to do with mature serious cinema as such, and those who think of "Wilson" as a mature film are not in the least concerned with its liveliness or deadness as a work of art; they are excited because serious ideas are being used on the screen. Something well worth excitement, I'll grant; but how much? None of the ideas used in "Wilson" is expressed in any better than primer fashion. Anyone who cares to can still get twice as much out of a newspaper and a dozen times as much out of even a mediocre book, so far as ideas are concerned. Perhaps this is a moment to be generous, as if toward a child who stumbles over unexpectedly big words; but that kind of contempt is peculiar to those who hate movies and think they like them, and is unavailable to those who love movies and are thought to loathe them. Furthermore, I believe that political ideas at their most mature and serious are still childish and frivolous as compared with those ideas or conceptions which attempt to work in, to perceive, and to illuminate, the bottoms of the souls of human beings. If political issues and a reverence for fact on the journalistic (or even the historical) level become a popular criterion for seriousness and maturity in films, the proper study of mankind is likely to be deferred even longer than by the present prospects. On the other hand, if great audiences, and those who fearfully try to give them what they want, get used to the idea that thinking and entertainment are by no means autonymous, this postponement-period may serve both ends, valuably, as a period of transition and training.

The whole business makes me a little tired when I reflect that it is 99 per cent waste motion—that a dozen really good, really mature films, each made on a B-budget or less, would be more likely to do overnight what in this way won't happen with any firmness in twenty years. But the distinguishing faculty of the realist is his preference for the longest distance between two points—a preference which becomes virtually beatitude if the second point is never reached. As a realist, then, I hope that "Wilson" grosses ten million dollars and that no matter how disastrously misleading the whole process may be, the studios will spend the next few years tearing each other's throats out over political and social issues. Seriousness and courage on a political level are infinitely preferable, heaven knows, to no seriousness and courage at all.

I have left myself very little space in which to talk about "Wilson" in detail; but perhaps that is just as well. It is essentially a very sincere and even a brave picture, and I am bound to salute even an attempt to help prevent a third world war, and to wish it well. One might at great length talk about its virtues—for on its own level, and in so far as its tight intersection of anxious showmanship, conventional talent, and journalistic conscience allows it, it has a great many more virtues than faults, and is a big, splendid, competent, resourceful show. One might at even greater length, and still with no lack of basic sympathy, analyze its extremely characteristic fits and starts down to the least evidence of the effort to give it all that money can buy and that honest research can edge it with: for in every grand effect and little mannerism it is both fascinating and instructive. They copied the cracks in the paint in the original portraits of Presidents in the White House; but they were unable to learn anything whatever of primary value from their study of 160,000 feet of relevant newsreel.

But here again, I am just as glad to shirk my duty. No matter how friendly I feel towards "Wilson" and the people who made it, any such review would amount chiefly to a specification of occupational psychosis. With the best intentions in the world, Hollywood took a character and a theme of almost Shakespearian complexity and grandeur, and reduced the character to an astutely played liberal assistant professor of economics; the theme to a few generalizations which every schoolboy has half-forgotten; the millennial, piteous surge of hope and faith which bore Wilson to Paris, to nothing at all; the colossal struggles between Wilson and Clemenceau and Senator Lodge, to one firmly written tizzy and one softly written one; Wilson's terrifying, possessed trip around the United States, to a set of pretty Thomas-Wolfean train-montages, culminating in the unprepared breakdown of a good insurance risk; the American people, to a passive murmurous backdrop; and an extraordinarily grandiose prospect of powerful and original cinema, to a high-grade sort of magazine illustration. Every major problem, opportunity, and responsibility which the picture set its makers was, in other words, flunked—now through timidity, again through habitual half-blindness, and most of all perhaps through the desire to sell and ingratiate and essentially to render a two-and-a-half-hour apology for one sustained impulse of daring and disinterestedness.

If "Wilson" fails, I believe it will be because Mr. Zanuck and his associates were not up to their subject. For I am quite sure that the tremendous audiences which may or may not accept it as it stands would have been found more than ready for the same story, maturely told.

JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

A READER has written to ask me to explain what I referred to in Heifetz's playing when, in my May 20 review of the General Motors broadcast of Mendelssohn's Concerto, I spoke of his "vulgarities." Also, not recalling any comment on Huberman in my column, and having been "astonished and captivated by [his] marvelous delivery and breadth of musicianship," he asked how I ranked him.

No recordings of Huberman performances have been issued for several years, and I happen not to have heard him in concerts; hence there has been no occasion for me to write about him recently. But in the past there were occasions for me to speak of the qualities that added up, for me, to the playing of a great artist. These were chiefly qualities of his phrasing—subtly inflected but continuously large-spanned (what I imagine my correspondent means by breadth of musicianship).

I have answered the question about Huberman first because it has enabled me to state some of the qualities of a good musician—to which I can oppose the qualities of a poor musician that I have often heard and pointed out in Heifetz's playing. Let my correspondent listen to Heifetz's recorded performances of Mozart and Beethoven sonatas: he will hear the line of the phrase constantly broken by mincing little swells on every two or three notes, often with wailing upward slides. Let him listen to the recorded performance of Franck's Sonata—the passage in the third movement beginning at a point about 1 11/16 inches in from the first groove of side 4, which Franck directs shall be played *molto dolce e tranquillo,* and in which therefore the notes should flow quite evenly: he will hear Heifetz's mannered, distorted delivery of the passage—the constant alternation between excessive holding back and hurrying of the notes. All this, with its effect of exaggerated, ostentatious, and obvious expressiveness, is the sort of thing one would hear in a performance of Rubinstein's Melody in F for the audience in a vaudeville or movie theater; in performances of Mozart, Beethoven, and Franck it is just as cheap, sentimental, vulgar; and it was to what I first described as Heifetz's "pretentiously mannered and sentimentally distorted phrasing" that I later applied the term "phraseological vulgarities," in my May 20 review.

One thing interests me further in my reader's letter, and that in his attitude he believed I had heard something he did not hear, and asked me to tell him what it was. This leaves me surprised, admiring, and grateful, because it is not the usual attitude of people in his situation. Most people are unable to make the distinction between Heifetz's playing of the violin and his playing of Mozart, or even to imagine or understand that distinction: what else is there in performance of music than producing the sounds the composer has written; and what can be wrong in a performance in which fast passages are produced with breath-taking speed and agility, and slow ones with breath-taking beauty of sound? As a result all performances by celebrated performers have equal validity for these people: they can understand that Schnabel plays Mozart differently from Casadesus, or Beecham differently from Koussevitzky, but not that one man plays the music well and the other poorly. And some cannot believe that anyone else can make these distinctions and evaluations; so that a reader once attributed my criticisms of Heifetz, which he characterized as "snide and ill-mannered impertinence," to personal animosity, accused me of attempting to tear Heifetz down in order to elevate Szigeti for similar personal reasons, and of doing the same thing with Koussevitzky for the benefit of Toscanini and Beecham, and assured me that only the musical public, which had put Heifetz and Koussevitzky where they were, could remove them. And even a better-mannered reader, who could conceive of my finding things to criticize in Heifetz's playing, could not understand how I could go so far as to apply a term like "vulgarities" to a violinist of Heifetz's eminence.

In addition to not understanding certain things in music and performance these readers didn't understand some very important things about the nature and purpose of criticism and about the mutual relation of critic and reader. I intend some time very soon to deal at length with the idea of the critic as a person whom one reads for the perceptions that enable one to hear and understand what one otherwise would not have heard and understood, and to develop the consequences of this idea for the reader. Right now I will only repeat my answer to those who objected: *The Nation* does not employ me to genuflect before eminences or before the limited perceptions of the great musical public; it employs me as an expert to hear and to report what I hear. If someone else cannot hear what I heard, or prefers to ignore it, that doesn't mean that I must not hear it or speak of it. And if what I hear from a violinist as eminent as Heifetz impresses me as a phraseological vulgarity, that is the term I have to use to describe it.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

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LLOYD H. BAILER has taken partial leave from the Department of Economics at Howard University in order to serve with the War Labor Board.

Letters to the Editors

Soldier Preference?

Dear Sirs: I have been following with suppressed anger "The War to Keep Soldiers from Being Citizens." The soldier vote issue was one part of that war. The current attempt to prevent soldiers from having full and free access to certain books and magazines is an extension of the same campaign. A recent order requiring all "letters to the editor" to be submitted for approval to higher authority is still another limitation on soldiers' rights as citizens since in practical effect it operates as a gag on soldiers wishing to speak their minds on matters concerning the welfare of the nation—even though such discussion has nothing to do with military security.

With regard to the ban on certain magazines, the army says that they were omitted from its approved list on the basis of a test of soldier preferences as shown by sales in PX's. Yet in no PX that I have entered have I seen *The Nation,* the *New Republic, Harper's,* the *Atlantic,* or other quality magazines offered for sale. How can a magazine be preferred or not preferred when it is not offered for purchase? To say that soldiers are free to subscribe to anything is no defense. An enlisted man may be financially able to buy only occasional copies of the magazine he likes. Must he send to the publisher every time he wants an issue in which he is particularly interested?

Only the constant vigilance of such magazines as *The Nation* to prevent the unnecessary infringement on soldiers' rights is going to preserve our democracy now and avoid an aftermath of resentment on the part of service men when the war is over. PFC

Somewhere in Massachusetts, Aug. 6

Readily Available

Dear Sirs: Some of your readers may have mistakenly deduced from Charles G. Bolté's piece in the July 22 issue that servicemen are denied access to magazines like *Harper's* or *The Nation,* or books such as Mrs. Bowen's "Yankee from Olympus."

The Army may have "banned from its establishment the *American Mercury, Harper's, Atlantic Monthly, New Republic,* and *The Nation,*" as Mr. Bolté states, but current issues of most of the foregoing publications are readily available here at the post library. In addition, a cursory examination of the shelves reveals the presence of "Yankee from Olympus," E. B. White's "One Man's Meat," and Beard's "Republic."

It is, perhaps, a no longer interesting revelation of Southern mores, however, that all the latest fiction best-sellers, save only one, are also on hand. The sole exception, as you may have guessed, is Lillian Smith's "Strange Fruit."

SERGEANT

Somewhere in Alabama, August 1

A Vicious Rule

Dear Sirs: Enclosed is a money order for five dollars, for which please send me *The Nation* for one year at the address given above.

Glad as I am to go to any length to receive your publication, I should not have had to send this money order, had not the officials of the branch post office in my home town rejected a packet of *Nations* which my mother was mailing to me. The magazine was rejected as "controversial."

Previously my family has always been able to mail me scores of issues of your magazine, and one would expect this precedent to be considered. But precedent or no precedent, it is obvious to all concerned that this restriction on information is undemocratic and politically dangerous. Be it noted that, although *The Nation* and *The New Republic* cannot be mailed, *Time, The American Mercury, The American Magazine, Reader's Digest, Life,* and *Newsweek* are distributed regularly to army units overseas. One finds them in company day rooms, post exchanges, service clubs, and libraries. Who is so foolish as to call these magazines unbiased and non-controversial?

I do not know whether the author of this vicious rule is the War Department or the Office of the Postmaster General. The regulation is founded on two absurdities: (1) the belief that there is literature or reporting which is not controversial; and (2) the belief that only non-controversial matter is needed by the soldier voter overseas, although his civilian fellow citizen or the soldier in the United States has access to opinions of all types as well as to varied sources of factual information. The very stuff of the election contest is debate and disagreement; if there were no controversy, there would be no election and no need for one.

Finally, if there is no controversy, the liberal forces will suffer most, for their strongest support is truth and sound opinion, as elaborated and studied through two thousand years of the very same controversy which an official regulation would now prohibit.

I hope you'll find time to comment on this postal ruling. T/4

Pacific Area, July 28

8 BOOKLETS BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

Bertrand Russell, the distinguished philosopher, mathematician, logician and Freethinker, recently said that he enjoyed writing booklets for E. Haldeman-Julius because he is given the fullest freedom of expression. In fact, it is only in essays written for Haldeman-Julius that Dr. Russell can give circulation to the mind-liberating thoughts he feels should be made known to the average person. Most standard publishers are afraid to issue works that are frowned on by the orthodox and conventional. Such a restriction is never encountered in the editorial department of the H-J Publications. In the booklets listed below Dr. Russell offers a feast of reason, information, logic, wit and rollicking humor. We present:

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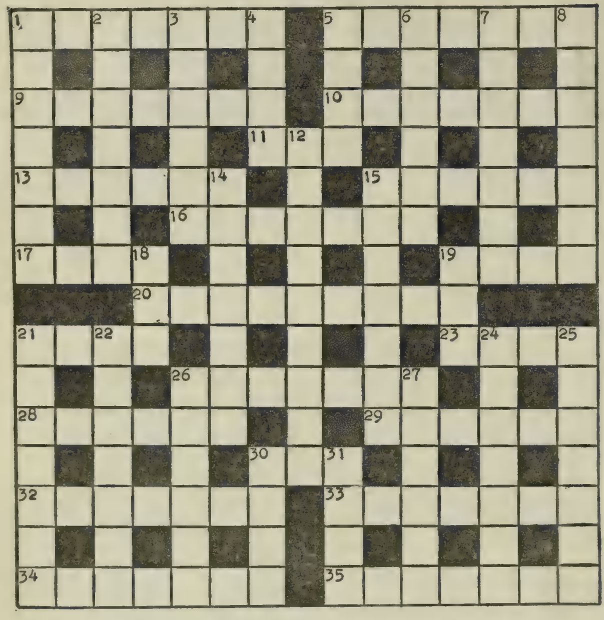

ACROSS

1 We should freeze on to warm ones
5 "A little bit off the top"—but not, we hope, with this
9 More stylish in slang
10 As a sword without a button (a bit Shakespearean this)
11 There's some question as to whether it preceded the hen
13 These and lovers cry for the moon, according to Villon
15 Belgian watering-place
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19 Black
20 Used by the carpenter to gloss things over?
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26 Atrocious
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32 Livery
33 He rarely looks where he is going
34 "Great-hearted, brazen-voiced -------, accustomed to shout as loud as fifty other men"
35 This makes us sneer

DOWN

1 It may be Featherstonehaugh to you—it is this to the English
2 Dante's *Divine Comedy, Part I*
3 Does the radio effects man complain if others make them?
4 "I'll make assurance double ----, And take a bond of fate" (*Macbeth*)
5 It's faster [illegible] a bullet
6 A body of troops in concealment declares itself a small tree
7 Pert ant (anag.)
8 The 25th of March (hyphen, 4-3)
12 The last thing you would expect wheat fields to yield
14 Those who do this often hesitate to speak
15 The devil-fish has swallowed a top!
18 Request
19 A language without a country
21 Affected people of French extraction who produce U. S. prose
22 Whip whose name would describe the condition of your back if it were applied to it
24 "A solitary shriek, the bubbling cry of some strong ------- in his agony" (Byron)
25 Wayzgooses (or perhaps it's wayzgeese")
26 Animal, first name Billy (hyphen, 2-4)
27 "Fingers pointing towards heaven"
30 Ruler of Afghanistan, perhaps
31 The only fish, so to speak

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 76

ACROSS:—1 EVERYONE; [illegible] BORE; 10 HELEN; 11 LIE; 12 FACES; 13 PATHOS; 16 SIERRA; 17 MAUDLIN; 18 NICE; 20 BOAT; 22 APPENDS; 23 BUNK; 24 REAR; 25 POLECAT; 27 LOTION; 29 DREDGE; 34 TWIST; 35 HAP; 36 MANSE; 37 OLLA; 38 CORCORAN.

DOWN:—2 VALET; 3 RANSOM; 4 OWLS; 5 EPEE; 6 BAFFIN; 7 RACER; 8 WHIP; 9 O'SHANTER; 14 SAMPSON; 15 ADHERES; 16 SINDBAD; 18 NOBILITY; 19 CON; 21 ONE; 25 PORTIA; 26 TROMSO; 28 TRIAL; 30 DINNA; 31 EVEN; 32 CHIC; 33 SPAR.

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AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

IN HIS SPEECH AT BREMERTON ON AUGUST twelfth, the President for the first time discussed the future of the Pacific bases. But he was so cautious in his approach and so sparing in details that his talk may serve chiefly to inspire loose speculation about this thorny subject. In suggesting that our interests in the Pacific require "forward bases nearer Japan than Hawaii," Mr. Roosevelt seemed to be hinting at permanent American control of the Japanese-mandated islands. That policy is, in fact, more or less taken for granted both here and abroad. What we want to know is what form that control is likely to take. Will it mean outright annexation or some kind of trusteeship which would, for instance, leave civil aviation rights in these islands open to all? With regard to the Southern Pacific islands, mostly British or French possessions, Mr. Roosevelt pointed out that they were of strategic importance in relation to the security of the Panama Canal and South America, as well as to that of Australia and New Zealand. Adding hastily that "we have no desire to ask for any possessions of the United Nations," he suggested that the problem of their protection could be solved by "friendly collaboration." Here again we feel that lack of authoritative detail gives too full a rein for interested interpretations. Some commentators on Mr. Roosevelt's speech, for instance, regard it as foreshadowing a request for perpetual leases of bases in British, French, Australian, and Dutch islands, and argue that, whatever form the cooperation of these powers took, the United States should control the defense of the whole Pacific area. We wonder if the advocates of this policy understand exactly what it would mean in terms of enlarged American responsibilities.

*

THE MEETING OF PRIME MINISTER Churchill, Marshal Tito, and Premier Subasich in Italy had a direct bearing on coming military developments in the Balkans. In Churchill's mind Tito's National Liberation Army is clearly the bridge between the Western Allies and Russia. Although Allied successes in France and Poland have diminished the importance of the Balkan front, it is still an essential part of the loop which is closing around Hitler. An Allied landing somewhere in northern or central Dalmatia may be expected at any moment. Its aim will be to cut off from Germany the dispersed German divisions in the Balkans and to separate them from the forces of the satellite nations. Turkey's new position and the imminent withdrawal of Bulgaria from the war will ease the path for the Allied armies and the Yugoslav Partisans. Tito's recent understandings with leftist and agrarian elements in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania make him the logical center of Balkan resistance. They will facilitate Russia's descent through Rumania and Bulgaria and insure active support for Allied landings in the Adriatic aimed at the Austrian frontiers. The main blow against the Nazis will probably be concentrated in the sector between Trieste, Ljubljana, and Zagreb. Hungary, sandwiched between the Russians and Tito, can offer only weak and inefficient resistance. The Salonika front, which had such enormous importance during the last war, will not be reestablished this time. The conflict will be centered farther to the north because of Russia's advance into the Carpathians and the control by the Partisan forces of northern Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Partisans, united with the Partisans in northern Italy and with the forces of the Maquis in southern France, form a real chain of peoples' armies holding open the door through which the Allied forces will drive to deliver the final blow to the Nazis.

*

SINCE THE BEGINNING OF AUGUST POLISH underground forces under General Bor have been battling the Germans inside Warsaw. The uprising began when the Red Army guns could be heard hammering at the suburb of Praga, but since August 3, the Poles assert, there has been no further evidence of Russian pressure. Meanwhile the Germans have regained control of much of the city and the Partisans are fighting with a growing sense of desperation. Their plight has engendered great bitterness in Polish circles which adhere to the London government-in-exile, and the accusation is being heard that the Soviets have deliberately pulled their punches on the Warsaw front. From Moscow come countercharges; the uprising, it is alleged, was timed in accordance with political rather than military strategy, with the anti-Soviet Poles seeking to gain credit for the liberation of Warsaw. Moreover, the Russians assert, the Polish government-in-exile gave the signal without any notice to the Soviet high command. This seems to be true; in fact, according to reports from London, even the British and American governments were not warned in advance. In an atmosphere of mutual suspicion it is not hard for both sides to find circumstantial evidence of bad faith. But the known facts suggest a tragic misunderstanding caused by lack of liaison. It is reasonable to assume that Bor expected the impetus of the Red Army drive would enable it to cross the Vistula at Warsaw and sought both to impede the defense of the Nazi garrison and to cut off its retreat. The Russian advance guard which struck at Praga appears, however, to have been over-extended and to have suffered a reverse. But, in any case, it is doubtful if Russian strategy called for a frontal assault on Warsaw. Red Army practice has been to outflank such obstacles, and this aim is in the process of being realized by its deep bridgehead across the Vistula a hundred miles to the south of the city.

*

PERHAPS THE ARMY DID TRY TO PUSH THE interpretation of Title V to its logical limits of absurdity. Nothing has happened in recent years that so validates the traditional army contempt for the politician as that fantastic provision which was jammed into the Soldiers' Vote Act at the behest of Senator Robert Taft. Legislation throws a great deal of light on the mind of the legislators; the Taft amendment was plainly designed to keep soldiers in the dark about the issues of the day. Because Mr. Taft and his friends are afraid of the power of ideas, they are afraid of thinking soldiers. We believe the army carried out exactly the intentions of the legislators when they banned the books, prevented English newspapers from coming into the camps in England, kept *The Nation* and the *New Republic* off the camp library shelves and out of the post exchanges. And we think that Mr. Taft and his friends got exactly what was coming to them when the general storm of protest broke over their heads. The new amendment proclaims our soldiers adult citizens, free to accept or discard the same ideas as those to which civilians are exposed, free to think about this election and the issues which they are fighting for and which the politicians are so consistently dodging.

*

WE DON'T KNOW WHAT THE DEMOCRATS would do without Senator Taft. Most Republicans would rather be caught voting for Roosevelt than admit they'd just as soon not have soldiers vote at all this year. And they would hesitate to accuse the army of conspiring to bring about a fourth term. But not Robert. He did both in one sentence of a speech he made on the Senate floor the other day, when he accused the Army of being "unduly anxious that the very moment the state ballot fails to arrive on the first of October, everyone who can possibly vote shall get a federal ballot in his hands and shall be instructed to vote it." The Senator refrained from saying "how to vote it," but that was implied in his statement that representatives of the War Deparament "cooperated 100 per cent with the extreme New Dealers and the CIO Political Action Committee" in support of a federal ballot and that the army had issued regulations which "have the soldiers organized right down to the companies and squads to vote, in a way which no political organization can hope to match." These remarks of the Republican Senator from Ohio should go far toward discouraging the whole army—including officials of the War Department as well as the last private—from voting Republican. We can hardly wait for his next move.

*

HEARINGS ON THE GEORGE BILL BEFORE THE House Ways and Means Committee have confirmed earlier indications that the Democrats are not only being sadly unrealistic regarding post-war economic policy but are missing a golden opportunity to create a vote-getting issue for themselves in the coming election. While a handful of House liberals have banded together under the leadership of Representative Celler in support of the Kilgore-Murray proposals, the majority of Democrats seems more inclined to the compromise plan suggested by War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes. Mr. Byrnes accepts the George bill's basic proposals, that control of post-war unemployment compensation be left to the states. He suggests, however, that the federal government guarantee a minimum benefit of $20 to $25 a week for at least twenty-six weeks. From a short-term point of view this liberalization of benefits is important. Many states, including most of those in the South, now provide an average of only $10 or $12 a week for an extremely brief period. But it should be obvious to Mr. Byrnes and the other leaders of the Democratic Party that we cannot create post-war economic stability on a "states' rights" basis. We have fought this war and accepted its sacrifices on a national basis. Why should our war workers not receive equal protection and security during the transition period regardless of the part of the country in which they happen to have given their services?

France Regained

THE GERMANS have irretrievably lost France except for the rectangle which lies north and east of a line drawn from Le Havre through Paris to Belfort. This is the area which, as Charles G. Bolté pointed out last week, the enemy must hold "to protect the very approaches to Germany" and it is in immediate danger of penetration by General Patton's triumphant armor. In the rest of the country the Battle of France has become essentially a mopping-up operation, though it may be a bloody and protracted one. The German army in the south will no doubt fight delaying actions but it cannot afford to delay too long for its lines of retreat—eastward to Italy and northward to Germany—are already threatened. Isolated garrisons—and these now seem to include Marseilles and Toulon—may hold out desperately as did that at St. Malo but they must eventually surrender.

In the north-east, however, two German armies are still more or less intact—the 15th along the Channel Coast and in Belgium and the 1st behind Paris. With their backs to the Siegfried Line and with invasion of the Fatherland the penalty of defeat, they are likely to put up a fierce resistance. The decisive battles of World War II, as of World War I, may be fought out on the banks of the Aisne and the Somme, the Marne and the Meuse.

The German armies defending this area are believed to be strong in infantry but weak in armor and it seems unlikely that many of the 7th Army's tanks and guns will ever get across the Seine. That force has been effectively broken for, although a considerable part of it escaped from the trap closed south of Falaise, it is now threatened with a new encirclement as General Patton's swift columns push down the Seine valley to cut its retreat. Moreover, it is being exposed to an unprecedented pounding from the air. Beaten and disorganized, if not actually demoralized, it can be of little use in defending the vital rectangle so long as the furious pace of the Allied offensive deprives the Germans of any opportunity to rally their forces.

In a war of movement the maintenance of impetus is nine-tenths of victory. As long as the army with the initiative can keep thrusting forward, threatening first one flank and then another, the enemy is denied any chance to dig in and establish a stable line. All he can do is to fight rearguard actions and swap space for time, a disheartening experience for the best troops. And the Germans, unlike the Russians in 1941, have little space to swap: Paris is barely 200 miles from the nearest point on the German frontier. The big question now, therefore, is whether General Patton's army can thrust through and around Paris to carry its *Blitz* offensive onto the plains of northeastern France without a pause. If it can, the complete liberation of France will not be far distant. The answer to the question is not alone a matter of will and fighting spirit. That is in no doubt; but the army's ability to keep moving also depends on the ability of the supply services, which have hitherto performed miracles of logistics, to keep up with it.

The invading Allied army on the southern front has already established itself firmly at a surprisingly low cost in casualties. Outflanking Marseilles and Toulon its advance columns have reached Aix and are astride the great trunk road which runs north up to the Rhone valley to Lyon. In the triangle with this city at its apex and its base along the Mediterranean, there are probably no more than 6 to 8 German divisions, a very small force to hold so large an area. On the other hand, the Rhone valley, a narrow trough between two mountain ranges, would offer many opportunities for defense by the Nazis but for the fact that their positions are already outflanked. In the high and rugged country east and west of the river the *Maquis*—the French Forces of the Interior—have long been operating. Now they are ready for the kill and with their aid General Patch's forces should be able to turn any line the Germans may attempt to establish.

Since D-day we have learnt how ill-considered were the attempts to decry the military value of the French resistance movement. Again and again the Allied high command has paid tribute to its services. Wherever our armies go they find the French partisans already in action. They impede enemy communications, destroy his supplies, tie up his reserves, provide information about his movements. They have liberated towns and whole districts, some of them far behind the enemy lines. Above all, perhaps, they provide a psychological hazard for the Germans by their pervasive presence, depriving them of any feeling of security however far they may be from the front. A resistance movement of this kind—as the *Nation* has long maintained—could not exist unless it represented the majority of Frenchmen and received the general support of the population. Everywhere our armies have found that this is so and that the deep and wide division of opinion, which some pundits assured us existed in France, was a figment of wishful imaginations. And every day it becomes clearer that the *Maquis* does not consist of isolated groups following the whims of local leaders but is a carefully coordinated force obedient to the orders of General de Gaulle.

Nor have the fears that liberation would be the signal for horrible excesses proved well-founded. The resistance forces have been amazingly well-disciplined. In some places they have been reported as "trigger-happy" but they seem to be reserving their ammunition for the enemy. Violence against traitors has mostly been confined to shaving the heads of female collaborators—a comparatiely harmless form of safety valve for pent-up indignation. Thus after four bitter years France is regaining freedom with the aid of powerful friends but in good measure by its own efforts.

The War Surplus Bill

THE fight for full employment after the war is being lost on one sector after another. One way to achieve full employment is to maintain purchasing power through the reconversion period by the payment of adequate unemployment compensation. But the Senate has defeated the Murray-Kilgore bill and the House will probably shelve its companion measure, the Celler bill. Another weapon for the creation of a full employment economy lies in the wise disposal of government-owned surpluses of facilities, land, and goods. But the House is in the process of passing a War Property Surplus bill which will leave war surpluses securely in the hands of those who believe in scarcity economics.

This is the logical result of White House policies, which in this field have consistently appeased and served big-business forces. The appointment of Baruch and Hancock to advise on the disposal of surpluses and other reconversion problems was the first in a series of steps inevitably calculated to strengthen big business in the post-war period. The Baruch-Hancock report was followed by the appointment of Will Clayton, the world's greatest cotton merchant, a Liberty Leaguer, and a Southern reactionary, as Surplus War Property Administrator. Theoretically Congress was to guide Clayton by passing legislation laying down the basic policies for the disposal of war surpluses. Actually Clayton has been guiding Congress. The Colmer bill being passed by the House was drafted by a committee appointed by Clayton, and the right-wing coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats which rules the House has succeeded in defeating every amendment designed to safeguard small business in the disposal of surpluses and to make these surplus properties an instrument for the achievement of full employment.

These surpluses will probably amount to more than 100 billions of dollars when the war is over and might be a means of combating inflation, of ending monopoly, and of encouraging genuine enterprise in every area of our economy in the post-war period. This makes it correspondingly important for big-business interests to keep control of these surpluses securely in their own hands, which they have so far succeeded in doing. The CIO Political Action Committee proposed that the sale of government plants be conditioned on "a guaranty that the purchaser will fully utilize its entire productive capacity." Maury Maverick of the Smaller War Plants Corporation has suggested that surplus goods be sold in small lots to give smaller business men a chance to bid on them and that big war plants be subdivided for use by small enterprises. The National Farmers' Union has asked that the eight million acres of disposable land held by the government be sold in such a way as to encourage the small family farm by integrating the sale with the tenant-purchase program of the Farm Security Administration. None of these proposals stands a ghost of a chance unless labor and progressive forces make themselves felt much more strongly in the Senate than they have in the House.

Some hope of getting rid of Clayton was held out by the testimony of Assistant Attorney General Norman Littell, chief of the Lands Division of the Department of Justice, before the Truman Committee last week. Littell declared that Clayton ignored the advice of an interdepartmental advisory committee and followed the advice of the National Association of Real Estate Boards in turning disposition of farm lands over to the RFC instead of the Department of Agriculture. In doing so, Clayton provided for the use of brokers. "This decision is wrong," Littell told the committee. "Brokers are interested in high prices. You want small farmers on the land. The government ought to see that they get back to the land. The broker is not interested in social policy. His natural customer is the big industrial farmer." But Clayton represents the big industrial farmer as he does big business generally. And as long as a man of his background is in charge of surplus-property disposal, no other policy can be expected.

Rescue Hungary's Jews!

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

SEVERAL million Jews in Central and Eastern Europe have met their death as a result of Nazi ferocity and Allied indifference. Millions of non-Jews have died, too, murdered as hostages or killed in guerrilla fighting or victims of the policy of depopulation practiced in every conquered country. But the Jews have died *as Jews*, selected for obliteration to satisfy the race mania that underlies the whole dogma of Teutonic fascism.

Done in cold blood, on a scale more impressive than any battlefield can equal, in centers specially constructed for extermination, this systematic murder of a race is without example in history. It is too vast and too terrible for the normal mind to grasp; indeed this is its protection. People react with anger to individual acts of cruelty; they hardly react at all to the impersonal horror of mass murder.

Perhaps this accounts in part for the indifference in official Allied circles which permitted the Nazi terror to mount to its present almost complete and perfect climax. It is untrue to say that little could have been done, once the war was started, to save the Jews of Europe. Much could have been done. At most stages Hitler was willing to permit his Jewish victims to substitute migration for deportation and death. But the other countries refused to take in refugees in sufficient numbers to reduce by more than a fraction the roll of those destined to die.

The planned, systematized slaughter of Jews has now been going on for two years, but not even during this period has the tempo of rescue been speeded up. Instead, our government and the British have called conferences to discuss the problem, have set up committees, have issued warnings and appeals. And the Nazis have gone on killing Jews at the rate of about 12,000 a day.

Now, as Hitler nears the end of his fraying rope, a final opportunity has opened to save some of the Jews still in Hungary. How many are involved nobody seems to know. Three or four hundred thousand were recently deported by the Horthy government at the demand of the Nazis, but several hundred thousand more probably survive. Through the International Red Cross, the Hungarian government has offered to release three specific categories of Jews: all children under ten years of age; all Jews who can obtain British certificates of admission to Palestine; and all who hold valid visas for other "countries of reception." In rather cautious terms, the British and American governments have accepted the offer. According to an announcement issued by the State Department, they "will make arrangements for the care of such Jews leaving Hungary who have reached neutral or United Nations territory, and also . . . will find temporary havens of refuge where such people may live in safety." Nothing is said about Palestine. Nothing is said about helping the Jews to escape from Hungary or about transporting them to the "havens of refuge" promised in the statement. It is a long way from Budapest to Oswego, N. Y.

But even a qualified acceptance of responsibility *is* welcome after years of inaction. The need of this moment is a clear understanding of the urgency of the situation. We must demand of our governments all speed in putting their good intentions into effect. If the Allied powers fail now to carry through a great act of rescue, their promise will have been sheer cruelty.

It is known that the Hungarian offer, limited though it was, enraged the Nazi authorities. At any time the Gestapo may begin the job of extermination in Hungary itself. Only swift action can prevent this. The first need is the immediate establishment of ports of asylum, if these are not already in existence. (Will the British really refuse admission to Palestine, even on a temporary basis, to a substantial proportion of the Hungarian refugees?) The second need is means of transportation. The feeble efforts so far undertaken to rescue Jews from Rumania have all but failed through lack of available ships.

Somehow, somewhere, ships must be found for this emergency. Troopships which have delivered their loads at Mediterranean ports could be diverted for a single errand of mercy. Transport planes returning from India or the Eastern Mediterranean could carry out of Hungary the 10,000 children to whom Sweden has offered shelter. (They should be lent or leased to Sweden for the job.) The objection will be raised that such operations would upset the schedules of troop movements and the delivery of supplies. This cannot be denied. But the problem is one of balancing need against need. A spell of bad weather would also upset schedules. The last opportunity to save half a million or more lives cannot be treated as a matter of minor concern. If the death of these people is of sufficient importance to Hitler to warrant the expenditure of the men and machines and time required for their extermination, their life should be worth something to Hitler's enemies. But we must hurry, hurry! To delay for even a few days or weeks is to deliver them to the fate that has all but wiped out the Jewish community of Europe.

Dewey's Monkey Wrench

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, August 19

MR. HULL held a special "off-the-record" press conference here Thursday morning and spoke extemporaneously for an hour about the Dumbarton Oaks conference. I didn't get back from New York in time to attend it but I read the transcript at the State Department last night and I must confess that I was impressed. The Secretary does not speak well. He does not express himself clearly. He rambles and blithers. But I could not help feeling a deep sincerity in what he said, an intense desire to do what he can toward a permanent peace. He is at an age when a man is beyond personal or political ambition, and he wants very much not to fail. As an experienced politician, he is appalled, not merely by the task of conciliating diverse national points of view but by the even greater difficulty of making the public understand the problem and keeping its febrile mind focused upon it long enough to make solution possible.

At one point in the transcript a desperate sense of urgency made him unusually articulate and eloquent, and since this was pencilled "on the record" I quote it. "I wish," Mr. Hull said, "I could burn this into your minds and memories for the next fifty years at least, and that is, the human race this hour, this day, this week, this year is confronted by the gravest crisis in all its experience and that we who are here on this scene of action at this critical time have the responsibility of saying what way the world is going for fifty years to come." It is no moment for perfectionism, for political intransigence, or for ivory-tower blueprints. To create an entente with some measure of permanence among states so diverse as capitalist America, imperialist Britain, Communist Russia, and Kuomintang China, and to fit this entente into some kind of world organization satisfactory to lesser powers, is the most formidable political task of all history. It commands charity and forbearance and it requires compromise, but no one with the slightest imagination will fail to understand the dreadful necessity of groping our way, however blunderingly, toward a more stable world order.

It would be wise not to expect more than the most limited progress toward a new order at the Dumbarton Oaks conference. The principal participants are distinctly minor figures, in official position as in personal capacity, but they may succeed in clearing away some of the lesser problems. There is great disappointment here that the Soviet Union is sending neither Litvinov nor Vishinsky to the conference and that its principal spokesman will be Ambassador Gromyko. Some conclude from this that Moscow is not too interested in Dumbarton Oaks but I think they are wrong. I am inclined to believe that nowhere is the problem of creating a new world order being examined with greater care, sobriety, and sincerity than in the U. S. S. R. I was encouraged by a conversation reported "off the record" in the Hull transcript. The conversation took place abroad. I suspect it was at Moscow. The tone was far different from the "cynical power politics" to which Governor Dewey referred in his statement on the Dumbarton Oaks conference.

Governor Dewey agrees that Germany and Japan must "be wholly and conclusively defeated," that they must be "rendered permanently powerless to renew tyranny and attack," that to insure this the United States, the U. S. S. R., Britain, and China "must maintain their present unity." He agrees that the responsibility for keeping Germany and Japan disarmed "cannot immediately be delegated to a world-wide organization while such an organization is yet new and untried." He says he has consequently advocated the maintenance for some time after the war of close military cooperation among the four powers so that if the Germans or the Japanese hereafter seek to evade their disarmament, we may strike quickly, together, and with overwhelming might."

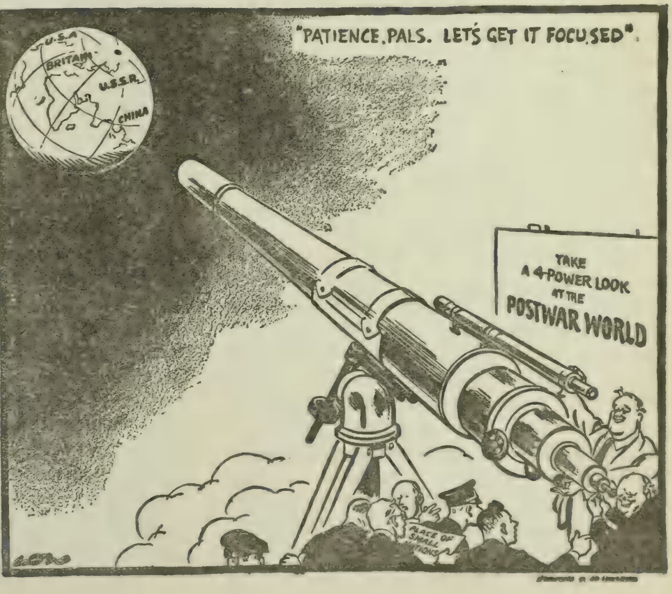
But since neither Germany nor Japan is likely to venture a new war, or to be in a position to do so, for a decade or two at least, one would like to know what Dewey means by "some time after the war." One would like to know what alternative mechanism he has in mind to enable us to "strike quickly . . . and with overwhelming might" in the event of a renewed attempt at aggression ten or twenty years hence. To say that we cannot leave the maintenance of peace "to the sanction of force alone" and that we "must promote a world opinion that will influence the nations to right conduct" will pleasantly remind the German General Staff of Warren G Harding's plea for "a new relationship to commit the moral forces of the world, America included, to peace and international justice." The new relationship turned out to be the old isolationism, and even the most determined American isolationist has never refused to give the rest of the world the benefit of this kind of high moral preachment.

Governor Dewey says that to leave "the long-term solution of international problems . . . exclusively in the hands of a permanent military alliance of four victorious powers would be immoral." If it could effectively maintain world peace, it wouldn't be half as "immoral" as drifting in a lukewarm sea of platitudes to World War III. The key word is "exclusively," which begs the question, like the rest of Dewey's statement. No one proposes to leave the long-term solution of international problems "exclusively" to a permanent military alliance of the big four. Dewey says he is "deeply disturbed" by "some of the recent reports" about the Dumbarton Oaks conference which seem to him to "indicate" a plan to "subject the nations of the world, great and small, permanently to the coercive power of the four nations holding this conference." This, too, is a straw man of Dewey's own making.

If the big four fall apart, the chances of maintaining world peace will be slim. If they stay together, does that constitute the "cynical peace" (to which Dewey objects) in which four powers "dominate the earth by force"? "As Americans," he says, "we believe with all our hearts in the equality and the rights of small nations. . . ." This is true of small nations not within our own sphere of influence. Most American governments have given a strong imperialist twist to the Monroe Doctrine, and even the American progressive is unlikely to let abstract concern for the equality of small nations override considerations of hemispheric security. What would we say to a fascist putsch in a Central American country where we suspected German influence at work? What would Dewey and his party say about the equality of small nations if Cuba expropriated American sugar mills and utility companies? What does Dewey mean when he links his plea for the smaller powers to the statement that "peace is a task of cooperation among equal and sovereign nations"? Does it mean that Sweden should have an equal voice with the United States in deciding what to do about Argentina? Does it mean the majority principle in international councils or the old rule of unanimity which crippled the League of Nations? Dewey nowhere gets down to the real issues.

No one knows just what Dewey was talking about. It is believed that he had in mind the proposals for a new international security organization put forward by N. Malinin in *Zvezda*, the Leningrad organ of the Union of Soviet Writers. I have obtained the full text of this article, significantly enough from the State Department, and I must say the sober and moderate ideas put forward by the Russian resemble very little the caricature so loftily denounced by Dewey. One of the factors to which Malinin, like most observers, attributes the failure of the League was the necessity for a unanimous vote in the Assembly. He agrees with President Hambro of the Norwegian Parliament "that in the future each tiny state cannot be allowed to impose an absolute veto or enjoy the right to dictate to the great powers, even if only in a negative fashion, how they must act." Malinin recalls that four small states, Switzerland, Australia, Hungary, and Albania, blocked economic sanctions against Italy during the Ethiopian war. He suggests that in the future international organization the rule of unanimity be replaced by majority vote on minor questions, a two-thirds vote on "more important decisions imposing serious obligations." Does Dewey consider majority rule coercive of the smaller nations? Does he favor the rule of unanimity?

Malinin believes that the future protection of peace against renewed aggression will require (1) quick action, (2) more than a special international police force, and (3) specific understandings among the great powers. "It is quite apparent that in all cases in which the League displayed its inactivity," Malinin says, "only the great powers, singly, in groups, or together, could have halted aggression. It must not be forgotten also that decisions regarding effective repelling of aggression must


"PATIENCE, PALS. LET'S GET IT FOCUSED".
U.S.A.
BRITAIN
U.S.S.R.
CHINA
TAKE A 4-POWER LOOK AT THE POSTWAR WORLD
PLACE OF SMALL NATIONS

be adopted and carried out in the briefest possible time, taking into account the fact that in the modern age wars are begun by aggressors without preliminary warning and that preparation for them proceeds under cover of the deepest secrecy. . . . Again, it is only the great powers . . . which have the necessary military and industrial resources. And they cannot be replaced by any union of small states, which would be shattered by the aggressor one by one." This is realism, not cynicism. If the peace of the world is to be entrusted to a kind of world diet, Polish style, in which any one member can veto action, we might as well begin preparing now for World War III.

Dewey, who was for an Anglo-American alliance to police the world, now warns us not to sink into "the abyss of power politics." A world order in which the big four played a dominant role would be "the rankest form of imperialism." The spokesman of American finance capital thunders out against "reactionary" purposes and the ex-isolationist wants a perfect world society "of cooperation and joint effort . . . based on freedom, equality, and justice." Provided it can be achieved by pulpiteering. Dewey's statement, taking into account its content, timing, and shoddy vagueness, seemed designed primarily to rally the Polish and other national minority votes for the G. O. P. ticket. That incidentally it might throw a monkey wrench into the Four Power Meeting was a risk the Republican candidate cheerfully accepted. However, his foreign policy adviser, Mr. Dulles, appears to have realized the irresponsibility of such tactics and, to mix a metaphor, has volunteered to pull Mr. Dewey's monkey wrench out of the fire.

Will Hague Defeat F.D.R.?

BY JAMES KERNEY, JR.

MAYOR FRANK HAGUE of Jersey City is a millstone around the neck of President Roosevelt. And the President probably will pay for the heavy weight of the Democratic overlord with New Jersey's sixteen electoral votes.

Three times President Roosevelt has carried New Jersey with strong help from the well-oiled machine of Mayor Hague. In 1940 the vote in Hague's own Hudson County was the deciding factor. The machine there ran up a 101,000-vote plurality, while Roosevelt carried New Jersey by only 72,000. That is the explanation for the President's feeling that he needs Hague. But Hague needs the President too, this year, for Hague is being pushed hard in his home state.

It is difficult for anyone outside New Jersey to understand the tremendous power Hague wields. Even some Jerseymen have been hard to convince. But those who live in the narrow confines of Hudson County, with its million people directly across the river from New York City, have a clear knowledge of what it means to buck "the Hall," as Hague's machine is known.

The best example of the penalty for fighting Hague on his home grounds is John R. Longo, successor to a long line of independents who either have been beaten into submission or have allied themselves with Hague in self-defense. Longo is a young Italian who rose to prominence by attacking Hague's machine as an independent Republican. In 1942, in the course of battling the Hague organization, Governor Edison appointed Longo Deputy County Clerk of Hudson County. Shortly after this appointment, Longo was indicted by a Hudson County Grand Jury for fraudulently altering his voting record. The trial was filled with perjury, some of it so open as to be outright scandalous on its face. At present under appeal to the New Jersey Supreme Court, the Longo case is by no means settled. With the active backing of Governor Edison, Longo has produced evidence indicating that the Hague prosecutors knew by the testimony of their own handwriting expert that their charge had no basis.

Such a miscarriage of justice could occur only where the political machine owned the courts. Hague has for years manipulated the juries, prosecutors, judges, election boards, and tax assessors of Hudson County. They were outright agents of the machine, and powerful ones. Any critic of His Honor was likely to find his tax assessment raised, his right to vote impugned, and he was lucky, indeed, if he wasn't arrested for fraudulent voting, or gambling, or any of a dozen other offenses.

On the other hand, members of the organization found their taxes lowered and had a soft time in their contacts with government. No member in good standing ever suffered from all the petty charges of violating city ordinances which fill the lives of ordinary city dwellers. The precinct leader took care of that. However, it was chiefly through control of tax assessments and voting records that Hague maintained his domination. Of course, he realized the need for delivering something positive. Jersey City maintains one of the finest and certainly the most expensive police departments of any large American city. Excellent, though costly to the taxpayers, are the hospitals at the disposal of all citizens. Jersey City, its ruling mayor likes to say, is a people free from vice. By vice His Honor means loose women. Hudson County has for a long time been the center of organized horse-race gambling in America. But by the simple process of expulsion, Jersey City is kept free from gangsters.

So great is the fear of Hague in Jersey City that everyone has learned not to oppose his wishes. And so much does this affect election returns that it has not been uncommon for voting districts to register three hundred votes for Democratic candidates and one vote for the opposition, despite the fact that there were *two* Republicans standing watch at the polling place even if no others turned up.

The Longo case, incidentally, offers evidence of the strange and strong tie-up between the Hague machine and the Administration. Satisfied that Longo was abused, Governor Edison a few days before leaving office asked Attorney General Biddle to investigate the civil-liberties aspect of the case. A month ago the Attorney General answered in a public statement, conveniently coinciding with the hearing of Longo's appeal before the New Jersey Supreme Court, in which half-truths and omitted facts were used to prove that there was never any doubt of Longo's guilt. It seemed apparent that a Presidential election year was no time to start cleaning up Hague.

The cleansing job, nevertheless, is under way. Charles Edison started it in 1940 when he resigned as Secretary of the Navy and was elected to a three-year term as Governor of New Jersey. For three years he battled Hague, always finding his way blocked by the pro-Hague Republicans from small, rural counties of South Jersey, who controlled the legislature through a rotten-borough system. Governor Edison was never entirely successful, but he dented Hague badly, partly by replacing the Hudson County Tax Board, which had been responsible for outrageous abuses in tax assessments, and even more by promoting the need for a new state constitution in New Jersey. Hague hates the suggestion of this change, although Woodrow Wilson and every Governor of New Jersey since has, at one time or another, suggested the need for revision. But Hague finds the present system fine. His followers have populated the bench and frequently gotten to be Governor, and he has never had too much trouble persuading the legislature to do what he wanted.

As Edison left office last January, his place was taken by an old-line Republican, Walter E. Edge, who had been Governor of New Jersey during the first World War and subsequently had been in the United States Senate and served as Ambassador to France. Edge returned from virtual retirement, welded the Republican Party into a unit, which it had not been for years, and laid out a progressive program which surprised the people who expected him to be a stodgy Old Guardsman.

In his first few months in office Governor Edge reorganized the Hudson County election and jury systems, and replaced Hague's men in the prosecutor's office and on the Hudson County bench. Worst of all, carrying the fight to Hague's heart, Edge pushed a new constitution through the legislature, and New Jersey voters will have a chance this November to replace their decrepit old document with a new basic law simplifying the courts, limiting the legislature's power, and strengthening the executive officers. These changes hurt Hague badly. He is fighting the new constitution with everything he's got. But since Edge stripped him he hasn't got as much as he used to have. Now he is dependent on federal patronage to boost his chances. He hopes to ride to victory on Roosevelt's coat-tails.

It was obvious, then, that Hague would take his forces in Chicago wherever the Roosevelt leadership wanted them to go. If the President was for Wallace, so was Hague. If Truman got the nod, it was fine and maybe better with the boss of New Jersey Democracy.

The only hitch, from the point of view of Roosevelt's supporters, is that the President is still saddled with Hague. He cannot have Hague's support, without bearing the stigma that goes with it.

Four years ago, when Roosevelt won by 72,000 votes in New Jersey, Edison was elected Governor by 65,000. In 1942, Albert Hawkes, a Republican big-business man, was elected United States Senator over the incumbent William H. Smathers by a 90,000 majority. The biggest campaign issue was Hagueism. Last year Governor Edge was elected by a majority of 125,000. Even worse was the beating Hague took on the referendum proposing the draft of a new state constitution. Hague lost that one by 150,000, and just about the only issue of the campaign was Hagueism.

This year Hague cannot deliver as he has in the past. The Hudson County election machinery is in new hands. The prosecutor's office won't arrest Republican election workers on election day, and the new county judges will not spend their time November 7 issuing dozens of funny and too often phony writs. Hague will still carry his home county, but the votes won't pile up as high as they once did. In addition, Hagueism has become a big issue in the national campaign, as far as New Jersey is concerned.

Unless the Roosevelt forces strain every effort, campaigning as never before, New Jersey is lost. The smart strategists working for Dewey have already started to pound the Hague-Roosevelt alliance. They can be counted on to make the most of an issue which now interests more Jerseymen than ever. The independents, always hard to decipher, expressed their approval of a new constitution last November. Every sock Hague takes at the new constitution drives more voters into the Dewey camp. Unless the trend is changed, and quickly, New Jersey will return a majority of more than 100,000 for the Republican ticket this November.

Polls, Propaganda, and Politics

Women in the Election

IN THE course of the campaign much attention is paid to the people who don't know for whom they intend to vote, but whose decisions will supposedly be crucial in the election. Actually, these people are important only in a closely contested election where 1 or 2 per cent means victory or defeat. In general, if the "Don't Knows" in the public opinion polls do vote, they will distribute their votes approximately like the people who have already made up their minds earlier.

These undecided citizens are mostly women. There are about three times as many "Don't Knows" among them as among men. This column made a special poll among two thousand five hundred women, representing a fair sample of large industrial cities in the North. About half of these women did not intend to vote or had not yet decided for whom to vote. Women who have jobs are slightly more willing to vote than the housewives, and indecision increases slightly with lower economic status.

The latent disposition of the undecided can be inferred from the intentions of women who have made up their minds. As far as big industrial centers go, Roosevelt's lead is very strong and easily stratified by economic status. The sample was divided into three strata: the upper income group, 30 per cent; the middle income group, 40 per cent, and the lower income group, 30 per cent. Eighty-five per cent in the lower group intend to vote for Roosevelt and 73 per cent in middle group. Even women in the upper group who have made up their minds intend to go 50 per cent for Roosevelt. This is true only for the large-city sample. It is well known that as one proceeds to smaller towns and then to farm areas, the proportion of Republicans increases.

Among these women one finds again a clear-cut relation between age and vote intention. Younger ones are more likely to vote for Roosevelt. If forty is taken as the dividing age, Dewey is 10 per cent more popular with the older group than with the younger. It will be interesting to see whether the argument of the Republicans that they are the party of young men will influence this age difference between Republicans and Democrats.

With millions of men in the armed forces, women constitute the majority of eligible voters and are of prime concern to both parties. It is therefore interesting to turn to an opinion poll conducted by the *Woman's Home Companion.* The data are based on mail returns from two thousand readers who are questioned periodically. The panel is certainly not a representative cross-section of American women. Still, on topics where their opinions are very marked, the results of the last year can offer useful leads for party managers.

The outstanding attitude shown by these women is *internationalism.* They were asked, "Should there be a permanent congress to act upon international disputes?" and 92 per cent said, "Yes." Then they were asked, "Should we grant such a body the power and means to enforce its decisions?" and 95 per cent said, "Yes." When asked about nine possible planks for party platforms, the highest agreement (93 per cent of those with opinions) was on a world congress for international disputes. Even when internationalism was brought down to sacrifices for their own families ("Would you be willing to accept rationing and food restrictions after the war to help feed foreign nations?") the accord was still 92 per cent. On these questions, in samples of the total population, 70 to 80 per cent usually approve.

Last week we reported a comparison between the AIPO (Gallup) estimate that in June 51 per cent of the already-decided major-party vote was Democratic and the *Fortune* (Roper) estimate (same time, same basis) 56 per cent. Since then the *Fortune* estimate has receded slightly to 53 per cent, July 8, and 54.5 per cent, August 5. (Figures in the *Fortune* press release have been adjusted to correspond with our consistent practice of including within 100 per cent only the people who made a choice). The most striking change has been in the proportion of undecided voters, which *Fortune* reported as 21 per cent in June, 8 per cent in July, and 3.6 per cent in August. The attitude type of question, "Which do you *want* for President?", used by *Fortune* in August, got many fewer "don't know" answers than the AIPO question, "How would you *vote?"*.

BUREAU OF APPLIED SOCIAL RESEARCH
Columbia University, New York

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

AGAIN FRANCE IS HOVERING on the verge of a crisis. Herriot and Tardieu—the liberal and conservative antipodes in the Doumergue Cabinet—are threatening each other with vengeance and destruction and the weak structure of the present government bids fair to crack under the impact of their blows.—*August 1, 1934.*

FOR MANY YEARS the Wisconsin Progressives have exerted their efforts within the Republican Party, seeking to capture its nominations and write its platform. Therefore, their recent decision to break away from the Republican Party and form a party of their own is of national interest and significance.—*August 1, 1934.*

THERE IS ONE IMPORTANT, and really encouraging, difference between the Europe of 1914 and the Europe of 1934. There is one Great Power today which is bound by no alliances, secret or open, which is genuinely determined not to become involved in a world war which would spell defeat or set-back of a domestic program to which it is passionately devoted, a Power which all the other Great Powers in varying degrees hate and fear. Soviet Russia, of course. Soviet Russia is the chief check-rein on Western Europe today; the only encouraging feature in a sky which otherwise looks so much more troubled than the horizon of 1914.—LEWIS S. GANNETT, *August 8, 1934.*

The Trojan Horse

BY KARL LOEWENSTEIN

THE Atlantic Charter has lost, under the impact of bitter realities, so much of its lustre that instead of being the cornerstone of a saner future it might become an insurmountable obstacle to durable reconstruction. Particularly objectionable appears Article Three, which grants to "every people the right to choose the form of government under which they will live."

The term self-determination has a double connotation. It means external self-determination, the sovereign right of a people or nation to form its own state, and it means internal self-determination, the likewise absolute right of a people when constituted as a sovereign state to organize itself internally as it sees fit.

It is submitted here that there is no absolute right of internal self-determination, and consequently, that the victorious states must be prepared to claim, and must be permitted to exercise, the right of intervention in the internal affairs of any state which "chooses" a "form of government" constituting by its nature and potential development a threat to their own security and to universal peace. This thesis is in head-on collision with firmly established theory and practice. For more than a century no responsible authority has dared to challenge the equality, sovereignty, and independence of states as the premises of the law of nations. Non-interference with the form of government of other nations is the logical corollary. Intervention in the internal affairs of another state is anathema to liberal international thinking.

Yet it may repay us to look into the little-known origins and antecedents of the doctrine. It is no older than the French Revolution, which proclaimed it as a measure of political warfare against the attacks of monarchical Europe. But in their own practices the missionaries of the democratic trinity of liberty, equality, fraternity gave it no more than lip-service. Napoleon, executor of the testament of the revolution, discarded it altogether and pushed governments like pawns over the European chessboard. Likewise the Holy Alliance most emphatically repudiated the right of internal self-determination. In order to stabilize the peace of Europe, Metternich and Alexander asserted the right to intervene in the internal government of any state within their sphere of influence in case their chosen form of government, legitimate monarchy, was threatened by "revolution," that is by liberal, democratic, or Jacobin movements. The tide turned again when Britain, in the once famous and now forgotten "Instructions" of Lord Castlereagh of January 19, 1821, disassociated itself from legitimacy. Castlereagh's successor, Canning, pointedly answered Metternich and Alexander: "Each nation for itself and God for us all." England thus became the liberal champion of internal self-determination and non-intervention, an honorable position which it has held ever since, with occasional slight deviations of imperialistic tinge. The bad odor which clings to the concept of intervention in the internal affairs or the "form of government" of other nations dates from its application in the anti-liberal policies of the Holy Alliance.

In the age of nationalism the new doctrine of non-intervention spread irresistibly over Europe and the world. Our version was the Monroe Doctrine (1823). Internal and external self-determination were fused into one. Political *laissez faire* became the credo of liberalism, the Gibraltar of international law and practice. Not even the most revolting outrages of a depraved government against its own people or against a defenseless minority would justify what the theorists like to style "humanitarian intervention." Persecution of Poles, Hungarians, Armenians, Jews evoked at best paper protests of public opinion abroad.

Our recent relations with the Latin-American states have been based on the solemn mutual undertaking of non-intervention in external and internal affairs as repeatedly stipulated in international treaties (Montevideo, 1933; Buenos Aires, 1936; Lima, 1938) and scrupulously observed by us. Likewise the Covenant of the League of Nations, which was to consist only of "fully self-governing" states (Article 1), bowed to the principle of strict indifference to the internal affairs of the member states. In indiscriminate generosity it gathered to its bosom unashamed or camouflaged dictatorships as well as democracies.

But, it may be asked, are we really to remain impervious to the tragic experience of our age? Hecatombs of innocent victims have been sacrificed because the despots were permitted, under protection of the dogma of internal self-determination, to extinguish the freedom of their own people and then to turn their loathsome practices of internal lawlessness against other nations.

It is axiomatic that the conduct of foreign policy is dependent on the internal form of government. Only governments are aggressive, not peoples. Peaceful peoples take to the sword only when they are attacked;

they do not attack themselves. The common man is peace-loving and does not wish to go to war and die. It is incontrovertible that since the Napoleonic period all major international wars have been started by authoritarian monarchies or dictatorships which internally had succeeded in enslaving their own peoples, depriving the common man of his birthright to repudiate his government and war.

Therefore, it must be insisted that after this war there shall be no autocratic governments which, befogging the minds of their muzzled people by unopposed propaganda, can drag them and us into war. Peace and the democratic form of government are indivisible and inseparable. The world has become too small and nations too technologically interdependent to allow the peaceful living together of two systems of government so diametrically opposed as are democracy and autocracy. The League of Nations failed because it was impossible to square the circle and reconcile, within one and the same organizational frame, democratic governments believing in the rule of law internally and internationally, and autocracies which believed that they could practice violence externally because they could perpetrate it with impunity internally. Lincoln's word that the union cannot be half slave and half free holds true today for the wider union of the community of nations.

It is a salutary sign of a growing consciousness of this trouble that the President of the United States in his Lincoln's Birthday address of 1943 modified the rigor of the doctrine as follows: "The right of self-determination included in the Atlantic Charter does not carry with it the right of any government to commit wholesale murder, or the right to make slaves of its own people or of any other people in the world." But it is bewildering, to put it mildly, to read in Mr. Churchill's address of May 24, 1944, that while Germany cannot claim any rights from the Atlantic Charter, other states may choose whatever form of government they please. "The internal political arrangements in Spain are a matter for the Spaniards themselves. It is not for us to meddle in these affairs as a government." This attitude would preclude a repetition of the calamitous error committed in 1918, when the Germans promptly turned the Fourteen Points to their own advantage; but, at the same time, it would stabilize fascism and dictatorship elsewhere. Great Britain, thus, seems unable to divest itself of a dogma which, if applied, would once more split the world into incompatible systems of government. Does it mean also that the authoritarian-minded cliques-in-exile, who happen formally to represent peoples allied with us, derive from the Atlantic Charter the right to continue, after the liberation, their anti-democratic regimes? Royal dictatorship is as odious as its Caesarist counterpart.

The customary objection to interference with the internal organization of other states is that "we cannot ram our form of government down the throats of other nations." It is true that no constitution imposed by force from outside will work. Some argue that certain nations are given to authority by nature, or at least by historic habit. But the contention that any people has freely and of its own volition "chosen" autocracy is a palpable historical untruth. The peoples of the world did not choose their autocratic monarchs, nor did they choose their dictators. Even Hitler, on March 5, 1933, obtained not more than 44 per cent of the votes and this only by unprecedented election terror. In the same Lincoln's Birthday address quoted above, President Roosevelt declared: "No nation in all the world *that is free to make a choice* is going to set itself up under the Fascist form of government or the Nazi form of government. Such forms of government are the offspring of *seizure of power followed by the abridgement of freedom.*" (Italics mine.)

Herein lies, in this writer's opinion, the key to the solution. Democratic and constitutional government should not be imposed by command from without, but it should be given a chance to grow from within by popular acceptance. If we are not to ram democracy down the throats of other peoples, we may, for a change, allow them to develop it. The majority of the people everywhere want autocracy as little as they want war. We must make the peoples themselves the custodians of their own freedom and their own form of government.

In order to translate the basic postulate of limiting the choice of the form of government to the democratic solution the following suggestions, tentatively formulated, are submitted:

(1) Each of the defeated Axis nations and its satellites is to undertake in the armistice or peace treaty the obligation to arrange, at a time to be determined by the United Nations, elections for a Constituent Assembly charged with the elaboration of a constitution for which the democratic-constitutional form of government is mandatory. No specific conditions as to the type of constitutional order should be imposed except that the government must correspond to the rationally ascertained will of the people and must at all times remain accountable to it.

(2) Elections are to be held under the control of the United Nations, or of an international police if by that time it has been created. Certain categories of discredited people, such as Nazi officials, prominent sympathizers, notorious turncoats, collaborationists, and so on, are to be excluded from eligibility by law. Nor are parties with anti-democratic platforms, leaders, or techniques permissible.

(3) The elaboration of the constitution is subject to supervision by what may be called here, for want of a better term, "the Inter-Allied Constitutional Control Commission." It has the right and the duty to veto such provisions as constitute a potential danger to the operation of a democratic form of government.

(4) The constitution must contain a democratic Bill of Rights endowed with the same validity as the constitution itself. Among its provisions must be included a new individual freedom, namely the right of the citizen "to participate in his government by democratic elections." This right is indispensable to make the citizens the permanent keepers of their own freedoms, and, simultaneously, to guarantee all other individual and social freedoms, which are operative and secure only in a democratic-constitutional state.

(5) At the request of the Inter-Allied Constitutional Control Commission the constitution adopted by the National Assembly is to be submitted to popular ratification. If a nation should fail to elect a National Assembly whose majority is sincerely pledged to democracy, or to write for itself a democratic constitution, or to ratify it by at least a two-thirds majority, it would indicate beyond reasonable doubt that such a nation is not qualified for self-government and thus cannot enjoy internal self-determination.

The Inter-Allied Constitutional Control Commission shall continue to operate as the "watchdog," with teeth in its mouth, over internal political developments until such time as it has satisfied itself that a government is firmly established and conducted in conformity with the principles of the constitutional, democratic state.

Technical details of this plan—of which there are many—cannot be discussed here. What is proposed is no more and no less than a political tutelage over certain nations, the duration of which will depend entirely on the nation itself. It is readily admitted that the plan is incompatible with the dogma of internal self-determination in its traditional sense. But it is not incompatible with the dignity of any nation which embraces the democratic way of life and, what is more important, adheres to it. Repentance must precede forgiveness. Public opinion seems agreed upon imposing on the aggressor nations and their satellites certain military, economic, and financial restrictions—such as disarmament, financial controls, raw materials only for peace requirements—as essential curbs on external and internal self-determination. Compared to these merely negative conditions, the plan outlined here appears positive and constructive. It will enable a nation to redeem itself by its own efforts and to regain, with its self-respect, the confidence of other nations. But the first step toward this goal is to dispel the myth that every nation has an inalienable right to choose the form of government it pleases.

In the Wind

IN VIEW of the official Dewey position that it is easy for soldiers to vote without benefit of the quick federal ballot, some Republican should have had enough political sense to kill this ad that appeared in the Charlotte, N. C., *News:* "It is 10,000 miles to New Guinea, so it will take months to get your soldier's or sailor's absentee ballot out there and back. HURRY! HURRY! HURRY! Apply for his absentee ballot right away. Get your official forms and information at the Dewey-For-President Club."

THE STATE, Columbia, S. C., is a newspaper of unimpeachable conservatism; its editor, Sam Latimer, is a native South Carolinian who could not by any stretch of language be called a Negrophile or a Northern Agitator. Therefore we consider this brief editorial a notable straw in the wind: "Without reference to any pending case, which, like all others, must be decided on merit, as judged by prescribed authority, we wish to say that in our opinion those Negro teachers, having similar training and doing similar work, should be paid the same as white teachers."

ON THE OTHER HAND, Senator Russell of Georgia threw this beam of light on the Philadelphia strike: "If there had been no FEPC, not a single man-hour of war production would have been lost, and there would have been no racial disturbances or bitterness."

MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED one-room schools in Oklahoma will not open this fall, for lack of teachers.

IF YOU WANT TO KNOW who represents France in the United States, don't look under "Foreign Diplomatic Representatives" in the Congressional Directory. The listing there says, "France: (Diplomatic relations severed by France on November 8, 1942.)" That's all.

IN ENGLAND, the London *Daily Mail* reports, trade names on canned and packaged foods will not be sufficient after January 1. In order that the housewife "can see exactly what she is buying," labels will have to carry "the usual name of the food."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Poland's vodka industry has been heavily capitalized by the Nazis. Fifty million quarts a year are reserved for the exclusive use of Polish peasants. The underground movement is conducting an intensive "dry" campaign. . . . Belgium is becoming infested with bandits. A number of those who have been captured have turned out to be German deserters. . . . The Nazis recently arrested a large number of Frenchmen as hostages, and were shocked to find that they were all faithful collaborationists. Somebody had stolen the list of patriots who were to be arrested and replaced it with a list of Vichyites.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

"Purifying" Italy

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL Henry Thompson Rowell acts as Educational Officer for the AMG in Rome. He is "responsible for the purification of Rome's cultural life," as we were told by Homer Bigart, correspondent for the New York *Herald Tribune,* on July 16. Colonel Rowell set to work by asking Beniamino Gigli, the tenor, to sing for a gala performance in honor of the Allied Armies. Gigli had earned a good deal of money at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, but when he returned to Italy he did not hesitate to make various insulting remarks about the United States. Gigli was a loyal Fascist. During the terrible period from September, 1943, until May, 1944, when the citizens of Rome were being mowed down by the Nazis, he sang frequently for the entertainment of German officers. "Yes, it is true that I sang for the Fascists and for the Germans," Gigli told the correspondent of the Associated Press, "and now that the Americans and British are here, I would like to sing for them too."

Believe it or not, there are Italians in Rome today who do not intend to be "purified" by Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell. They raised such a rumpus that the Colonel had to rush Gigli off the scene. But the Colonel is determined to purify Rome's cultural life at any cost. Consequently, he entrusted Maestro Bernardino Molinari with the task of conducting Beethooven's Ninth Symphony. Molinari had also been a loyal Fascist and had selected an orchestra for the German high command.

Again the Romans answered the Colonel, implying that he would be wiser if he went back to teaching Latin at Johns Hopkins. As Homer Bigart informed us, "The politically-minded gallery whistled, cat-called, and made such a hubbub that Molinari was unable to proceed. 'What about that automobile Maelzer gave you?' yelled one member of the anti-Fascist claque. (Maelzer was the German commandant of Rome.) 'How about those concerts you gave for the Tedeschi (Germans)?' another shouted." Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell "tried to silence the demonstration," but he could not arrest "the flow of abuse from the gallery."

If Washington or London had been under Nazi occupation, as Rome was from September, 1943, to May, 1944, would Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell have asked pro-Nazi tenors and conductors to participate in gala performances and concerts in honor of British or American "liberators"? AMG lieutenant-colonels must come to realize that at the height of Mussolini's "benevolent despotism," when they were visiting Italy's monuments guided by wretched men who would have found themselves in jail had they not sung the praises of Mussolini, thousands of Italians were languishing in prisons or on penal islands, or were being starved and humiliated by a regime that was really the "negation of God." Whoever arranges performances in Italy today with Fascist tenors or Fascist conductors as the guest stars, whoever consorts with high officials of the Fascist military and civil hierarchy, with Fascist mayors, Fascist business men, Fascist gentlewomen, Fascist bishops, whoever does that challenges the moral code of the whole people.

The incidents in Rome are a taste of what will happen in Florence, Leghorn, and Ancona on a larger scale. As for Bologna, Genoa, Turin, Milan, and Venice, American and British officials and commandants will do well to travel about in armored cars, unless the mistakes they have made in southern Italy are corrected quickly.

As part of the purification of Rome's cultural life, Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell is responsible for "restoring the university to its former greatness," Mr. Bigart has reported. Rowell chose as temporary rector of the university Professor Giuseppe Caronia, a specialist in infectious diseases. Caronia, in addition to being a good scholar, is an honest man, who was unjustly treated under the Fascist regime and who will undoubtedly carry out his task in a spirit of justice and with common sense. One only wonders why the choice was made by Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell and not by the Minister of Public Education in the Italian Cabinet. AMG officials should supervise the work of the Italian authorities so that it does not interfere with the war effort, but they should not continue to wear the mantle that rightfully belongs to Italian authorities when the war effort cannot possibly be affected by local affairs. The Minister of Public Education, Signor De Ruggiero, no less than the other Cabinet ministers, has been blessed with the approval of the Allied Control Commission. He is a learned and honest man. The duty of "purifying" the University of Rome and all other universities should be vested in him and not in a gentleman from Baltimore, Maryland.

But Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell held the reins tightly in his hands. He announced that, like music, "the university must remain above politics." He set up a committee, not to "purge" or "purify" the university—those words, he said, were "too strong"—but to "rehabilitate" the university. And he appointed to serve on that committee two ardent Fascists: Dr. Nicola Spano and Professor Filippo Vassali. Commenting on these appointments, an Italian paper published a cartoon which showed a black-shirted man hurrying down the street, saying: "I have been appointed to the purification committee and I have not even had time to change my shirt." When he realized that he had blundered, Colonel Rowell disclosed that he had "received and accepted Vassali's resignation." As for Dr. Spano he was retained as administrative director of the university.

The more one reads about what is being done in Italy, the more one is compelled to ask oneself whether our bigwigs really intend to make America and England hateful to all democratic Italians. An American professor has been sent to Italy to take care of the Italian archives. Do the gentlemen in Washington really think that an American professor is needed for that job? Where the archives have been bombed away, there is no need to take care of them anyway. And where they still exist, their old personnel exists too. As a rule, these are good, devoted, helpful people, who know and cherish as their own children each and every paper in their custody. Putting an outsider in charge of the Italian archives is an insult to hundreds of decent and humble men to whom the archives are home and life.

Jewish communities are also being "purified." This means that the Jews are not allowed to purify themselves but that the purification is foisted on them from above. Under Mussolini everything came from above. In "liberated" Italy, everything still comes from above. Thus Commendatore Angelo Sullam has been chosen from above as head of the Jewish community of Bari. Of course, he was once a loyal Fascist. And Signor Silvio Ottolenghi has been chosen from above as commissioner for the Jewish community of Rome. Of course, he was also a loyal Fascist. On May 25, 1937, they signed a statement to the effect that "the Italians of Hebrew faith are, and in unambiguous terms announce that they are, enemies of every Hebrew and non-Hebrew, Masonic, subversive, and especially anti-Fascist internationale."

Not only Italy's cultural life, not only Italy's archives, but Italy's penal code has to be purified. This task, fortunately, can be performed in New York. *PM* has told us that the International Commission for Penal Reconstruction and Development has entrusted the Chief Clerk of the Court of Special Sessions in New York with the task of expurgating fascism from the Italian penal code. Do the gentlemen of that International Commission think that there are no jurists in Italy? Do they think that Italy's legal life is a vacuum to be filled with printed paper from New York? I am not a lawyer by trade, but I suspect that if those gentlemen were not allergic to common sense, they would send into Italy the draft of a bill consisting of no more than three articles: (1) political crimes committed by Fascists shall be investigated and punished according to the Fascist code; (2) all other crimes shall be investigated and punished according to the code that was in force before the March on Rome, October 28, 1922; (3) amnesties granted to political criminals after October 28, 1922, are null and void.

The underground newspaper *Le Gaulois* offers the following pointers on how to recognize a democracy:

"In a democracy you write your letter on a letterhead, you sign it, and the person to whom it is addressed is the first one to read it.

"Scoundrels are in prison.

"If someone whistles under your window, it can only be a friend calling you.

"You don't have to envy people who have apartments with two exits.

"And finally, the business man who displays a picture of the head of the state in his shop window can be an honest man just the same.

"Given this information, we are confident that our readers will unhesitatingly rally behind Monsieur Laval when the Allies try to destroy our democracy!"

While denouncing these blunders, we must not forget the intelligence, imagination, skill, and resourcefulness which America, Britain, and Russia are displaying in the field of production to make that war effort possible. We must not overlook the magnificent job that AMG officers are doing in Italy, against tremendous odds, in fighting epidemics, rehabilitating bridges, roads, aqueducts, and power stations, and in feeding the population. Wherever material obstacles have to be overcome, Anglo-Saxon ingenuity performs miracles. But one can admire miracles in the field of material endeavor and yet be sorry for the ineptitude that becomes apparent every time moral and political problems are tackled.

To be fair, one must admit that the blunders made in Italy in an attempt to "purify" Italian life and "reeducate" the Italian people to democracy are often prompted by a sincere desire to help a people which is in great need. But Britain and America have a queer bias toward Europe. Continental Europe, Britain and America believe, is inhabited by inferior races. There is a brutal doctrine of the German *Herrenvolk* and there is a suave, sugar-coated doctrine of the Anglo-Saxon *Herrenvolk*. Roman civilization died of consumption, and it was a great pity; it was the best the ancient world could produce, and its collapse brought about centuries of barbarism and suffering. It would be a great pity if Anglo-Saxon civilization came to an end; it is the best the modern world has produced.

If it ever comes to an end, it will die not of consumption but of presumption.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

AN ASSORTMENT of eight German army officers was hanged on August 8. That much we can believe. However, we should be wary of believing everything that Berlin has told us about the affair. It has revived a widespread tendency to swallow whatever soup is cooked in Dr. Goebbels's kitchen.

In spite of those photographs, which are supposed to have been taken in the courtroom, it cannot be said with absolute certainty that there was actually a "trial" in the dread "people's court." It is quite possible that the photographs are false. But even granting that there was a trial, we are completely in the dark as to what was proved or disproved or how much of the testimony was genuine and how much was faked. For it was a secret trial. An official "report" of two thousand words, released by Goebbels's office on August 8, is absolutely all the information we have. Now there is nothing to prevent the Ministry of Propaganda from writing such a report to suit its own convenience. It can put into the mouths of the accused any words it pleases. It is the sheerest gullibility to take its "reports" literally. Besides, this particular "report" is extraordinarily inept.

The indictment under which the eight officers were tried, according to the "report," had three counts: (1) conspiracy to kill Hitler; (2) conspiracy to usurp authority; (3) conspiracy to surrender to the enemy. Observe that the official "report" of the "trial" doesn't contain a syllable of testimony on the last count—not a single question or answer concerning the alleged conspiracy to surrender. On the conspiracy to usurp power, this idiotic story is not even consistent as to the person who was allegedly slated to succeed Hitler. On the first page it is General Beck; on the last page it is a Dr. Goerdeler. The author of the "report" got tangled in his own yarn!

But the most egregious piece of humbuggery in the whole story is the background of the alleged attempt on Hitler's life. Major General Stieff "confessed" that one Colonel von Treskow had told him last summer that Hitler would have to be killed by "explosives" during a military conference. During the succeeding months the major general was twice asked to make the attempt himself—first by General Beck and later by Colonel von Stauffenberg. He declined the honor, but volunteered to keep the explosives until they were needed. Then an unnamed relative of Colonel von Stauffenberg procured "British explosives" and "British fuses" from certain unnamed Englishmen. (All the high officers in Germany, with hundreds of thousands of tons of explosives at their command, apparently couldn't get their hands on any of them.) The unnamed relative gave the British explosives to the accused Lieutenant von Hagen, who turned them over to Major General Stieff. The latter hid them for many long months. Finally, at the command of General Olbricht, the "administrative manager of the plot," he handed them over to the alleged would-be assassin, Colonel von Stauffenberg.

It can safely be said that a person who believes this idiotic comic strip will believe anything. And the whole story of the "trial" is of the same quality from beginning to end. It is a cheap, talentless farce unskillfully pasted together, just like the story of the Reichstag fire, with which the Nazis opened their act. We read with a smile the words which the "report" puts into the mouth of the Nazi fanatic Rudolf Freissler: "Even the burning of the Reichstag is eclipsed by the deed committed by these defendants."

Contrary to general belief, this official "report" of the "trial" does not substantiate the Nazi version of the "plot," but actually discredits it more than ever. There is no doubt that countless old-line officers believe the war is lost and consider Hitler the worst obstacle to be overcome if it is to be ended while there is still something left of Germany. But notwithstanding the nonsense which the Nazis themselves have produced, there is no evidence whatsoever that this feeling had crystallized in an organized plot. The long and short of the matter is that the Nazis have once again heeded Machiavelli's advice to all autocrats: "A prince who is menaced by his followers should not give them time to do anything." To all appearances, the Nazis have succeeded in forestalling anyone and everyone who might possibly have taken part in a double-cross à la Badoglio.

At the same time they are trying to distill a usable by-product out of the mess. It has been observed on all sides that a new "stab-in-the-back" legend is being built up in Germany. The defeat of 1918 was explained by the legend that the "home front" had prevented the army from carrying the war to a successful conclusion. That story always had one disadvantage: it insulted 70 or 80 or 90 per cent of the population—until the Nazis thought to limit the blame to Jews, Catholics, and Communists. But the guilt-legend which the Nazis are now building up is aimed exclusively at the top 5 or 10 per cent of the population, and seems therefore to have a better chance of being accepted by the other 90 or 95 per cent—if not today, then tomorrow.

So far as I can see, no one has yet noted or appreciated the fact that since the alleged attempt at assassination the Nazi Party has conducted a steady and increasingly virulent agitation against the aristocracy and the upper bourgeoisie as traitors, criminals, and enemies of Germany. This agitation, which goes back to the original Bolshevik model, and which at times has a tone that seems calculated to loose a pogrom against the "blue-blooded swine," is one of the most interesting phenomena of the Nazis' death-agony. Details next time.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

KOESTLER AND THE POLITICAL NOVEL

BY WILLIAM PHILLIPS

SOCIAL moods somehow find their spokesmen; and just as the political novel of the thirties worked the theme of revolutionary faith, so the current product is steeped in the skepticism of the radical movement today. But, ironically, the present phase, which was inaugurated by Silone and Koestler, is more nearly on the level of the subject in its grasp of the tensions of political life—in a way, it is a revaluation of its "proletarian" past.

It is clear by now that the failings of left-wing fiction, from the very beginning, were due largely to the factional exploitation of writers and writing; and that the type of documentation, known as social or socialist realism, which became its literary creed was nothing more than an unconscious strategy for evading the larger issues. It was really a throwback to the "slice-of-life" formula of popular fiction—a method that could not possibly carry the weight of a new sensibility and a new consciousness. As for the political reality ostensibly recorded by the left novel, it was but the official time-table of the class struggle. From Malraux down, the radical writer conceived of himself as an inspired reporter who drew the pathos of the present from the certainties of the future. But what is an inspired reporter if not an uninspired novelist, a creator of photographic unreality?

It would be a mistake, however, to write off the entire genre as a literary aberration, for it was a natural response to the radicalism of the time. The truth is that the present period is predominantly political. Not only have we come to read our fate in political terms; even our values and our versions of experience have been politically accented. Perhaps the surest index of an epoch is its image of itself as expressed in its idea of the relevant and the contemporary and there is no lack of evidence that our measure of relevancy today is largely political, while our anxiety over events has led almost to making a fetish of the contemporary.

But how was the novel to cope with this new outlook? Obviously more than a flair for the topical, which was actually the stock in trade of most left writers, was called for. Only through a more generalized or symbolic approach was it possible to convey the shadings and crossings of belief, the moral turns, the psychic plights—all the motives and meanings of the political world.

All great literary efforts have sprung from the more advanced states of consciousness in society. In fiction the strategic characters have been abstracted from those specially placed and dominant types, through whose consciousness the inner movement of society revealed itself. Thus the modern tragic hero, from Hamlet to Joseph K., has been an intellectual, or, more precisely, a man of sensibility, who has taken upon himself the burdens of civilization as a whole, and in his various guises and mutations has reflected the changing stresses of Western thought.

The political person is in this sense a central figure today. I am, of course, thinking mainly of the left orbit, where politics has taken over practically all human and theoretical concerns. And under the heading of the left we might include all varieties of belief from the faintest liberalism to the most intransigent revolutionary stance. This is not to discount the serious doctrinal differences, but, from a broader view, all liberals and radicals may be said to have a common stake in the fortunes of the left, for not only are they affected by each other's activities, but many, if not most, of them have actually made the rounds of the various movements. Hence a kind of composite type of the political personality might be drawn from the liberal and radical world. For the purposes of literature, however, the truly typical is not the composite. It is created out of extremity—out of the most critical and complete experiences. The really significant political figure is therefore a man of consciousness who has been crucially implicated in the major turns, who has been made and unmade by them. The conversion to the cause, the days of faith and the days of conscience, and, more recently, the great exodus, the atonements, and the overhauling of beliefs—all have left their mark on him.

In his most extreme form he is a victim of a kind of revolutionary trauma, having been transformed from a zealot of socialism to a martyr to an illusion. The type is actually familiar enough. He may be a functionary, a writer, a professor—it does not matter. We have all seen him at meetings and in the press, dispensing his factional sophistries with an air of messianic innocence. He is militant, high-minded, single-tracked, enormously skilled in the strategies of orthodoxy, and a master of rationalization. His thinking, which is compounded of casuistry and faith, is essentially tribal in character, with its own assumptions and norms, as though he lived in some self-sufficient culture distinct from our own. And in a way he does, for his very being is a projection of the contradictions of the Russian Revolution. This accounts for the ambiguity of his nature, which combines a strain of genuine idealism with an apparently boundless cynicism and depravity. And what is his frozen mentality, which harbors the most arbitrary and irreconcilable notions, if not the congealment of the Russian dilemma into a religious structure? Hence he is constantly at odds with the accepted intellectual and radical tradition, harassed by its moral pressures, and unnerved by doubts and anxieties. When he finally breaks with the movement, he becomes uneasy—almost neurotically guilty—about his political past; and he usually seeks either to purge himself of it through confession and expiation, or to conceal it by slipping quietly into his new position. In either case, he soon adapts himself to an ideology of realism and compromise, which nowadays passes for normality. The cycle of his career covers the depths and excesses of the radical world; yet he is truly symptomatic of the stunted idealism and panic of the last decades.

Throughout the triumphant era of revolutionary fiction, however, not one such character made his appearance in the novel. His part was filled either by the socialist man of action, who was a militant conformist, or the little man of inaction, who was a meek non-conformist, both of whom simply obeyed the laws of history, one positively, the other negatively. Thus the left novelist violated not only his own consciousness, or perhaps we should say the consciousness he should have possessed, but also the tradition of fiction. For was not the left novelist himself a political character? And he had only to follow the example of the modern novel and create the revolutionary hero in his own image to depict his true compulsions and perplexities. Yet not even in Malraux, who of all the earlier radical writers was best equipped to extend the modern tradition, do we find any one figure bearing the mentality of the left. In "Man's Fate," undoubtedly the outstanding novel of the entire period, Malraux's consciousness seemed to be dispersed in a form of atmospheric excitement and in the tenseness of his characters. In his later novels, he succumbed quite naturally to the prevailing pieties.

Not until the recent novels of Silone and Koestler do we get anything like a fusion of literary and political tradition and a maturity of approach. In fact, the taut, anxiety-ridden, and self-conscious hero of both Koestler and Silone, who seeks to salvage his identity from the remnants of his conscience, recalls the alienated and disintegrated figure of modern writing. And while the *political* novel obviously is still far below the standards of the *art* novel, still, in the hands of Silone and Koestler, it has at least become a meaningful literary expression.

Of the later works of these two writers, "Arrival and Departure" strikes me as the most meaningful. For despite its many deficiencies, which have been noted in the pages of *The Nation* and elsewhere—in some ways it is little more than a showpiece—Koestler's novel displays a remarkable feeling for the dilemmas of the political intelligence. And while he lacks, too, Silone's pathos of the human, Koestler is nevertheless far more sophisticated and relevant in the deployment of his material than Silone, who is mainly sensitive to the resonance of revolutionary politics in the life of the European peoples. Where Spina represented the dissolution of socialism in the mystique of mankind, both Rubashov and Peter Slavek stem directly from the sources of political consciousness. Thus Rubashov is a symbolic figure of that almost pathological combination of faith and cynicism that is at the core of the Communist movement, while Peter Slavek is the radical intellectual of today who can neither hold on to nor give up his socialist vision and finds himself acting not so much out of conviction as desperation.

In fact, the story of Peter may be taken as a parable of the revolutionary life in both its political and psychological aspects. Peter's political progress sums up the history of the radical movement, from its earlier devotional excesses to its present bafflements and frustrations, while his psychic development follows the corresponding shift from a state of compulsion to a state of paralysis. This, it seems to me, is the meaning of the confessional episode, where Peter digs into his unconscious for his political motives. Koestler's point is not, as some reviewers have construed it, that politics can be reduced to neurosis, but that the balking of the political ego is a neurotic event. For the truth is that in recent years political life has taken on a neurotic character—with the classic symptoms of disorientation, inner searchings, and the fatal ambivalence of the need both to believe and disbelieve—as the Marxist generation, reared in the school of militancy, hope, and theoretical rectitude, has been thwarted by the collapse of its cause.

This combined development of the psychic and the political is further exemplified in the primary symbolism of the novel. Thus Peter cannot walk since, as the analyst puts it, he does not know where to go; and he ransacks his childhood memories for the clues to his revolutionism because it no longer has any political meaning for him. Similarly, the theme of surrender, which appears in Peter's succumbing to a political empiricism and a *practical* view of the war, is echoed in Odette's refrain of submission, "After all—why not?" and in Dr. Bolgar's therapeutic advice to Peter to fulfil himself in the present, "to cultivate a garden." And there seems to be a distant affinity, too, between Dr. Bolgar's lesbianism, which is hardly typical of the profession, and Peter's last-minute decision to join the Allied armies instead of retiring to America, for both suggest an irresponsibility—or a triumph?—of the natural; in Dr. Bolgar a denial of social restraints to assert her natural libido, in Peter a casting off of theoretical restraints to satisfy a political impulse.

Also, Peter's psychic restoration amounts to more than a clinical routine. It is essentially a duel between Dr. Bolgar, who in negating all values posits the values of the present, and Peter, who tries to preserve a political perspective by distinguishing his values from his phobias. And it is true that in a literal sense Dr. Bolgar is the victor, as Peter finally abandons himself to the realities of the present. Still, a more figurative reading of this theme is possible, for there is an all too evident and disconcerting parallel between the plight of Peter and that of the radical intellectual generally, who surely cannot be said to have been stripped of his values or political ideas by psychoanalytical casuistries. After all, even after Peter has been delivered from his neurotic confinement, he is still unable to extricate himself from his political bewilderment—a predicament that has at least as much to do with history as with psychology.

Apparently Peter is a self-portrait, as politically agile and aware as Koestler himself. And though he is too schematically conceived and exists mostly on the tip of the author's tongue, he is undoubtedly the most advanced political character in recent fiction. If anything, he is almost too advanced, too typical of the present state of the left and of those modern intellectuals whose traditional alienation has acquired a political meaning and a neurotic form. Where the left writers of the thirties failed to measure up to their subject, Koestler is completely on top of it, pinning down all its implications and squeezing the last bit of historical meaning out of his characters.

Peter is a case-study of the political hero.

For the Third Republic

GALLIC CHARTER: FOUNDATIONS OF TOMORROW'S FRANCE. By J. C. Fernand-Laurent. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

FERNAND-LAURENT* is a Parisian lawyer, journalist, and politician. Long an Independent, he joined in 1938 the moderate Fédération Républicaine. A safe and sensible man, an orthodox Republican well right of center, and a true patriot: I think he would accept this as his personal equation.

Any book about "Tomorrow's France" must be mostly about the France of yesterday: no nation, not even Meiji Japan, Kemalist Turkey, or Soviet Russia, can jump away from its long shadow. Fernand-Laurent begins his story with the foundation of the Third Republic, and he devotes more than half his book to the chronicle of this drab and stodgy regime. Lafayette had recommended Louis Philippe as "the best of Republics": in return, the Orleanists in 1875 had to accept the Republic as the best available *Ersatz* for a monarchy. Pacifist, Revanchard, and colonialist, democratic with a Royalist constitution, "heart on the left, pocketbook on the right," the bewildered hybrid tottered for nearly seventy years. It was hardly more confused than our own, but it was exposed to infinitely greater dangers.

Fernand-Laurent shows convincingly that the Vichy coup d'état in 1940 followed a familiar pattern. MacMahon was the first Pétain. Boulanger, backed by Royalist gold and vaudeville songs, promised a "national revolution." The Nationalist movement at the time of the Dreyfus Affair was a looser Boulangism. On the sixth of February, 1934, the stage was set for another coup, and Hervé was already clamoring for Pétain. The rule of Doumergue was a pathetic imitation of an autocracy. With the exception of Napoleon I, the French have an inevitable flair for picking the weakest Strong Man in the market. MacMahon was an honest simpleton; Boulanger a black horse and a blond beard with no brains; Papa Doumergue, "Gastounet," had been for seven years a smiling King Log. In the Dreyfus crisis no man could be found: Marchand declined the job, and General Roget, whom Déroulède wanted to draft, happened to have a Republican horse which loyally refused to head for the Elysée. Of all these sorry supermen, Pétain is the feeblest. Fernand-Laurent confirms the well-known fact that the Marshal hates and despises his maker, Laval. Yet he said, "M. Laval and I are one." This is not mere senility. In 1918 the hero of Verdun was already a defeatist.

In 1938 France was no more prepared for modern war than England or America. The military deficiencies could not be blamed on Parliament but on the confusion and old-fogyism of the army leaders, the staff formed and dominated by Pétain and Weygand. Fernand-Laurent was a member of the Military Affairs Committee, and his unpartisan testimony agrees with the unspoken verdict of the Riom trial.

Fernand-Laurent gives a very intelligent and vivid summary of the discussions that led to the armistice. In that crisis Mandel appears as a tower of strength: he, Louis Marin, and Herriot are the author's favorites. Pétain, Laval,

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* The hyphen, I take it, means that he is "the" Fernand Laurent, not just any Fernand Laurent; a kind of self-conferred Republican nobility. Cf. "Les Thibault."

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Weygand were working hard for capitulation. Reynaud meant well, but, paralyzed by nefarious influences, he did not assert his authority. As for Albert Lebrun, he appears as the perfect French President—a non-entity absolute.

Even at the worst hour there still was some hope; the treachery of Chautemps and Alibert destroyed it, and made Vichy possible; it fell to minor characters to deal the decisive blow. If there are 1,500,000 French prisoners, most of them captured without a fight, Pétain almost alone is to blame: he left the armies without directions and practically ordered them to lay down their arms, before the terms of the armistice had been given. But in spite of Pétain France was "bloody but unbowed"; before the armistice was signed, she was back on the firing line, for De Gaulle had already sent forth his great *Sursum Corda.*

Thus we reach the penultimate chapter, 247 pages out of 280. So far, Fernand-Laurent agrees with Pierre Cot, with Raoul Aglion, with Philippe Barrés, as well as with Kérillis and Pertinax. In Chapter XVIII, The Government of Post-War France, the rift appears. "De Gaulle began in 1940 as the magnificent symbol of resistance. . . . But he became a politician." A familiar fallacy; it will be the refuge of all the Laodiceans. The Free French had to turn themselves into some kind of government if they wanted to administer the territories which had remained faithful to the Republic. They needed to form a political entity if they did not want to be treated merely as foreign mercenaries in the pay of England. The book was evidently conceived when Giraud was still a factor, although his elimination is mentioned. Today it is a trifle off key.

Fernand-Laurent raises the problem—Third or Fourth Republic? He wants the Third, the Republic headed by Albert Lebrun, the Assemblies which committed suicide at Vichy and whose powers have long expired. Naturally his opinion will be hailed with approval by the men who refused to sever relations with Pétain, and who clung to Darlan, Giraud, Boisson, Noguès, Peyrouton, the men who professed to be horror-stricken when Pucheu was executed.

Let us remember Fernand-Laurent's personal equation. It is important that a conservative should have written the first sixteen chapters; it was inevitable that he should write the seventeenth. The cause he defends is not lost by any means. The ghost of the Orleanist-plutocrat Republic is not exorcised yet, and dynamic democracy has a hard fight ahead. Fernand-Laurent is seeking allies in America; but there are quite a few Americans who believe in the Four Freedoms, not in the divine right of the bourgeoisie.

ALBERT GUERARD

The Generalissimo

CHIANG KAI-SHEK: ASIA'S MAN OF DESTINY. By Dr. H. H. Chang. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.50.

THOUGH the publisher announces that this is an unofficial biography of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek "which does not present him as a demi-god," the sub-title alone clearly states the thesis that the Generalissimo is not only China's, but Asia's "man of destiny."

Apparently to prove this thesis, the author exhumes a prediction from the Book of Phophecy published during the Tang Dynasty that "a general will one day rule China: he will be one with grass on his head." The author explains that the Chinese words for "general" are *chiang chun,* the *chiang* being the same as the Generalissimo's family name. The sign of "grass" is also *chiang,* but written differently. However, if you make some extra strokes over Chiang's family name, you get the sign for "grass." Ergo: Chiang Kai-shek is that "general with grass on his head."

Should we reason in similar vein, we could omit, say, the "ill" from Churchill's name and have the word "church" left. Ergo: Winston Churchill will one day become Pope!

The book sets out to prove that from the day of his birth in Chikow in Chekiang Province, Chiang Kai-shek was extraordinary. He never made a mistake; was filled with piety; and in later years (1931-37) the whole nation was wrong and he right in appeasement of Japan, which was occupying China's whole northeast while Chiang and the German Reichswehr officers on his staff were waging a war of extermination against the Chinese Red Army.

Even in his 'teens, Chiang is pictured as the one man who realized that he was destined to rid China of the decrepit Manchu Dynasty and revive the nation. Strangely, Tseng Kuo-fan, the feudal-minded puppet of the Manchus, became one of his life-long heroes, and the Manchus not only educated him in the Paoting Military Academy, but sent him to Japan for over four years of study. Chiang's background, and his close connection with Japan before the present war, can alone explain a cast of mind that often baffles the Western world.

The author sweetens and glosses over many things in the Generalissimo's life, such as his relations with women, with the Shanghai stock exchange, and with the underworld of opium traffickers and gamblers known as the "Green Gang." This Green Gang played a major role in the so-called "Communist" purge in Shanghai in April, 1927, the story of which was told in André Malraux's novel, "Man's Fate." Dr. Chang happily declares that following this purge "the bourgeoisie" came to power and the Nanking government was founded and recognized by all powers but the Soviet Union. After the purge, Chiang became "tired" and rested his "body and soul" in a temple—and in the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo. In Japan he negotiated with Mrs. Soong for marriage with her daughter, his present wife, a marriage which put him on the map again, after which he became supreme head of the Nanking government.

Dr. Chang's interpretation of Chinese-Soviet relations from 1923 onward, and his interpretations of the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, differ greatly from that of Dr. Sun Fo, son of Dr. Sun and author of the new book "China Looks Forward." Diametrically opposed to Dr. Sun Fo and to Chinese agrarian research scholars, he states that there is no "social malady" in China's agrarian economy. He draws heavily on the absolutist ideology of "China's Destiny," the anti-democratic book published in Chungking last year under the name of the Generalissimo.

Only about one-third of the book is devoted to the Sino-Japanese war, and this most incomplete. For the first three years of the war Chiang Kai-shek emerged as the great leader of a united nation. Disunity set in after 1939 because of the growth of proto-fascist institutions such as the ubiquitous secret political police, concentration camps, censorship, suppression of civil liberties, official corruption, and war profiteering. Little or nothing is mentioned of such things, and China's liberal democrats are dismissed as men without a following, the author's information being based on a "chat" on a street corner which he had with a democratic leader.

Toward the end of the volume occurs a strange and significant episode: a friend of the author's recently traveled overland from Shanghai to Chungking. En route he saw officials and policemen who worked for the Japanese "pleasantly chatting" with representatives of "free China." The author's amazing conclusion is:

> For hard-boiled realism there is no one who can beat the common man (*sic*) of China. With him it is a question of three square meals a day, and if conditions are such that they cannot serve China, what difference does it make for the moment if they are pressed into the service of the puppet regime?

While writing, the author appears to have kept a jar of honey at hand, to smear over various episodes in his hero's life. He seems also to have taken a huge salt-shaker filled with Confucian proverbs, and sprinkled them over the whole manuscript, happily "chatting" all the while. His book could be better evaluated by the public had the publishers explained the author's activities in Europe during the Spanish Civil War, during which time the American press carried something about him. An objective biography of Chiang Kai-shek would be of service to the United Nations in this war for democracy, but this one fails to fill that need.

AGNES SMEDLEY

What Americans Think

MANDATE FROM THE PEOPLE. By Jerome S. Bruner. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.75.

BY WAY of high compliment one might say that 130,000,000 Americans have been co-authors of "Mandate from the People" and that their combined efforts have been brilliantly digested, analyzed, classified, and interpreted by Dr. Bruner, associate director of the Office of Public Opinion Research of Princeton University. Making full use of all the results of the recognized opinion pollers, Dr. Bruner has brought together in one modest volume the thinking of the American people on most of the social, political, and economic problems that will have to be resolved in the post-war years. He is to be particularly commended for having recognized the limitations of his basic data, public-opinion polls. Furthermore, while Dr. Bruner's own convictions are clearly progressive, he has been careful not to inject wishful thinking into his interpretations.

It is somewhat regrettable that the charts are not as self-explanatory to the layman as they should be. It is even more regrettable that the Appendix, which might have been a valuable self-contained summary of poll results, is used merely as a supplement, without page references for those polls cited in the text.

Two significant generalizations strike the reader on almost every page of this book. The first is the relative confusion, lack of understanding, and even ignorance of the public in matters of supreme importance. This is sometimes reflected in a mere lack of knowledge of the facts. Thus five months after the enunciation of the Atlantic Charter, only twenty-three of every hundred Americans had heard or read of that historic document. And only one-third of those twenty-three could name even one provision of the charter. Similarly, when the political question in North Africa had reached the boiling point, only four Americans in ten knew who De Gaulle was and only three in ten had heard of Giraud. Even more crucial, if less surprising, is the failure of the public to see the relationship between facts they know or convictions they hold. A 1943 poll shows that only 13 per cent of Americans opposed this country's participation in a world confederation. But a poll taken a few months previously showed that only 55 per cent favored joining "even if Russia had as much to say as the United States." Fifty-five per cent is still a majority, but one wonders what kind of world organization was in the minds of the 32 per cent who disapproved of an equal voice for the major powers, to say nothing of the minor powers. This sort of inconsistency appears to be a consistent characteristic of American public opinion.

The second generalization emerging from these pages is hardly surprising: Americans, like every other people, are motivated primarily by self-interest, and this self-interest is conceived in personal rather than in national terms. A job is

370
returned from
Guadalcanal
last week

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far more important to the average American than an effective international organization. A poll taken this past winter showed that 53 per cent of the people were primarily concerned with domestic problems, and only 16 per cent with international affairs. (Campaign strategists, please note!) As might be expected, the concern with domestic problems increases the lower one goes in the economic scale.

Because of the inconsistency of the results, the polls cited by Dr. Bruner can, and undoubtedly will, be used by exponents of both sides of any particular argument. The attitude of Americans toward our enemies is a striking case in point. In future debates Rex Stout and Emil Ludwig will be using the following: Over 75 per cent of our people believe the peace treaty should be more severe than Versailles; 70 per cent believe that Germany will start preparing for another war if it loses this one; 63 per cent feel that reparations demanded by Versailles had nothing to do with the rise of Hitler; and 52 per cent think we should try to collect as much as possible from the Germans, even if it breaks them (8 per cent having no opinion). But Dorothy Thompson and Paul Hagen will counter as follows: Only 18 per cent of Americans hate the German people; only some 24 per cent feel that Germans always like war; 61 per cent say we should treat the Germans kindly and with consideration; only one in ten Americans favors dismemberment of Germany; and 64 per cent prefer that Germany continue intact under a new government.

In other words, "Mandate from the People" is a challenge to American educators. In view of the glaring failure of most Americans to relate economic realities to political opinions, it is a particular challenge to our economists. Every educator, economist, political analyst, propagandist, or aspirant to political office would do well to keep Dr. Bruner's book on his desk, not only because it can serve as a guide to what Americans think, but more significantly because it suggests methods of approach for any effort to make them think differently.

JAMES LOEB, JR.

CONTRIBUTORS

JAMES KERNEY, JR., editor of the Trenton *Times*, was appointed New Jersey State Director of the OPA by President Roosevelt. He serves on the Revision Commission, which drafted the new state constitution, and was recently appointed to the state's post-war planning group.

KARL LOEWENSTEIN is professor of Political Science at Amherst College.

WILLIAM PHILLIPS is an editor of the *Partisan Review*.

ALBERT GUERARD, professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is author of "The France of Tomorrow" and "Napoleon III."

AGNES SMEDLEY went to China at the outbreak of the Chinese revolution and lived there until recently. Her most recent book is "Battle Hymn of China."

JAMES LOEB, JR., is executive secretary of the Union for Democratic Action.

RECORDS

MY CHICAGO reader who reported on Defauw a few weeks ago made the point that in his performances one could not discover the principles which in most musicians' work account for both their successes and their failures. I was reminded of this by Serkin's recorded performance of Bach's Toccata and Fugue in E minor, which is on Columbia's August list (71594-D, $1). I have heard from Serkin beautiful-sounding and musically sensitive playing—for example in the recorded performance with Busch of Schubert's Grand Fantasia Opus 159, in the recorded Busch-Serkin Trio performance of Schubert's Opus 100, in concert performances of sonatas with Busch and concertos with Toscanini; and I can discover no principle that accounts both for this and for his clumsy and musically insensitive playing with Busch and Feuermann in a New Friends performance of a Mozart trio and with Stiedry in a performance of a Mozart concerto, or for the New Friends performance of Bach's "Goldberg" Variations, which revealed his complete unawareness of what was happening in the music while he was flinging out various forms of brilliant pianistic virtuosity. The newly issued performance of the Toccata and Fugue is like the one of the "Goldberg" Variations: while Bach is building up structural climaxes, at a couple of points in the fugue, Serkin is absorbed in building up pianissimos; and his rattling-off of the first fast section of the toccata robs the music of force and character and reduces it to insipidity. The recorded sound of the piano is dull and unresonant; surfaces are not bad.

Columbia also has issued Debussy's Sonata No. 3 for violin and piano played by Szigeti and Foldes (Set X-242; $2.50). This is Debussy's very last work, written when he was ill and could produce only a feeble patchwork of lifeless stylistic formulas and mannerisms. Into this Szigeti pumps the vitality of his playing, accompanied suavely by Foldes. The recorded sound of the violin is good; that of the piano dull; surfaces are not bad.

The rest of Columbia's August list is material from Columbia's catalogue that is newly packaged. First, in an album titled "A Wagner Concert," four single records with Wagner excerpts performed by Reiner and the Pittsburgh Symphony: the Prelude to "Die Meistersinger," the Preludes to Acts One and Three of "Lohengrin," "Forest Murmurs" from "Siegfried," and the "Ride of the Valkyries" from "Die Walküre" (Set 549; $4.50). I advised against these when they were first issued, because of the hurried, erratic performances or the recorded sound or both; and rehearing them has not changed my opinion. Then, in a newly illustrated album, the excellent and well-recorded Beecham-London Philharmonic performance of Grieg's "Peer Gynt" Suite (Set X-180; $2.50). And, in another such album, Enesco's Rumanian Rhapsody No. 1 played by Stock with the Chicago Symphony (Set X-203; $2.50). The performance is fair; when it was first issued I found its recorded sound noteworthy—after what Columbia had done previously with the Chicago Symphony—for its spaciousness, fidelity, and clarity; now I would add brashness, coarseness, and a little distortion to those qualities. Surfaces are not bad.

As for Victor, it has issued only one new set this summer; and the first record, placed on the turntable without identification, caused a friend to exclaim: "What *is* that infantile twaddle?" As it happened the infantile twaddle was the Brazilian composer Villa-Lobos's "A Próle do Bébé," or "The Child's Family," on which Artur Rubinstein saw fit to waste superb playing, and Victor to waste beautiful recording, plant, labor, and materials that might have been used for a hundred better things. Surfaces crackle and sputter a bit. (Set 970; $2.50.)

Columbia also has begun to repackage jazz records, reissuing in an album "Benny Goodman Sextet" (C-102; $2.50), eight performances chosen by Goodman himself from all that he recorded with various six-man combinations. They are "Rose Room," "Air Mail Special," "Flying Home," "I Found a New Baby," "Poor Butterfly," "Grand Slam," "Wang Wang Blues," and "As Long as I Live"; and in one after another I heard a slick going-through-motions that left me cold, until I got to the last one, in which there was the exquisite Cootie Williams solo that I remembered enjoying a few years ago, and fine playing by the others too. But this was spoiled by bad recording, which produced horrible break-ups of the sound even when the record was played with a heavy Astatic pickup.

Decca's "Ellingtonia Volume 2" in its Brunswick Collectors' Series (B-1011; $3.50) offers a few more early Ellington performances: the two-part 1931 "Creole Rhapsody" (80047); the two-part 1929 "Tiger Rag" (80048); the 1918 "Yellow Dog Blues" and "Tishomingo Blues" (80049); the 1929 "Jazz Convulsions" and 1928 "Awful Sad" (80050). The outstanding performance among these is "Tiger Rag," which is filled with brilliant and humorous solos. Of the others "Creole Rhapsody" has good moments, and "Awful Sad" one of Ellington's best tunes; the two blues are only so-so; and "Jazz Convulsions" is very dull.

As for newly recorded performances, Commodore offers the De Paris Brothers Orchestra's "Black and Blue" and "I've Found a New Baby" (552), which are quite good; and Muggsy Spanier and his Ragtimers' "Sweet Lorraine" and "September in the Rain" (1517), which are only fair. (I should add that Commodore has had its jam sessions not at Kelly's Stable but at Jimmy Ryan's.) And from Asch Records comes a set, "Mary Lou Williams" (450; $3.50), with three piano solos by Mary Lou—"New Drag" (1002), "Mary's Boogie" (1003), "St. Louis Blues" (1004)—coupled with performances by a small group that includes Frankie Newton on trumpet, Edmund Hall on clarinet, and Victor Dickenson on trombone—"Little Joe," "Roll 'Em," and "Lullaby of the Leaves." Mary Lou is a superb pianist, and much of her solo-playing in this set is excellent; but I find her "St. Louis Blues" too hectic and involved. She also gives the group performances great vitality; but the soloists are not interesting.

Ignore the notes which accompany the Ellington and Williams albums; they reach a new low even in that province of pretentious rubbish.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

What to Do?

Dear Sirs: What is a liberal going to do next November?

History has proved that there is no possible hope of any liberalism from the Republican Party. The greatest liberal advances in the history of the country have come under the Democratic administration of the last twelve years. Yet control of the Democratic Party has been taken over by the reactionary city bosses of the North plus the reactionaries of the deep South. Anybody with his eyes open knows that with such a control there is no possibility of a liberal program being continued even should Roosevelt be elected. The bosses now in control of the Democratic Party will not let him make good on any promises he may make—just as the Republican bosses four years ago would never have permitted Wendell Willkie to make good on his promises had he been elected.

Therefore, would it not be better to turn the country over in November to the frankly reactionary group—the Republican Party—than to turn it over to the reactionary bosses of the Democratic Party? Thus the Democratic Party could retain the reputation of being the one liberal hope in the country even in its defeat. And maybe in four years' time the liberal element of the Democratic Party can gain control once more and offer a truly liberal program and candidates in 1948.

I hate to vote for Mr. Roosevelt only to find that I have put in power the real controls of the Democratic Party at the present time—the Northern city bosses and the Southern reactionaries.

R. W. PENCE

Greencastle, Indiana, August 1

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Pretty Mad

Dear Sirs: I am beginning to get pretty mad on account of these reflections on my race.

I am a white man. So far as I know I have no Negro, Mongolian, or Indian blood. Though a Virginian by birth, I make no claim to be descended from Pocahontas. I have always thought that I was of English ancestry until recently, when a learned kinsman interested in genealogy revealed Scottish origin.

I am proud of my race, though to tell the truth I had not given the matter much thought until lately, when my race came under attack. In fact, I did not know that the white race needed any defending. I supposed that we had at least inherent equality and certainly acquired cultural superiority. That I now maintain. Against those eminent statesmen and learned anthropologists Talmadge, Bilbo, Rankin, Cotton Ed Smith, Reynolds, and others of equal eminence, who do not believe that the white race is able to hold its own in free competition with the Negro except by giving white people artificial and legal advantages in defiance of our American Constitution, I hereby assert without fear of successful contradiction that inherently the white race is equal to any other on earth, and that with centuries of cultural development behind us we can hold our own in competition with any other race.

And while I am on the subject of race, I want to defend my Anglo-Saxon and Celtic blood against the implicit charge that we are inferior to Semites. There are those who think that Jews are so much smarter than we are, that for our own protection it is necessary to close the field of free competition against Jews. Jews may be able to make money and secure teaching positions to such an extent that the rest of us will be pushed into the background. The big papers, the motion-picture industry, the banks, and department stores will be so controlled by Jews that the rest of us will have to take a back seat.

Now I resent that reflection on my race. Jews may be smarter, but they'll have to show it in a field of open and free competition. I do not fear the test. My belief in my own race is so strong that I challenge any other on earth to comparison in any worthy field.

It will be noted that these attacks on the white race and on "Nordics" come not from other races but from timid souls in our own camp who cannot trust inherent qualities and cultural tradition, but seek by force, by law, by discriminations and inequalities, by prejudice, to maintain their own supremacy. We all know that some people are superior to others in heredity, in character, in intelligence. Such persons do not usually go about proclaiming it. Others will find it out. But individuals afflicted with an inferiority complex must shout their alleged and fictitious superiority, and if they shout loud enough, there are some poor fools who will believe them and elect them to office.

JOHN C. GRANBERY
(Editor and publisher of
The Emancipator)

San Antonio, Texas, July 27

Contrary View

Dear Sirs: Yer chilluns is fighting and ye ain't seed nothing yet.

As long as unions can strike and the heads of unions can disclaim responsibility therefor, strikes will continue.

As long as heads of unions can declare the door open wide to Negroes, knowing that their members will not let them in, there will be riots and they will mostly be in the North. Down South, we let the Negroes work; that is what we bought them for, in the first place.

Ideology aside, this country is not ready for social equality between whites and blacks, nor is it ready for domination by unscrupulous union labor and only trouble and more trouble can result from trying to put them over.

This letter is meant in a kindly spirit

by one who is as anxious as you are to see the white and black races put on an equitable working basis. He just knows that social equality is simply impossible of attainment. Some segregational basis must be arrived at.

J. P. KEMPER

Baton Rouge, La., June 30

Better Late Than Never

Dear Sirs: Your issue of June 3 has just arrived and I am sufficiently impressed by the article by J. A. del Vayo, the editorial on Churchill, and the letter by a Negro private, to make a point of letting you know how much this magazine means to me. Cut off from daily papers, unable to obtain desired British political publications, I find myself more and more dependent upon *The Nation*, arrive though it must so late.

Permit me to echo the sentiments of B. S. in the article, Snapshot from Algiers, in so far as the attitude of American soldiers is concerned. I am much amused by the fact that B. S. thought to distinguish between American "soldiers" and "officers"—if one chooses officers on a basis including knowledge of the war and its causes, one would have too small an officer corps! But it remains an incontrovertible and sad fact that not only are American soldiers (and I include the officers) ignorant of what the war is about and what they are fighting for, but also they don't care to learn—they might be inwardly compelled to do more!

SGT. W. A. C.

Somewhere in England, July 8

Music and Politics

Dear Sirs: Judging from his letter in *The Nation* of August 12, Andor Foldes believes that a music critic who actually criticizes the music of his own time is a "die-hard reactionary," and therefore not the right critic for a liberal publication. Does Mr. Foldes feel that the politically conservative New York *Herald Tribune must* have a music editor who does not like the work of modern composers?

I find it impossible to see any relationship between a person's musical and political views. I disagree with many of Mr. Haggin's opinions, such as his admiration for Verdi's operas and his lack of admiration for Bruckner's symphonies; but I have never read an article of Mr. Haggin's which did not seem to be based on a careful and logical personal evaluation of the music being discussed.

If Mr. Foldes really believes that Mr. Haggin is "engaged in a one-man campaign against everything good written today in music," he should read what Mr. Haggin has written about the music of Ernest Bloch. If Mr. Foldes really believes that Mr. Haggin has neither patience nor understanding, he should read what Mr. Haggin has written about the string quartets of Beethoven, the piano sonatas of Schubert, the "Romeo and Juliet" of Berlioz.

S. D. R.

Pittsburgh, August 10

The Powers and the Peace

Dear Sirs: I read the editorial Churchill's Blunderbuss, in your issue of June 3 with a good deal of interest.

Your opposition to a world dominated and ruled by the big three seems to me to be a little belated as well as naive. Hasn't it been evident for a long time that the peace we were to have was a great powers peace? A peace based on the imperialistic greed of the great powers who would preserve their gains by force.

Teheran did nothing to change this outlook.

Your sharp criticism of Churchill contrasts oddly with your considerate restraint toward Stalin. Has Stalin not gone as far and farther than Churchill in his proposed "New Deal" for Europe?

Here are a few samples. Recognition of Badoglio, unilateral action in the case of Poland with resulting increase in Russian territory and the probable destruction of even the home of a free Poland, the absorption of the Baltic states without consulting the people involved or permitting them to express their preference in a neutrally supervised plebiscite. Just one or two more examples. The proposed "compensation" of Poland by purely German territory and German population and lastly the Carthaginian peace offered by Stalin to Finland, a peace designed to destroy Finland by undermining it economically, later to be gobbled up à la the Baltic states. A part of Stalin's design since the Hitler-Stalin pact.

The only puzzle is what is America's share of the booty to be. Certainly our Allies (the big two) shrug off all idealistic nonsense of a just peace. They hope for a "lasting" peace of their own design of course.

What puzzles this reader is that a paper once regarded as clinging to the truth no matter how unpleasant should now accept the fellow traveler attitude in foreign affairs.

On this day of the invasion it is more and more evident that the only menace to a just and durable peace comes from the great powers among the United Nations. Germany and Japan are doomed to defeat and are no longer a menace.

In the perhaps unjustified hope that *The Nation* will once more view the world more objectively I'm enclosing my renewal subscription.

ANNE KERR

Frederick, S. D., June 6

In Memoriam

Dear Sirs: August 22 brought back to me poignant memories of that black day in 1927 when Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were executed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. And I remember talks with the two in jail and prison, correspondence with them, speaking tours of industrial cities in their behalf, and picketing the State House in Boston with many others in the last days before Governor Fuller gave the decision that sent them to the electric chair.

Those talks with "a poor fish peddler and a good shoemaker" were rich treasure to me. Both were aware of significant happenings in the outside world. They knew, for instance, of the pretensions to power by the upstart Mussolini in their homeland before *Il Duce's* name was in American newspaper headlines, and they saw him not only as a social menace in Italy, but as a danger to world peace.

Our society killed them for their social opinions. They were among the first of the "premature anti-Fascists."

ROSE PESOTTA

New York City, August 11.

An Honest Critic

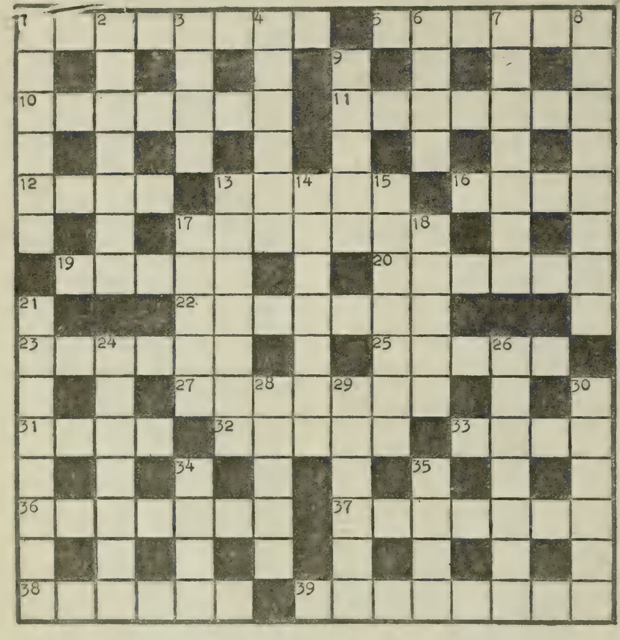
Dear Sirs: I see that one of your correspondents takes exception, in words probably intended to be humorous, to Mr. Agee as film critic. Criticisms of films in the average newspaper, like reviews of books, are inseparably linked with advertising and thus worth nothing. At a time when three-fourths of the film output is practically rubbish, an honest critic like James Agee is highly desirable.

MARC T. GREENE

Portland, Maine, August 7

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 78

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Soft words don't butter them
5 That last touch that means so much
10 One having [illegible] special liking for anything
11 Ruler of the Black Forest elves (hyphen, 3-4)
12 Flower girl
13 A pearl fisher, perhaps
16 Painting made by a dub
17 Lampoons
19 Word that makes the bus go
20 Breakfast food that sounds as though it should be continued
22 Absurd country judge in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*
23 Where they are hardly likely to forget Pearl Harbor
25 Poison
27 Led astray
31 "All who joy would win must share it, happiness was born a ----" (Byron)
32 He is beyond human aid
33 They have been known to drown
36 Colonies where a considerable amount of monkey business goes on
37 London district surrounded by spies
38 — — — —
39 Erroneously apprenticed to a pirate, instead of a pilot, in the operetta

DOWN

1 Very loud in the mass? Oh, nonsense!
2 Character in Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*
3 Can be soaked yet still remain dry
4 A lady's order to the hairdresser to let?
6 "Ill fares the land, to hastening ---- a prey, Where wealth accumulates, and men decay" (Goldsmith)
7 Simulate
8 Welcome to the thirsty American, but not to the nervous fielder
9 Look it up, and it will be all the same if you do it now
13 Spirited
14 The penultimate chapter usually sees his finish
15 Rally
17 The Simple One sometimes mentioned in these clues
18 "Those we desire never see" (hidden)
21 Pony race
24 They spend their lives in public service
26 King's barber in *If I Were King* (McCarthy)
28 Eat it, or drink it
29 He lawfully opens other people's letters
30 Just what the doctor ordered, perhaps
34 A rich source, and it belongs to me
35 Pens may be driven, but pencils must be this

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 77

ACROSS:—1 FRIENDS; 5 SCALPEL; 9 NIFTIER; 10 UNBATED; 11 EGG; 13 HEROES; 15 OSTEND; 16 STRETCH; 17 WHOA; 19 INKY; 20 SATINWOOD; 21 PORK; 23 OSLO; 26 HEINOUS; 28 SAWYER; 29 SPLINT; 30 ASS; 32 UNIFORM; 33 OARSMAN; 34 STENTOR; 35 ENSURES.

DOWN:—1 FANSHAW; 2 INFERNO; 8 NOISES; 4 SURE; 5 SLUG; [illegible] AMBUSH; 7 PATTERN; [illegible] LADY-DAY; 12 GLEANINGS; 14 STUTTER; 15 OCTOPUS; 18 ASK; 19 IDO; 21 POSEURS; 22 RAWHIDE; 24 SWIMMER; 25 OUTINGS; 26 HE-GOAT; 27 SPIRES; 30 AMIR; 31 SOLE.

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The Shape of Things

THE NEWS FROM FREED FRANCE, POURING out in exuberant abundance, is filled with the color and fierce excitement that should characterize the rebirth of a great nation of revolutionary traditions. One reads the transcript of a radio talk made from the square in front of Notre Dame. De Gaulle arrives to join the multitude in a solemn Te Deum in the ancient cathedral. Suddenly the noise of shots, shouts, breaks into the broadcast. Then silence. Then the announcer describes the flurry of gunfire, the rush of people to shelter, and the unforgettable sight of De Gaulle walking into the cathedral, slowly, with absolute calm, through a hail of shots. "It was the most extraordinary example of courage I have ever seen." . . . One meets Sacha Guitry, under arrest as a collaborationist, complaining to reporters at the Palais de Justice that really he should be treated better as "a man of refinement and cultivation." (For the interview, Guitry was dressed in a beige worsted checked suit and a shirt "of white silk with a flowery pattern in red, white, green, and purple.") . . . One reads the painful, squirming letters exchanged among the Vichy officials and their Nazi bosses—Pétain, Laval, Abetz—side by side with the dignified final protest of the great democrat, Herriot, betrayed by Laval to the Germans. (How fitting and inevitable that climax!) . . . Or Pétain's miserable last plea to his fellow countrymen to obey the leaders "who tell you to follow a policy of reconciliation and renaissance of France through reciprocal forgiveness and love of your fellow countrymen—those are the real French leaders. Be at their side." Thus the ancient gravedigger takes his departure. . . . The story piles up—jumbled, contradictory, impossible to piece together. But one thread of meaning runs through it: Victory in France is synonymous with revolution.

*

HITLER'S BALKAN EMPIRE IS NOW IN RUINS. Under the impact of the renewed Russian offensive Rumania has switched sides and with its defection the Nazi positions throughout the Balkans, already precarious, have become untenable. As we go to press Russian tanks and motorized infantry are pouring into the Ploesti oil region, and Rumanian troops are fighting their recent allies. Bulgaria has approached the Western Allies for peace terms and has promised Russia not only to get out of the war, but to disarm all German forces in the country. It is believed, though no announcement has been made, that Bulgaria has agreed to evacuate the Greek and Yugoslav territories with which Hitler had purchased its support. In Hungary, another tottering satellite, the Germans are likely to hold on desperately since Hungary is in the path of retreat for their Balkan forces. Moreover, it is their last remaining source of natural oil. Hence they are attempting to tighten their grip on the country by means of a reorganization of its quisling government. But it remains to be seen whether they can keep the Hungarian army fighting the Russians in southern Poland now that the Rumanians are moving troops to recover Transylvania. That province was Hungary's reward for joining the Axis and they are far more concerned with saving it than with helping to hold back the Red Army from the German frontier. And so the Nazis, faced with a Russian sweep endangering their whole southern flank, suddenly find allies changed to enemies. The collapse of Axis power in Rumania and Bulgaria will in turn force a German withdrawal from Yugoslavia and Greece and the time may not be far distant when Tito's Partisans will link up with the Red Army. As Bogdan Raditsa writes elsewhere in this issue, "The long, dark Balkan night is over." Soon this war-torn corner of Europe should begin to turn to the problems of the new day which he discusses.

*

THE SPEECH WHICH COUNT CARLO SFORZA delivered in Rome last week was the first public declaration of Italy's foreign policy by a member of the Bonomi cabinet and the first practical attempt to solve the long-standing difficulties between Italy and the Balkans. As far as Greece is concerned, Sforza declared that "if the population of the Dodecanese Islands wishes to be annexed to Greece," Italy will have no objection. The desire of the population on the islands—and of the entire Greek people—is overwhelmingly in favor of that annexation, of course. Sforza asks that Fiume be made "one of the seats" of a super league of nations, to link eastern and western Europe and to solace Russia for its grievances at Geneva. Certainly, Yugoslavia is unlikely to accept such a solution to the problem of the Dalmatian Coast. Yugoslavia wants not only Fiume, but Zara, Istria, Gorizia, and also Trieste, which Sforza sees as an "internationalized" port, belonging officially to Italy, but in whose administration Yugoslavia would have a hand. This last suggestion is a step forward from Sforza's attitude of some twenty years ago, and the Yugoslavs, if not the Italians, may be inclined to look favorably upon it. They will not hesitate to underline the necessity, which Sforza pointed out, of a Yugoslav federal union with Bulgaria, stretching from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. This is the Mazzinian conception of Italian foreign policy, which Sforza honestly defended during his career. It is encouraging to see it returning to life.

*

IN FORWARDING HIS LATEST LEND-LEASE report to Congress the Preident urged: "Until the unconditional surrender of both Japan and Germany, we should continue the lend-lease program on whatever scale is necessary to make the combined striking power of all the United Nations as overwhelming and as effective as we can make it." Considering the fact that we have been fighting the whole global war as a joint enterprise, the continued pooling of resources after the fall of Germany ought to be beyond argument. But such groups as the National Association of Manufacturers are insinuating that the prolongation of lend-lease will enable Britain to hold down its national debt at our expense and to obtain unfair advantages in world trade. According to some unnamed informants quoted by the *Wall Street Journal*, Britain will be able to supply its own military needs for a finish fight with Japan after Germany is knocked out. Therefore, it is asserted, the continuance of lend-lease would permit British industry to be more rapidly reconverted than American, giving it a head start in post-war exports. It would be more accurate to say that if Britain does not continue to receive lend-lease aid, particularly in the form of food, it will be compelled to divert industrial capacity from armament manufacture to the production of export goods in order to be able to pay for those imports it must obtain or starve. In any event, as the President's report points out, American cash exports—that is, other than lend-lease goods—have been maintained at pre-war levels and have been increasing for the past year. On the other hand, British exports have been deliberately cut to the bone in the interests of greater war production and are now barely 50 per cent of their pre-war value. In the post-war trade stakes American traders are miles in front.

*

WHEN THE NEWS OF THE RESIGNATION OF Brazil's Foreign Minister, Oswaldo Aranha, appeared in the American press, it caused an immediate sensation. Brazil has been generally looked upon in this country as one of South America's stable dictatorships; thanks both to the tight censorship of Vargas's Department of Propaganda and to the influence exercised at this end by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, almost none of the events leading up to the present government crisis have been made public. A few of them are briefly sketched in the Political War Section this week, and *The Nation* plans to follow events in Brazil with close attention in the weeks ahead. Meanwhile, the question that most agitates Americans is whether Aranha's resignation will draw Brazil away from the United States and closer to Argentina. This may, of course, happen.

But a profound rivalry exists between the two leading South American countries, and Brazil's ties with the United States are cemented with many millions of dollars' worth of lend-lease material and bases. Certainly Vargas will do his best to maintain his good—and profitable—relations with us, while he attempts to bolster up his internal position with repression and every other fascist technique. He may hope to act as mediator between Argentina and the United States and he may even move closer to Argentina and try to form a common front against the spread of "communism" on the continent. But whatever course he takes in foreign relations, we can be sure that his general policy will be dictated by one aim—to keep his own crowd in power and his own head on his shoulders. This is what really lies behind his prompt acceptance of Aranha's resignation.

*

HERBERT HOOVER MUST HAVE REJOICED AS the House Ways and Means Committee reaffirmed its faith in "rugged individualism" by eliminating the last of the George bill's provisions for orderly demobilization of the country's war workers. Not satisfied with having rejected a federally sponsored retraining program for war workers and having knocked out all arrangements for helping migrant war workers to return to their homes, the committee refused to extend the benefits of unemployment insurance to the millions of emergency federal employees who will be displaced at the end of the war. With these provisions eliminated, the George bill remains little more than an empty shell. If the committee has its way, civilian demobilization is to be carried out on an each-man-for-himself basis. Regardless of the economic fallacy of supposing that an orderly adjustment to a peacetime economy can be made in such a fashion, the committee has shown incredibly poor judgment in taking this action in face of the critical situation on the manpower and production front. Manpower authorities are seriously disturbed by the fact that many war workers are quitting their jobs to seek permanent civilian positions. In recent weeks the War Manpower Commission has been making a special effort to persuade civilian workers and men thrown out of work by cut-backs to migrate to areas where there is still a shortage of manpower. By announcing that war workers will have to fend for themselves without federal assistance when hostilities end, the Ways and Means Committee is, in effect, sabotaging the manpower program. We trust that the President will intervene before too much damage has been done.

*

IT IS A CRIME, IT WOULD SEEM, FOR THE Department of Justice to attempt to enforce the law when the law is the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and the defendants are wealthy corporations. This is the only conclusion to be drawn from the unmeasured abuse hurled at the department whenever it invokes the act against really powerful vested interests. The latest instance is the reaction to a suit filed by Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge in Lincoln, Nebraska, against forty-seven Western railroads, their New York bankers, and other coadjutors, charging them with unlawful agreements to restrict competition. Roaring defiance at the department, Charles E. Johnston, chairman of the Western Association of Railroad Executives, one of the defendant organizations, declared that the Attorney General was seeking to set up a dictatorship over industry by attempting to enforce "a revolutionary change . . . in the method of establishing freight rates." This, in a sense, is true. It will be revolutionary if the Department of Justice ends a system by which secret cabals of "competitors" fix freight rates, by which the Southern and Western states are charged discriminatory rates which hinder their industries from developing in competition with those of the East, by which improvements in railroad services and facilities are retarded in order to avoid "wasteful competition." It will be a revolutionary change but a very salutary one. The railroads, the Eastern bankers who control them, and their Eastern editorial supporters may rant and sneer but the South and West will take a very different view. As Carey McWilliams points out in his article on page 263, this question of discriminatory freight rates is a burning issue on the Pacific coast. It is no less so in the South. For in both these "colonial" regions men of all political colors are girding for battle to protect their war-born industries from destruction by Eastern monopolists.

Let France Clean House

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE hour is one for rejoicing, but for rejoicing tempered by watchfulness, for rejoicing backed by determination. Paris is free; France is being liberated; the Russian forces in the East are driving toward the walls of Hitler's inner fortress—but Hitler is not defeated. Whether his power will collapse suddenly or will gird itself for fierce, suicidal resistance, no one knows. The military factors involved in this question are discussed on another page by Charles G. Bolté. The political factors cannot be weighed; they can only be cited.

Mr. Churchill thinks the war has been growing less ideological as it nears its end. Surely he is wrong. The war is becoming more ideological. Indeed, only when the military struggle is finished will the political struggle really get under way. But even now political elements enter into every calculation. Whether or not the Nazi armies force the Allies to conquer Germany inch by inch depends not only on the weight and disposition of men

BURLINGAM

and armor; it depends as greatly on the moral strength of the Nazi idea in the army and among the people. If Hitler's "sacred fanaticism" controls the behavior of both, the war will go on as long as weapons and men remain. Even if the people are as disillusioned and war-weary as reports indicate, the army might still fight hard on the frontier, as it has done with less reason in many isolated strongholds in France. But if the conviction of ultimate defeat has begun to undermine both the stamina of the people at home and the will of the soldiers to kill and to die, then collapse may come soon and suddenly. We do not know how much political strength Hitler has left and so speculation about the duration of the war, while natural, is futile. It may even prove demoralizing if the fight wears on into next winter. What is needed is a kind of tough fatalism, a determination to fight and produce as if Hitler's armies were at the peak of their power; and to back the military offensive with propaganda calculated to hurry the disintegration of Nazi arrogance and zeal.

But the morale of Hitler's cohorts is only one of the political factors that men of democratic temper must weigh. The freeing of Paris, largely through the magnificent revolt of its population, and the successful operations of the F.F.I. all over France, give notice to friends as well as foes that the future of the country will be what its resistance forces wish it to be. Do not doubt that De Gaulle knows that and accepts it. Writers who prophesy, with what sounds like a note of malicious hope, mounting difficulties between the provisional government and the resistance, offer no proof. And De Gaulle's appointed officials in France have by all accounts gone out of their way to defer to the men and women who have fought their way through the years of occupation and Nazi terror.

When the government moves to Paris, it will undoubtedly be reorganized to take in a greater number of resistance leaders. Differences will arise; political divisions have not been wiped out by the struggle for liberation. But the passionate desire in all groups for a renovated democracy is likely to give France a period of genuine cooperation among the resistance elements.

Where a political break is likely is in the ranks of the provisional government itself. The removal of the government to France will certainly necessitate a purge of dubious elements. The Algiers administration is cluttered with souvenirs of British-American diplomacy: pre-war bureaucrats as well as Vichy left-overs from the days of Darlan and Giraud. These must go if the government is to have the confidence or properly represent the revolutionary fighters of France. Even some honest patriots may be forced out of a regime which must provide a maximum of toughness, coupled with energy and efficiency, to meet the demands of a great nation laid waste by four years of slavery and looting.

Above all, the fascists and collaborationists must be cleaned out of every government office, every courtroom, every school, every newspaper in France. The purge must be thorough or the purposes of the struggle will have been lost. The French in the liberated areas have already shown their determination to do the job, and so far the Allied military authorities have had the sense to keep their hands off and let the people who have suffered mete out justice to those who betrayed them.

Is this a fixed policy or, when the French civil administration takes hold under the agreements just signed by General Eisenhower and General Koenig, will the Allies try to deflect these processes from their appointed course? It is impossible to forget that the danger of "disorder" was as often urged as the danger of "dictatorship" to justify American hostility to the Free French. It is impossible to forget Allied intervention in North Africa on behalf of collaborationists accused of treason or other political crimes. Perhaps that page in the history of our relations with France has been torn out and the new agreements inserted in its place. But if this is so, why was Robert Murphy recently made General Eisenhower's adviser on French affairs? And why do we now hear that he is being seriously considered for the post of American representative to the provisional government?

Defenders of Mr. Murphy like to remind one that he had favored the recognition of De Gaulle for some time before the General visited Washington. This may well be true. Our French expert is an old hand at expediency. Like his friend Darlan, he knows when to switch sides. But this explanation is not apt to satisfy French democrats who take seriously their fight against fascism whether of Berlin or Vichy make. To appoint Robert Murphy representative to the French provisional government would be a profound insult to the men and women who have risked their lives to exterminate the very elements whom Murphy protected and helped establish in power.

The French people know what Murphy will never know—and why should he when so great a leader as Churchill also fails to recognize it?—that this war is a fragment of an unfinished revolution. Hitler must be defeated; but also, and equally, the men who defended him and made deals with him and profits out of him—the friends of Robert Murphy—must be defeated. And the system of control, political and economic, that bred the whole fascist plague must be defeated. All this is happening in France. It will happen in other parts of Europe, even if we should use the power of food and money and diplomacy to try to prevent it. One Murphy will not stop a revolution; but the appointment of Murphy would go far to convince the people of France, and of other countries too, that even now, with our armies fighting their way to Germany, we Americans have only the foggiest idea what the war is all about.

IN BRIEF

ANNA AND THE KING OF SIAM. By Margaret Landon. The John Day Company. $3.75.

There is extremely rich material in this story of the English woman, Anna Leonowens, who in the 1860's was engaged to teach English to the children and favorite concubines of the King of Siam. Mrs. Landon has done an extraordinary amount of conscientious research, and she handles her subject with competence and taste. Having lived for ten years in Siam, she knows the background of her story very well and has filled it in with great care. In a way the trouble with the book is that Mrs. Landon has not taken enough liberties with her material, partly because of her admirable desire to stick to the facts but mainly because she lacks the artists's flair that might make of her material the Arabian Nights tale which, in essence, it is. Likewise her heroine, the frail but redoubtable Anna, whose passion for uplift had its triumphs even in Siam, fails to take on her legitimate symbolic character as foil to the Oriental splendor and sordidness of the Siamese court, and she is not particularly engaging in her own right. The book is interesting, nevertheless, and it contains some wonderfully choice items—for instance, the description of Queen Victoria by the King's ambassador to the Court of St. James's. "One cannot but be struck with the aspect of the august Queen of England, or fail to observe that she must be of pure descent from a race of goodly and warlike kings and rulers of the earth, in that her eyes, complexion, and above all her bearing are those of a beautiful and majestic white elephant."

MUSIC

THERE was an occasion last spring to formulate my ideas on the critic's function and his relations to artist and reader. The occasion was a panel-discussion of dance criticism at the Y. M. H. A., in which I participated as a critic in another field who might have ideas on criticism in general that would be applicable to criticism of the dance. The subject of the discussion was "What Is Fair and Unfair in Dance Criticism?"; and my way of answering that question was to state what I thought was possible in criticism—what a critic could and should do.

Recently, I said, there have been people who have thought themselves ideally equipped to write about music for the lay newspaper or magazine audience by the fact that they operated on a level of insight, judgment, and taste no more professional or educated than their readers' own. But the idea used to be that the man who wrote about an art should be someone who could give his readers the benefit of an ability to see or hear more than they could. And that, I think, is the correct idea. The critic, properly, is someone with superior powers of perception who says to his reader: "This is what I have seen or heard"; after which the reader looks or listens, and says: "Why yes—how true, how wonderful!" But of course he also may say: "Why no—I don't see or hear that; I see or hear this." So with the critic's evaluation of what he perceives: "Why yes," says the reader, "such qualities make the work bad." But he also may say: "Why no—."

I went on to point out that according to this conception of the critic's activity he writes for his reader, not for the artist. And I made this point because the artist has a tendency to think that the critic operates primarily for him. Aaron Copland, for example, has argued that it is the critic's duty to nurture the artist—to tell him what is good in his work and what is bad, and presumably what can be improved and how to improve it. That, I contend, is not correct. If we assume, as we should, that the artist works from inner necessities, then it is for him to produce whatever those necessities dictate, and for the critic only to report to his reader what they have dictated. It is true, I added, that in such a report the critic does have certain obligations to the artist—the obligation to bring an unprejudiced and receptive mind to the artist's work, to keep that mind entirely on that work, and to report honestly what it finds there; the obligation, in other words, to write a criticism of the work, not to misuse it and misrepresent it in an exhibition of the critic's own cleverness, his wit, his learning, his pet ideas, his amusing style. But the critic who operates with competence and with un-self-conscious absorption in the work he is dealing with—this critic operates as he should, and with fairness to artist and reader.

All of this could be elaborated; what I want to say a little more about right now is the reader's "Why no—." As I have described the critic's activity it consists in using his powers of perception and evaluation to animate those of his reader. To animate—not to dictate: what the critic tells the reader about a piece of music the reader can accept as true for himself only if his own ears and mind verify it. But if the critic may not impose his greater insights on the reader, neither may the reader impose his lesser insights on the critic.

The reader who tries to do this, as I pointed out recently, is someone who, because he cannot hear something, does not believe anyone else can. One could say that he doesn't credit even the critic with insights greater than his own; but the truth is that he isn't aware of insights being involved. And this is only one of the misconceptions that add up to his ignorance about music and everything connected with it—composition, performance, criticism. He has no understanding of what sort of personal resources—of mind, emotion, character, experience—are involved, along with mere facility in sound, in the creation of good music; or of such personal resources being involved, along with mere facility of fingers, in good performance. And he has no understanding of the fact that an equipment of the same professional caliber—both in sensitiveness to the medium and in personal resources

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—is involved in good criticism. That is why he is shocked by the critic's disrespect for a composer or violinist, but feels free to be arrogant to the critic.

It is also why he is shocked by the critic's intensity about what he thinks good or bad. That is, he doesn't realize it is the intensity of the professional who cares deeply about his art. Toscanini becomes enraged when a phrase is not as it should be, because that phrase is something he cares about. And Shaw once wrote: "People have pointed out evidences of personal feeling in my notices as if they were accusing me of a misdemeanor, not knowing that a criticism written without personal feeling is not worth reading. It is the capacity for making good or bad art a personal matter that makes a man a critic."

B. H. HAGGIN

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ANNA LOUISE STRONG first went to Russia in 1921 and has been a sympathetic observer of its development ever since. In 1930 she organized the Moscow *Daily News*, the first English-language paper in Russia. Her books include "Children of Revolution," "This Soviet World," "The Remaking of an American," and "I Change Worlds."

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Letters to the Editors

Prophecy

Dear Sirs: In his column of July 13, cabled from London, William Philip Simms wrote as follows:

"The outstanding impression which I brought back from Normandy is not the need for the United States to recognize General de Gaulle and his committee, as that General de Gaulle should recognize the United States."

In a fantasy entitled Mr. Hull's Bad Dream, published in *The Nation* on August 21, 1943, Paul Winkler wrote:

"The French Committee of National Liberation held a meeting in Algiers today, deliberating whether it should recognize the State Department as a body representing American interests."

Mr. Winkler's article was written in a satirical fashion, but it had a prophetic aspect.

Simms's point was that General de Gaulle has the necessary prestige for clearing up whatever misunderstandings may exist in France concerning America and Britain. Incidentally, this was his conclusion after he had visited Normandy. He had written a number of strongly anti-De Gaulle articles before he went abroad. MINNA DELMAN

New York, August 1

Soldiers and Votes

Dear Sirs: I recall reading some time ago in Letters to the Editors a communication which recounted at length the difficulties encountered in obtaining a soldier ballot. I am naturally not in a position to say whether the writer's account was strictly accurate but I would like to mention the fact that a different situation obtains in this part of the world.

In our particular outfit the War Ballot officers have been very active and efficient. Lectures—clear and unbiased—have been given to the troops and every opportunity has been offered to satisfy our questions on soldier voting. Just recently the first applications for ballots were quickly and thoroughly circulated. In fact, if an eligible soldier does not vote I would say it is entirely because of his own inertia. That remark applies only to the situation with which I am familiar.

It would be interesting to know the reactions of other soldiers. It seems to me the California case is an isolated instance—not that it isn't important to note isolated instances.

If I may put in a blurb for you, let me say that *The Nation* is coming through with admirable speed. It represents a fine source of stimulating opinion. Without it I would soon feel out of the running. Thanks to you for keeping me in touch with currents elsewhere.

K. W. G.

New Guinea, August 6

The Army Does Its Part

Dear Sirs: I think you might be interested in excerpts from a letter that I have just received from my younger brother, who is a non-commissioned officer serving in the United States Army abroad. I quote:

> The powers that be are going madly at the job of advising us of our voting rights, etc. Movies telling us that we are a democracy and that voting is a right we must exercise, pointing out to us that nobody can force us to vote if we don't want to, that our ballots are secret and that they don't give a damn whom we vote for, etc., whereas (as the film shows) in the Axis countries the soldiers are forced to vote and forced to vote for the dictator. . . . I doubt if most of the soldiers are going to vote. It has been made very easy for them to vote but from appearances they seem to believe that Roosevelt will get in anyway, regardless of how they vote. They want Roosevelt to be reelected but don't realize that he may need their votes. General thought is that Roosevelt got us into this Army, now let him get us out. There has been absolutely no electioneering. The War Department is being very scrupulous about that. I guess they don't want to get into any trouble with the Republicans.

I. FERGUSON

New York, August 3

The Hitch

Dear Sirs: "Soldier Voting Poster Number Two," was recently distributed to the Armed Forces by the War Department. The poster describes the methods and procedures for obtaining state absentee ballots. Upon casual and hasty inspection of the poster I noted the following statements:

New Mexico, The District of Columbia, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Kentucky have no provisions for absentee voting or have suits pending as to whether or not absentee voting is constitutional.

Alabama, Delaware, and Louisiana

The Peace Plans

SO FAR as can be judged from the outside the Dumbarton Oaks Conference is going well. The peace plans presented by the Big Three agree not only in most essentials but, to a considerable extent, in detail as well. On the chief issue, the necessity for creating an international security organization with power to prevent aggression, there is complete unanimity. As for detail, it is agreed that the new organization should be constructed on the same general lines as the League of Nations, with an assembly made up of delegates from all nations, great and small, and a council of eleven or twelve in which America, Britain, Russia, China, and probably France, would be permanently represented. The council would be responsible, as the American plan states it, "for the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the security of the nations." It would have the duty of deciding when and how military force should be employed in suppressing aggression. No international "police force" is provided for in the American or British plans; the forces employed would presumably be drawn from the regular armies of the members of the Big Four in whose sphere the aggression was committed. These forces would be called upon only after a majority vote of the council, in which all four of the major powers must concur.

It is easy to pick flaws in the proposals. They lack the mechanical perfection of Culbertson's superstate. Idealists will find that they are not based on as lofty a conception of principle as the League of Nations. To an even greater extent than the League, the new security organization will be frankly an instrument of the great powers. But although the proposed organization bears the marks of expediency, we must not allow its obvious defects to blind us to its immense constructive possibilities. Honest isolationists rarely object to international cooperation in principle. Their isolationism consists rather of refusing to participate in any particular venture in international cooperation because it does not fit their conception of an ideal world. The war has shown that we can no longer allow ourselves this luxury.

Judged in terms of political realities rather than abstract principle, the plan on which the Big Three are seemingly agreed has merit. It provides a mechanism for making the United Nations a permanent reality. The three Western powers that have shown themselves most interested in preserving peace—the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union—are put in a position where they can no longer dodge the responsibility that goes with strength—as all of them did, at one time or another, in the late 1930's. Moreover, the plan seems to offer these three powers—without whose cooperation peace is impossible—a common interest for working closely together. This may be sufficient, as President Roosevelt has suggested, to provide "a peaceful period for our grandchildren to grow up in."

Assurance of peace however, is most certainly not provided by any scheme which leaves each of the major powers fully armed and the sole judge of its own behavior. The League operated fairly effectively in preventing wars between smaller nations, but it collapsed completely when confronted with differences between the major powers. This problem has been met only to the extent that the war has reduced the number of major powers. No mechanism has even been proposed for curbing aggression on the part of Britain, Russia, China, or the United States. Nor is provision made for action in case any one of the Big Four is reluctant, for one reason or another, to move against an aggressor. This means that each of the powers controlling the council will, in effect, make its own law within its sphere of influence, subject only to such moral suasion as the other powers and the smaller countries are able to exercise.

These weaknesses are, of course, inescapable in a plan that depends upon national armies for the enforcement of peace. No nation is going to permit its army to be ordered about, or its boys to be sent to war, by an international agency unless it concurs in the action. Only an army that is international in personnel and direction could be used impartially against all aggressors regardless of size or political alignments. Such an army has been ruled out as "impractical" by both the United States and Great Britain, presumably out of deference to isolationist opinion in this country. Russia has proposed the creation of an international air force, but the United States, as the leading air power, has been extremely cool to the idea.

Important though it is to work for a strengthening of the mechanism of the new organization, our main efforts in the coming months will doubtless have to be exerted in defending the plan against those who oppose even this halting step toward internationalism. Already there are indications of the nature of the campaign that will be waged against it. As in the case of Lodge's successful attack on the League, the campaign will not be directed against the organization in principle. Instead, the opposition will concentrate on details, hoping to weaken it beyond hope of effectiveness. Arthur Krock has suggested, for example, that isolationists may seek to emasculate the new organization by insisting that Congress retain power to veto the use of American troops by direction of the council, even though such action is approved by the American representative on the council. Dozens of other crippling reservations doubtless will be suggested. But 1944 is not 1920. The favorable reception given to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals throughout the country indicates that America is now prepared to accept the responsibilities it rejected a quarter of a century ago. That in itself represents progress.

The War Fronts

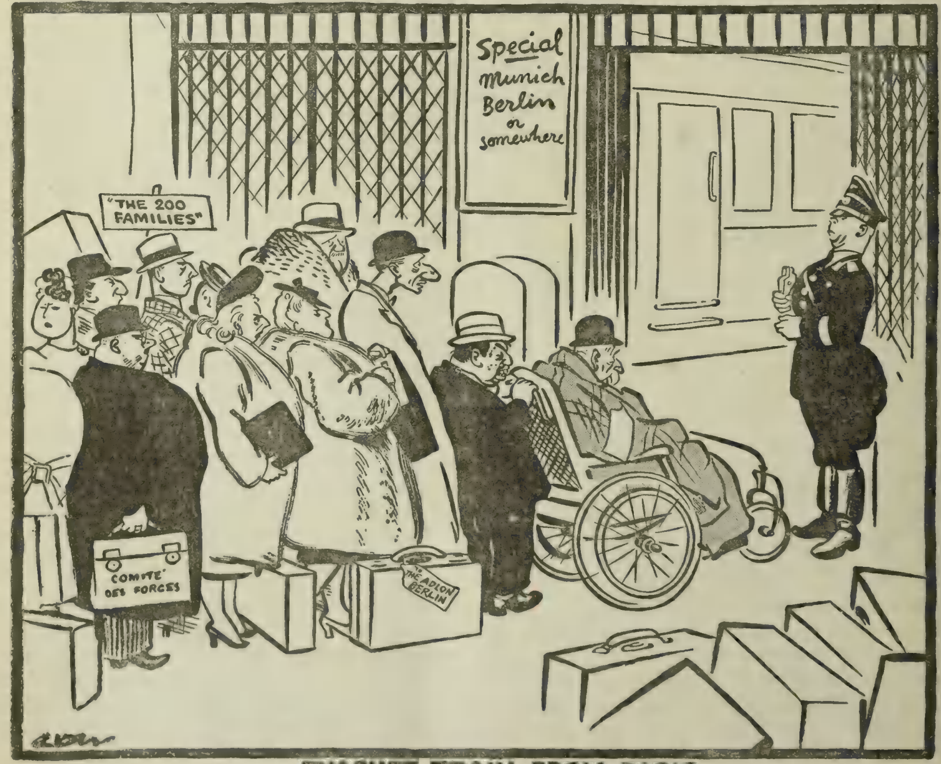
BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

Hitler's Blitzkrieg in Reverse

RISKING the wrath of official Washington and the fate of all prophets, I am prepared to guess in print that Germany will be out of the war by November 15.

Indeed, November 15 may seem a very generous date; but we've learned from this war that when Jerry's in a hopeless position everybody knows he's licked except Jerry. On the other hand, we've also learned that when he's holding a last-ditch position and that position is then broken through, he cracks up very quickly. The Wehrmacht is now in a hopeless position, but it won't admit it's licked; inside ten weeks it should have been brought to a last-ditch position, that position should have been broken through, and then the Wehrmacht should have cracked up very quickly indeed. Remember the bitter fight the Germans made in Tunisia, until Alexander's brilliant break-through of the lines guarding Tunis and Bizerte, when German resistance suddenly vanished; substitute Germany proper for Cap Bon, and you can estimate how sudden the collapse will be.

Two weeks ago in these columns I said that the Germans must hold the line following the Seine from Havre to Paris and running southeast to Dijon, which protected the flying-bomb bases of the Pas de Calais and the approaches to the Reich. That line is already gone, punctured by half a dozen armored columns, and the enemy is evacuating the Pas de Calais. This means that the Battle of France is over, no matter if the enemy's tenacious and skilful rear guards delay the Allied advance to the borders of Germany. Strategically the Battle of



EVACUEE TRAIN FROM PARIS

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France was won when General Patton (arch-fiend become archangel through a twist in public relations) sent a column through Sens and Troyes quickly east, when the remnants of the German Seventh Army were squeezed in the Seine pocket after having lost most of their colleagues in the Argentan pocket, and when the Allies established Seine bridgeheads between Paris and the sea. Psychologically the whole Battle of Europe was won when Paris was liberated.

Psychology aside, the military picture is overwhelmingly one-sided, both in strength and in brains. The reverse blitzkrieg is showing itself a tremendously powerful, mobile, and fast weapon. We built up the strength needed for this multi-columned drive with only a single major port to funnel through, and that not in full working order. The enemy, crossed by our refusal to land in Pas de Calais, incredibly sent part of his Fifteenth Army to retrieve the Normandy debacle; thus weakened in the key sector, and having lost about thirty divisions, he is forced by the outflanking threat of that Patton column east of Troyes to leave the Pas de Calais altogether.

Swiftest progress may still be expected in the center of the northern French front, towards Alsace and Lorraine, and in the south, where the enemy is thin on the ground and the F. F. I. strongest, towards the important Belfort Gap—a highway to the Reich which will be held with determination. In the north the rear guards will fight hard, to allow the flying-bomb crews to get in their dirty work and the Todt gang to build up the Westwall. This may be extended to the sea, possibly along the Albert Canal, the shortest line across Belgium. Then, if this line can be strengthened enough to enforce delay, there is General Brereton's new command, an entire airborne army, big enough to take any such fixed fortifications from the rear and open the route into Germany.

Meanwhile victory comes like the sun from the East, as it did twenty-six years ago. The Balkan bastion is split wide open, and although no one has to go to Berlin by way of the Iron Gate, the German and satellite divisions here are largely lost to the enemy—perhaps a hundred of them have been erased from the Oberkommando's order of battle in the past ten days.

Also lost are the Ploesti oilfields, as the highly-touted Galati Gap defenses have been swept away. As the circle constricts about the Reich, the Wehrmacht—including the Luftwaffe—is trying to wage mobile defensive warfare without gas. Buried in the headlines of the past weeks is one of the great air-power stories of the war: the attrition of synthetic-oil refineries by Allied bombers. Actually the significance of this offensive is second only to the Black Week of the Luftwaffe last February, when the USAAF crippled Germany's warplane potential on the assembly line.

That is the picture: France lost, the Balkans going, Warsaw threatened with encirclement and the way thus to be opened for a drive to the Oder, constant pressure in Italy tying down precious divisions, no gas. It is a picture without hope for Germany. But the SS seems to be in charge there, and chances of civilian collapse are remote—of revolution, negligible: there is overwhelming apathy within the Reich. The only hope is for time—time to bring V-2 into action, ten tons of rocket bomb against England; time for something else, perhaps gas. But Germany's leaders must act quickly, for the Allied arms are robbers of time, and the impetus of drives east and west will be hard to stop.

Nelson vs. Wilson

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, August 25

TO UNDERSTAND the Nelson-Wilson row one must keep in mind that there are two controversies going on here, both under the same general heading of reconversion. One, being debated in Congress, involves legislation on the planning, direction, and control of the reconversion of industry to peacetime output once the war is over, and this includes such key questions as the amount of unemployment compensation to be paid during the changeover. The other, being fought out among the military and civilian agencies concerned with war production, involves the question of when and under what conditions they should begin to release and allocate materials and manpower for the resumption of civilian production. The Nelson-Wilson row concerned the second, not the first.

This reconversion controversy involves the extent to which reconversion shall be permitted before the European war is over. This is not a question easily answered. In the controversy over conversion, at the very beginning of the war-production program, we were confronted by a clear question of fact: Could existing facilities and machinery be converted to the making of war materials? In the controversy over production scheduling, we were confronted with a clear issue of method: Was it necessary to go beyond the allocation of materials to the scheduling of production itself if we were to get maximum output from industry? Dogmatic answers were justified in both cases; as a general rule conversion was possible, and as a general rule production-scheduling was wise. But this problem of reconversion is one of timing and degree, in which dogmatism is hazardous, if not impossible.

Everyone agrees that only limited quantities of materials and manpower could be allocated at this time to the resumption of civilian output. The armed services are strongly opposed to allocating even limited amounts for that purpose. It is possible to discern three different sets of motivations behind this attitude. In the first place the procurement services of Army and Navy are dominated by men from big-business concerns. Big business, having hogged the bulk of war orders, now finds itself with backlogs much greater than those of smaller enterprises. Should reconversion begin before the war is over, and while the big concerns are still filling war orders, their smaller competitors would get back into the civilian market ahead of them.

In the second place, there are regular Army and Navy officers, in the procurement services and above them, who have a "brass-hat" contempt for civilian considerations and an arrogant attitude toward civilian agencies. Some of these officers, like General Somervell, head of the Army Service Forces, are men of ability and competence and have done a good job. They are strongly disinclined, even where it can be done without harm to the war effort, to pay any attention to those who argue the social desirability of giving smaller enterprises a chance to resume civilian output where small quantities of materials and manpower are available, and of permitting as much resumption of civilian production as possible. Obviously our difficulties in the post-war period will be lessened if reconversion has already begun before the war is over and the market for war goods collapses.

But it would be unfair to attribute the hostile attitude of the War and Navy departments to reconversion solely to big-business and brass-hat influences. The Army cannot be certain that the end of the European war is in sight. What if the Germans, behind the Rhine and the Oder, succeed in making a prolonged stand? What if many more guns, shells, tanks, and trucks may be necessary for victory? The Navy, whose major concern is the Pacific war, cannot be certain that Japan will conveniently collapse six months or so after Hitler. In Europe, the biggest job is being done by the Russians, and we share the burdens of the western front with the British. In the Pacific, after the European war is over, we may find ourselves bearing the major share of the burden. Extensive military as well as naval action may be necessary. This would require a continued Navy flow of material.

There is great and far from unjustified fear that if reconversion gets under way, it will be very difficult to keep the mind of business on the war. Workers will begin shifting to civilian plants. Business men still on war orders will worry about what their competitors are doing. If the Pacific war slowed down and it was necessary to convert a good many plants back to war work, many sections of industry might prefer a negotiated peace with Japan. These War and Navy officials remember that war orders were slighted for business-as-usual until well after Pearl Harbor, and do not trust the War Production Board to keep industry in hand if a reconversion stampede should start.

Charles E. Wilson, former head of General Electric, executive vice-chairman of the WPB, and its principal liaison with the armed services, has been going slow on reconversion. Donald M. Nelson, former head of Sears-Roebuck, chairman of the WPB, has for many months hoped to speed up the process. The former is the best production man, the latter the best politician, the WPB has had. I lean to Nelson's side in this controversy, but I cannot see him as St. George or Wilson as the dragon. The reconversion orders recently issued by Nelson are of so cautious and limited a character, and the procedure they establish so cumbersome, that they can hardly interfere with the war effort. They do, on the other hand, provide some slight possibility for helping little business to get back into the civilian market.

Despite this, I find Nelson's present posture as a champion of small business somewhat ludicrous. He has been head of the WPB from the beginning. He must bear the responsibility for the WPB's failure to give small business a fair share of war orders. His shrewd maneuvering in Congress in 1942 emasculated the Smaller War Plants Corporation Act. When he began to talk reconversion more than a year ago, it was without reference to small business.

Latterly, he has shifted to the politically powerful task of linking reconversion with aid to little business. I am inclined to believe that the main element in the Nelson-Wilson struggle was Nelson's jealousy of Wilson, his fear of losing command of the WPB. And I cannot help but feel that Nelson's covert press campaign against Wilson was an underhanded and ignoble business. Nelson is slippery and two-faced, and does not fight fair. The "love session" yesterday with Wilson, in which Nelson denied there were differences between them and deplored the very stories for which Nelson and his aides are responsible, was typical.

Now Wilson has resigned and the President this morning dodged the question of whether Nelson would resume control of the WPB on his return from China. J. A. Krug, an ex-TVA man popular with big business but not with the public power people here, is replacing Wilson. Whether Nelson returns or not, the Wilson resignation makes little, if any, real difference, except to deprive us of a man who did a good job breaking production bottlenecks. Through Byrnes, big business and the military still control the timing and extent of reconversion. Little business is still outside looking in.

Moscow Looks at Dumbarton Oaks

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Moscow, August 22, by Cable

"LET there be hunger. Let there be cold. Let us freeze and starve to death in our homes. Only let there be no more war."

In these words my Moscow sister-in-law expressed the passionate wish for a stable peace that animates every Soviet citizen I have seen since my arrival six weeks ago. Her last two brothers had just left for the front. Three others are already dead, two in battle, one from overwork. Her father died from the exhaustion and strain of evacuation from the occupied area. Eight other close relatives, women and children, were murdered by the Nazis in the Ukraine.

Her husband—editor of a factory newspaper whose task is whipping up war production—was equally likely to become a casualty. He had returned from the factory at seven o'clock that Sunday morning after working all night and had dropped into bed telling his wife to call him at ten-thirty so he could return to work. Eighteen or twenty hours of responsible work daily for three years without Sunday rest or vacation had not only destroyed their home life but had reduced him physically to a nervous shadow.

Their case is quite typical. The war here has spared no one. Americans will never understand the strain endured by the Soviet people. Similarly the Soviet people cannot understand how a country engaged in war can spare the energy for election discussions. The American elections therefore somewhat disquiet people here, not because they doubt America's participation in the war to the finish but because a military victory is only half a victory. The other half is the establishment of a sound, enduring peace. Everyone knows this depends on the closest friendship with America and Britain. After three years of growing friendship and joint action with America, people here naturally dread the possible shifting of post-war policies which the American system so casually permits.

Soviet post-war policy is absolutely clear in its basic principles. It was expressed last October in the three-power declaration of the Moscow conference, recognizing the necessity of an international organization for peace and security on the basis of the equal sovereignty of peace-loving nations both large and small. No Soviet official has made any change in or addition to that declaration. All await a more concrete formulation of this basic principle by the joint conference at Dumbarton Oaks. Dewey's statement, making Dumbarton Oaks the center of an inter-party discussion, therefore seems here like playing politics with the destinies of the world.

No "Soviet plan" for Dumbarton Oaks has been published in Moscow. The first Russian assumption is that the underlying principle is Anglo-Soviet-American cooperation, which is more important than anything else. The second assumption is that the exact form of international organization is a matter for experts in international affairs. The third assumption is that all decisions must be reached jointly with American and British experts, and it would therefore have been unwise to announce a specifically "Soviet plan" before the conference.

All Soviet officials emphatically refuse to be interviewed regarding any post-war details. Comment in the Soviet press regarding post-war international organization is excessively meager and confined either to support of the general principles of Anglo-Soviet-American cooperation or to technical commentaries by unofficial but able writers who clearly state that their ideas are "only to start discussion."

The so-called Soviet plan which presumably formed the basis of Dewey's comments was contributed by Malinin, who writes on international affairs as a technical expert. It was printed in the April number of an obscure Leningrad journal, *Zvezda,* an organ for Soviet writers which is practically unobtainable in Moscow except in libraries. It was published "for purposes of discussion" and was obviously unofficial, with only such authority as the ideas themselves warrant. As such it has considerable merit.

Malinin's thesis is that the League of Nations failed not because of specific flaws in organization but because of unsatisfactory mutual relations between the great powers and the League and among the great powers themselves. He proposes that the draft constitution of the new international organization be worked out by the four great powers who assume responsibility to repel aggression. Then the draft constitution should go to a conference of all the United Nations who become founders and original members. Then the neutrals will be invited to join. Later, after a trial period, Germany and its satellites may also join but only if they cease to propagandize their fascist theories and to practice racial and religious and national discrimination. Malinin's plan provides for a majority vote of all member nations on general questions, a two-thirds vote on serious decisions like sanctions, but permits emergency action to halt aggressors by the four great powers alone. He considers an international army impracticable but an international air force practicable and sufficient to halt initial aggressions.

That most important journal, *War and the Working Class*, has just appeared with two articles on the problem of peace and security. These are undoubtedly more authoritative than the Malinin article but are also less detailed, dealing largely with general principles. The leading editorial in this journal greets the conference in America on "the working principles" adopted at the Moscow conference last autumn. Again it emphasizes cooperation between Russia, America, and Britain.

Dewey is not mentioned but his presumed argument for the smaller nations is sharply attacked. The article says that the small nations even more than the big ones need security and peace. The very existence of the small nations has been saved by the increasing cooperation of the Soviet Union with America and Britain in the present war. A stable peace, which is essential to the small nations, depends primarily on whether the great powers can resolve all the differences which stand in the way of long-time agreements.

It is clear from all this that the Soviet Union considers joint cooperation with America and Britain the necessary cornerstone of durable peace and feels worried by any suggestion of American aloofness. It is also clear that the Soviet experts have detailed and perhaps novel proposals regarding the new international organization for security; but it is most clear that no such details are considered worth the sacrifice of American friendship.

In this connection it is worth noting an editorial in *Pravda* a couple of days ago, which presumably answered a criticism by a Turkish writer regarding the Red Army's action in the Warsaw uprising. One might assume that the Red Army needed no justification before the Turks. *Pravda*, however, devoted front-page space to an explanation that the Red Army has not ceased for a single day its struggle under the walls of Warsaw but is fighting for that city as devotedly as for Kharkov and Kiev.

The Red Army thus far has taken many cities, continues *Pravda*, some by storm and more by outflanking. But the Red Army never took a city by the correlation of a frontal attack with an uprising within the city. The Red Army always discouraged such tactics. You cannot have a successful uprising in a city when it is filled to the limit with enemy tanks, planes, and guns.

It is difficult to believe that *Pravda* was sufficiently interested in the Turkish journalist to make such explanations. It is sadder to realize that American and British papers make comments requiring such explanations. It is another example of the almost painful intensity with which the Soviets today seek to clear up any questions which might disturb the understanding between themselves and the United States. *Pravda* obviously avoids even the mention of American critics in order not to increase the sense of division.

In the Wind

REMEMBER Dr. William Wirt, the man who in 1933 discovered that Roosevelt was playing Kerensky to the Brain Trust's Lenins, Trotskys, and Stalins? Well, John W. Anderson, president of the Motor and Equipment Manufacturers' Association, said this about him in a recent address entitled "Shall We Permit the Ism-ites of the Screw Deal to Keep Small Business Forever on Crutches?" at a meeting of the Gary, Indiana, Chamber of Commerce: "Unless this nation, within the next generation, awakens to erect a shrine to the memory of William Wirt, our national epitaph may be written for us instead by those foreign gangs who have schemed to destroy us."

NORMAN THOMAS recently released to the press an open letter to Reinhold Niebuhr and the Union for Democratic Action, asking how they could justify liberal support of Roosevelt. The letter went easy on Dewey but attacked the New Deal vigorously. It got a good play in the New York *Daily News* and *Herald Tribune;* Dr. Niebuhr's reply was not published at all. In answer to a letter to the *Herald Tribune*, the UDA received a profuse apology by telephone, but no space.

LUCIUS BEEBE on the home front: "While nosing into a sherry flip at the very chic Atlantic Beach Club, Herman Sartorius, just in from Hollywood, where he had gone for Clifton Webb's party for George and Valentina Schlee, reports it the most staggeringly opulent blowout in recent years, lasting from cocktails until breakfast, with every available celebrity splashing around in vintage wine."

INSTEAD OF LOUD and unseemly rejoicing on Armistice Day, the Institute for Public Service suggests religious services in homes, schools, churches, and stock exchanges. "What better stand," it asks, "against the bruit in man, totalitarianism, regimentation, mob leadership, mob noise, and mob failure to think?" Mob spelling, too.

A TRAVELER from the East brings tidings that a special mass was held in the cathedral at Rabat, capital of French Morocco, for Philippe Henriot, Vichy Minister of Propaganda, who was killed by French patriots in Paris a few months back. The priest who officiated was later arrested by the provisional government.

COLONEL McCORMICK'S Chicago *Tribune* is no longer "The World's Greatest Newspaper." Its front page now proclaims it merely "An American Paper for Americans."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Nazis have forbidden a Danish circus performer to appear any more, because he introduced what he called "a new war dance." It consisted of one step forward and two backward. . . . A Nazi paper in Prague explains the military situation thus: "Soviet army movements, including those of an active nature, are determined beforehand by the German initiative."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*]

Watch the West Coast

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

NO AREA of the nation has felt the economic impact of the war so intensely as the west coast. In the words of Robert Elliott, financial editor of the San Francisco *News*, "War has revolutionized the West from an economy of agriculture, mining, forestry, shipping, and the colonial status of being a branch office of the East into a full-fledged industrial age." Industrial growth has been accelerated twenty years, and in some fields as much as fifty years, ahead of normal expectations. Although California alone has received two-thirds of all war contracts placed in the eleven western states since June 1, 1940, relatively speaking the impact of the war has been greatest in the Northwest. At the end of August, 1941, the proportion of prime military contracts to the value of manufactured products in 1939, in the Puget Sound area, was five times greater than that for the United States as a whole. It was approximately twice as great as for Los Angeles and four times higher than for San Francisco.

A spectacular population increase has accompanied the west coast's industrial revolution. The Portland metropolitan area shows a 31 per cent increase in population since 1940; the Seattle area shows an increase in population for the same period of 200,000; and an estimated 1,500,000 people have entered California since 1940. Since most industrial activity on the west coast is confined to the manufacture of aircraft and the construction of ships, sharp curtailment of employment is threatened in the post-war period. With a population increase of 14 per cent, California, for example, faces the problem of shifting 1,500,000 workers from war activities to civilian jobs after the war.

The war in Europe, it is generally assumed, will be over long before hostilities cease in the Far East, and as a result, some authorities believe, war activities will increasingly shift to the west coast. But even if this assumption proves correct and the Pacific states enjoy a prolonged war boom, that very fact would probably also mean a head start for the East and Middle West in industrial reconversion and the mad scramble for post-war consumer markets.

So great is the potential employment problem on the west coast that a maximum public works program would prove only a temporary stop-gap. Agriculture, even in the Northwest, can be expected to absorb only a small part of the enlarged population. Full industrial employment, approximating present levels of production, is essential for the maintenance of the west coast's inflated economy. On paper, the industrial prospects are exciting. For the first time, the west coast has a nascent steel industry; it has aluminum mills and magnesium plants. It has vast manpower and natural resources and great reserves of hydroelectric power. A recent study by the Bonneville Power Administration has charted these possibilities in the most convincing manner. The main problem, however, is not likely to be technical, but rather psychological and political.

Not all elements on the west coast are in an expansionist frame of mind. Important segments of the population are, in fact, reacting in a purely defensive manner toward the wartime boom. A sharp cleavage has already developed, in many areas, between migrant defense workers and settled residents who offer a form of passive resistance to the integration of the newcomers into the established pattern of community life.

One of the main factors preventing integration is the character of the housing available to most migrants. Many of the public housing projects are located on the most unpromising sites and the bulk of the shelter offered is in demountable or temporary buildings. In Portland only 458 out of 18,578 defense housing units are permanent dwellings. Of all the mushroom cities, doomed at birth to a derelict's grave, Vanport, today the second largest city in Oregon, is the most fantastic. In the words of a local housing official, it has everything that a city of comparable size should have—except a future. The residents of Vanport don't "belong." Bus drivers who take high-school youngsters to the Portland schools report that the children frequently ask to be let off before the bus reaches the school. They don't want to be identified as "Vanporters."

As for political integration, recent primary statistics are eloquent. Despite a liberal six months' residence requirement, only 1,300 citizens of Vanport (population 35,000) registered; only 179 actually voted. Nor have the industrial migrants to the Northwest become integrated industrially or socially. In the recent election of officers for the Boilermakers' Union, Portland local, 3,000 out of 45,000 members cast ballots. Approximately 75 per cent of the 100,000 shipyard workers in the Portland area have failed to affiliate with churches, lodges, or other social organizations.

One section of the community, however, has welcomed the migrant war workers—the local merchants, who have been enjoying a glorious boom. In the first ten months of 1941, new car registrations in Seattle were

50 per cent above 1940. The total value of building permits doubled; real estate transfers increased by 30 per cent; payrolls by nearly 50 per cent; sales of independent retailers and department stores by 30 per cent. Taking cognizance of the slight exodus of war workers since January 1, 1944, local businesses with a "vested interest" in the defense boom have begun to run full-page advertisements pleading with war workers to "stay on the job." Stores promise that they will provide extra-hour services to accommodate war workers, and local morticians announce that they will be delighted to arrange "distant burials" by wire. Other voices, however, constantly remind the war-workers that they are expected to vanish the moment the war is over. It is this curiously ambivalent attitude that is creating a unique post-war political situation.

Recently Portland employed Robert Moses, New York Park Commissioner, and his associates, to prepare a post-war public-works plan for the area. In his introduction to the report (released in November, 1943), Mr. Moses points out that there are two widely divergent points of view in the community: one group deeply desires and confidently expects that the war migrants will leave; the other group—made up of those having a "vested interest" in the boom—would like to feel that most of the migrants can be absorbed. The Moses Plan calls for a post-war public-works program involving the employment of 20,000 workers, on a two-year schedule of construction, at an estimated cost of $60,000,000 (premised upon federal aid). The report is quite specific on the point that such a program represents the maximum that the community can afford. If Portland therefore is to be solely dependent on public works to absorb its surplus war labor, there will be approximately 120,000 migrants unprovided for. It cannot be assumed, however, that these people will obligingly disappear.

The bulk of the white war migrants to the northwest defense communities, 64 per cent in fact, come from other areas of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana; the secondary recruitment area embraces the intermountain states and the Great Plains. The typical white defense migrant is a young man, twenty-five years of age or younger, married, from a small town or rural area in the Pacific Northwest, anxious to settle in the area, and primarily interested in industrial employment in the post-war period. A study made recently in the Kaiser yards in Portland indicates that only 23.6 per cent of the migrants expressed a definite intention to leave after the war; that only a very few have maintained economic ties elsewhere or have jobs to which they might return; that a considerable number have purchased property in the area; that a majority have their families with them; and that 86 per cent must find new employment immediately after their present employment terminates. In the Lockheed plant in Los Angeles, 89 per cent of the workers want to remain in the area after the war. The whole history of westward migration would indicate that less than 25 per cent of the migrant workers will leave. A moment's reflection is sufficient to indicate the accuracy of Dr. Clark Kerr's observation that "the great migration cannot reverse itself in exact pattern, and even if it did its effects on the local communities would not disappear."

"Thousands of persons," writes Dr. Kerr, "will be desirous of maintaining the large labor force and the large population. Many of the new workers themselves will have seniority rights, homes and furniture, friends or relatives living on the locality. The trade unions will be anxious to maintain their enlarged memberships. Local governments will have built sewers and streets, and provided transportation and hospital facilities, on the assumption of an increased population and the revenues deriving from it. Houses and apartments will have been built, boarding houses established, and land values raised, and stores, theaters, and churches opened or enlarged. Pressures will be exerted to maintain the expanded population, and to maintain it in full employment. If this proves impossible, the war-plant workers may become unwelcome residents."

Political issues of the first importance are implicit in this general situation. Largely due to prior mass migrations, the west coast has a tradition of militant protest movements in which newcomers, lining up with elements of the settled population, have forced changes in the social structure. Seattle had its general strike after the First World War; Oregon has been a stronghold of the pension movements; and California witnessed three spectacular mass movements in a decade—the Epic movement of 1934, the pension plan movements, and the Olson popular-front campaign of 1938. The failure to integrate migrants into the established community patterns during the war merely means that these same migrants will be more readily disposed to follow an aggressive, expansionist leadership in the post-war period. Already a tentative alliance has been formed between war migrants, the trade unions, and the "vested interest" elements, in opposition to the old-guard forces, in a fight over the retention of the region's newly acquired industrial status.

A sharp increase in regional consciousness is one pointer to the way in which the lines are being drawn for the struggle. Despite much talk in prior decades about regional interests, extremely little interstate solidarity developed on the west coast. But mass migration and rapid industrialization have confronted the three west coast states with an identical problem which varies only in degree from area to area. As a consequence, there is much talk of late about "regional economic self-sufficiency." "California and the whole West still are a colony of the East," complains Dr. R. L. McClung of the University of Southern California. "The West," according to Senator Pat McCarran, "has been largely a stepchild of the East, penalized by heavy freight charges—our resources shipped East to be sent back as finished goods." Familiar fallacies are beginning to echo in the west coast press: "Why should we pay freight on tires manufactured in Akron? On automobiles manufactured in Detroit?" Not infrequently this talk takes the form of an advocacy of some type of protection for west coast industry—the usual concomitant of self-sufficiency arguments.

It is already apparent that national economic considerations will not dictate the final decision, for a strictly political approach to the problem has been clearly outlined. With a large proportion of the nation's newly acquired government plant in the area, the west coast realizes that eastern and middle-western interests will make a concerted effort to scuttle this plant or to minimize its productive potential in the post-war period. To offset this ultramontane sabotage, the west coast has only one weapon: organized political action; today the most politically diverse personalities are strongly supporting proposals for a "Western States Political Conference."

Speaking in San Francisco recently, Senator Pat McCarran voiced what is already the dominant political idea on the west coast. "The problem of post-war industrialization cannot," he said, "be dealt with on a state basis. The West's twenty-two Senators belong to different parties. But they can unite upon this issue."

Attorney-General Robert W. Kenny—the outstanding personality in California politics today—is already building inter-party political fences in the western states. He speaks for Utah, intercedes for Arizona, and has shown a lively interest in Oregon and Washington. Recently the California legislature went to bat in support of an integrated steel industry for Geneva, Utah—an exhibition of western solidarity that would have been unthinkable prior to 1940. The logic of the situation calls for a western bloc in Congress and even, perhaps, for a new political party—a Party of the Pacific sensitive to the peculiar economic interests of the West.

Already the ideological basis for such a party has been partially formulated by Howard Costigan. According to this ideology, national politics have always been dominated by that section of the nation which, at the time, had the most to offer the nation. In the past this sectional dominance shifted from the South to the North; it must now shift to the West. Partisan politics, as such, have little meaning on the west coast. California, for example, is a state of wide-open political opportunism, so-called personality politics, and straight political merchandising. Not only is the West readily disposed to break away from the established parties, but it can provide the necessary dynamics for a new political movement in America, because, so the argument runs, its immediate interests coincide with our real national interests in the post-war period.

By way of illustration: the public ownership of power and water resources has become the major premise for the expansion of the economy of the west coast. Even elements in banking and financial circles on the west coast have come to realize that "cheap power," which is another way of saying "government ownership," offers the main hope for the survival of the West as an industrial area. In order to exploit its natural resources, particularly in the light-metals field, and to utilize its new and relatively more efficient industrial plant, the West will be forced into the position of opposing certain private monopolies, notably the Alcoa aluminum monopoly. To battle this and other monopolies effectively, the West must have a major voice in national politics, otherwise exploitation of its resources may be retarded for years. The West cannot adhere to the states' rights philosophy, since it is vitally dependent upon federal aid and must rely upon extensive federal intervention. Thus the West has a number of important planks to offer the nation in its bid for national political leadership: advocacy of public ownership of power, water, and other (particularly forest) resources; a philosophy of extended federal intervention in promoting economic activity; and a belief in the necessity of utilizing federally-sponsored projects, such as Bonneville, as a means of combatting private monopoly.

More important than these considerations, however, is the fact that the economic future of the west coast lies, to a large extent, in the Pacific. Speaking in Seattle on July 9, 1944, after his return from China, Mr. Wallace declared that a new North Pacific world has already begun to assume tangible form. He pointed to the Pacific Northwest states and the Amur River region in Soviet Asia as related phases of the same development.

Residents of the Northwest are already keenly interested in the revival of Harriman's great proposal: for a rail line from Seattle to Alaska and a rail route to Asia from Alaska by tunneling the Bering Straits. However much this enthusiasm is discounted, the political possibilities of such an expansionist program remain. The growing regional consciousness of the area, the repeated complaints about "the underdog West," and the possibilities that unquestionably exist in the Pacific, all suggest that the West is destined to make a strong bid for national political leadership in the post-war period. The westward shift of population merely adds weight to the threat of a western bloc in Congress; in fact, the West probably holds the balance of political power today. If middle-western isolationist elements continue to dominate the Republican Party and if the southern bloc continues to exercise a veto power over the Democratic Party, then far western leadership may, indeed, have much to offer the nation.

Polls, Propaganda, and Politics

Predicting Doubtful States

TWENTY-SEVEN of the forty-eight states can be put on ice, so far as the November election is concerned. Six, with thirty electoral votes, were consistently and safely Republican in the elections of 1940 and 1942 as well as in all the polls of 1940 and 1944. Twenty-one states with 208 electoral votes are safely in the Democratic column. The battle rages over the remaining twenty-one states, where Roosevelt must collect at least fifty-eight more votes to win.

The American Institute of Public Opinion has now (August 23) released estimates on these twenty-one doubtful states. It qualifies its poll report in two ways—first, this is the *present* picture, which may change by November; second, this is the *civilian* vote, no soldiers included. Gallup now distributes our twenty-one doubtful states as follows:

	No. of States	*No. of Electoral Votes*
"Safely Republican" (54 per cent or more)......	8	116
"Leaning Republican" (51 to 53 per cent)......	6	99
"Leaning Democratic" (51 to 53 per cent)......	7	78
"Safety Democratic" (54 per cent or more)......	0	0
	21	293

Gallup thus gives most of the doubtful states to Dewey. For the country as a whole, however, he predicts 286 electoral votes for Roosevelt and 245 for Dewey.

Suppose we go back four years and look at Gallup's record for these same twenty-one doubtful states. We find that his August, 1940, poll classified seven of these states (Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Missouri, Oregon, Wyoming, and West Virginia) as leaning Democratic and *all* went Democratic in that November election. Of the fourteen doubtful states which looked Republican to Gallup in August, 1940, only three (Indiana, Iowa, Michigan) gave their electoral votes to Willkie. There were thus *eleven* of our doubtful states which in August before the last Presidential election were listed as Republican on the basis of the Gallup poll, but which voted Democratic in November. The following table gives more details.

GALLUP ERRORS OF 1940

	——1940 Predictions——				*Prediction*
State	***Aug. 25,'40***	***Sep. 20,'40***	***Nov. 3, '40***	***1940 Vote***	***Aug.' 44***
Colorado	**53%** ***Rep.***	**52% Rep.**	**55% Rep.**	**51%** ***Dem.***	**55% Rep.**
Illinois.	**57%** ***Rep.***	**53% Dem.**	**52% Rep.**	**51%** ***Dem.***	**54% Rep.**
Massachusetts	**55%** ***Rep.***	**51% Rep.**	**51% Dem.**	**54%** ***Dem.***	**52% Dem.**
Minnesota	**55%** ***Rep.***	**51% Dem.**	**52% Rep.**	**52%** ***Dem.***	**53% Rep.**
New Hampshire ..	**57%** ***Rep.***	**51% Rep.**	**51% Rep.**	**53%** ***Dem.***	**51% Dem.**
New Jersey	**51%** ***Rep.***	**52% Dem.**	**52% Dem.**	**52%** ***Dem.***	**51% Rep.**
New York	**52%** ***Rep.***	**52% Dem.**	**51% Dem.**	**52%** ***Dem.***	**52% Rep.**
Ohio	**55%** ***Rep.***	**53% Dem.**	**51% Rep.**	**52%** ***Dem.***	**54% Rep.**
Pennsylvania	**51%** ***Rep.***	**52% Dem.**	**51% Rep.**	**53%** ***Dem.***	**52% Dem.**
Rhode Island	**51%** ***Rep.***	**56% Dem.**	**54% Dem.**	**57%** ***Dem.***	**51% Dem.**
Wisconsin	**51%** ***Rep.***	**51% Dem.**	**52% Rep.**	**51%** ***Dem.***	**56% Rep.**

Two facts stand out. One is the difficulty of predicting from polls when the margins are less than 5 per cent; the other is that in 1940 Gallup's constant error was to assign too large a percentage to the Republicans. The errors were usually larger than the margin now attributed to Dewey. Whether in 1944 he has corrected these errors or is repeating them, only time will show. But the August poll of 1944 looks surprisingly like the reports in August, 1940.

If we could assume that poll history is repeating itself and that the Gallup state-by-state poll now errs in each doubtful state by the same amount that it did in August, 1940, the present picture would have to be corrected to show Dewey carrying only eight states with forty-eight electoral votes, while Roosevelt would have forty states and 483 electoral votes. This is probably an over-correction, for Gallup has undoubtedly taken steps to correct or allow for some of his errors of 1940. The most reasonable August estimate of Roosevelt electors would lie somewhere between the current Gallup estimate of 286 (note that 266 are necessary for election) and the probably over-corrected estimate of 483. But, as Gallup points out, the situation itself may change between August and November.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE SUBJECT of removing the federal Capital to some place in the West is undergoing vigorous agitation, St. Louis being at present the principal competitor for the honor of succeeding Washington. There is really only one objection to the scheme, or rather only one thing to be said in favor of Washington, and that is, that the expense of removal would be enormous, owing to the abandonment of the Government buildings. . . . But the Capital ought undoubtedly to be a real city, having a life of its own; and we venture to say, at the risk of making Westerners laugh, that the federal government would gain more and do more good by moving to New York than to any other place.—*September 2, 1869.*

WE FEAR that the tribulation through which Spain must pass to her political salvation has but begun, and that the man who is to guide her out of it has not yet appeared. It is not likely that in Spain, or elsewhere, the Coming Man will arise from among the Pretenders to Crowns, even where crowns are still believed to be essential elements of public welfare. They belong of necessity to the past, and their eyes naturally turn backward rather than forward.—*September 9, 1869.*

THE CAUSE of female education is making progress in some odd places. A female normal school has been established at Poona, in India, and one of the English ladies taken out by Miss Carpenter takes charge of it. Moreover—and this is far more wonderful—two Bengalee ladies of good family have applied for admission to the Calcutte University. When this spirit begins to show itself among even Hindoo women, we may feel sure that the days of tyrant man's dominion are nearly numbered, and that he will before long assume his proper place in the creation he has done so much to deface.—*September 16, 1869.*

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris Rises

IF JUSTIFICATION were ever needed for the theories of political war put forward in this section, it has been provided in overwhelming measure by the people of Paris. The fact that the city was freed by the people—the liberation forces supported by the unarmed population—makes this battle the greatest political victory of the war. Its meaning, its influence, will grow with every day that passes. It will inflame the peoples of Europe from Spain to the Balkans. It will give them not only hope but strength—and confidence in their strength. The hour that saw the Nazi troops and Hitler's armed terrorists scuttle out of Paris proclaimed the certain annihilation of every fascist power in Europe. And it should serve as a warning that just as the people resisted the foreign invader so will they resist, and defeat, any attempt to wrest from them the full reward of their fight—a people's peace and a government purged of every trace of anti-democratic poison.—J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO.

Way Out for the Balkans

BY BOGDAN RADITSA

THE long, dark Balkan night is over. With Rumania turning its guns on its former ally, with Bulgaria edging toward the same decision, with the Hungarian government tottering on its unstable foundations, the inevitable disintegration of Hitler's system of ersatz governments has begun. The meeting in Rome between Churchill and Marshal Tito, in the presence of Yugoslav Premier Subasich, presages a new and decisive blow to the Nazi military machine. And throughout the Balkans, Partisans and patriots form a chain which links the Allied armies of the east and west and speeds the day of liberation.

During this war, military and political developments in the Balkans have differed from those in France and Italy. The Balkan resistance forces have liberated substantial areas of their countries without the immediate presence of Allied armies, and the basis of popular democratic government has been laid without the aid of Allied military authorities. The tragic dilemma of the Italian government, paralyzed by the Allied Control Commission, has not been repeated in the Balkans.

In order to understand what is happening in the Balkans today, we must glance at pre-war conditions. The Balkans were not the "powder-keg of Europe" before this war, despite Mussolini's efforts to make them appear so. The assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia in Marseilles in 1934, done at Mussolini's behest by his Ustachi and Macedonian agents, failed to set off the explosion that had been expected, but it marked the end of Franco-British influence in the Balkans. King Alexander's death caused a swing from the previous policy of friendship toward France to one of ostensible neutrality, and it was this policy that ended, inevitably, in the bitter disillusionment of war.

Alexander's foreign policy had been based on French and British friendship, reinforced by the Little Entente and the Balkan Pact negotiated early in 1934. The absence of Bulgaria was a constant threat to this system of alliances, and Alexander had done his best to persuade Bulgaria to join the pact. His policy was sound and was supported by Titulescu in Rumania and by Benes in Czechoslovakia. But neither King Alexander nor Titulescu understood that even a sound foreign policy can function effectively only if it is backed by a healthy internal situation. They did little to foster that.

Prince Paul of Yugoslavia, Regent after the death of King Alexander until young King Peter II came of age, believed that France was doomed and that Chamberlain's England would always find a *modus vivendi* with Hitler. Slowly he disassociated Yugoslavia from the Little and Balkan ententes and established the policy of neutrality.

Greece's King George and General Metaxas, together with Prince Paul and King Carol of Rumania, formed a sort of Balkan Holy Alliance and decided to save themselves and the so-called independence of their countries by making concessions to the Italians and Germans. They had all been badly frightened by the popular tendencies awakened by the Spanish war. The attitude of London and Paris toward the Loyalist government in Spain encouraged them to believe that France and Great

BU LINGAM

Britain would compromise indefinitely with fascism. Munich further reassured them along this line. Their hope was to convince the governments at London and Paris that the Balkan states wanted to remain neutral but that, if necessary, they would stand on the side of the Allies in the end. At the same time, they let Hitler know that, though their desire was to remain neutral, they would support Axis policy in Europe in such a way as to harm neither themselves nor Axis plans. The coming of war shattered this fantastic illusion.

King Carol was forced to flee Rumania when the Russians took Bessarabia. King Zog of Albania, who had lost all but nominal freedom through his fatal deal with Mussolini in 1927, had to abandon his country when the Italian army invaded it on Good Friday, April 7, 1939. Shortly afterward, King George and Metaxas faced Mussolini's troops on the Greek frontier, having been driven by the indomitable will of the Greek people to defend their country.

Regent Paul of Yugoslavia could have gone to the help of Greece. The Yugoslav people would have accepted such a decision with enthusiasm, for Greece had always been considered an ally. But Paul did not choose to fight. He fancied himself a latter-day Machiavelli, never understanding that the people of Yugoslavia were not so unprincipled as he in their view of international affairs. When, in March, 1941, Paul's government signed the Tripartite Pact with the Axis, the government and the Regent were overthrown by a burst of popular resentment. The revolution of March 27, 1941, expressed the true feeling of the Yugoslav nation.

After the military conquest of Greece and Yugoslavia, the Axis policy was to reward its satellites. Hungary and Bulgaria took a hand in the dismemberment of Yugoslavia and Greece. As the Yugoslav and Greek people from the beginning had comprised the most vigorous stronghold against Italian and German infiltration, the Axis decided they must be annihilated through massacre and starvation. But the masses defeated the Axis plans.

The National Liberation Movement in Yugoslavia was started by ragged and dispersed bands which were determined to fight fascism to the death. What Tito has done in Yugoslavia symbolizes the moral and political regeneration of the popular masses throughout the Balkan region. For each of the Balkan peoples, and particularly for the South Slavs, the liberation movement represents the beginning of the truly national thought and action. Until now, the Balkan peoples have been no more than a mirror of what was going on in Western or in Central Europe. Today they feel they are, if not at the center of a democratic European revolution, then very close to the center.

The Communists in the Balkans were the chief initiators of the popular movement but the democratic elements of all classes, all religions, and all political affiliations have taken part. This union succeeded because it was agreed from the beginning that each country, once it was liberated, would be built upon the foundations of a full federal democracy. Economically, the key to a durable social and political order in the Balkans lies in combining a collectivist program of industrialization with the peasant program of land reform and the encouragement of individual small farms. Such reform is a prerequisite to all schemes for the political regeneration of the Balkans; and it is certain that in this field peasant and workers' leaders, and not reactionary generals like Mihailovich and Zervas, will have the last word.

Mihailovich and Zervas are the last representatives of the petty nationalism and imperialism which characterized the Balkan governments before and during the war of 1912-13. This policy resulted in the creation of small sovereign states, each of which sought to dominate its neighbors, and effectively frustrated Balkan unity. The governments were centralistic, in the hands of one party, and backed by the court, the army, the bureaucracy, and, in some cases, the church. Through the maneuvers of the great powers, which incited one party against another, one country against another, and the rulers against the people, the Balkans became a stormy area. Peace depended upon the inclinations of the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, or Russian empires, and later upon those of France or Great Britain, Germany or Italy.

The situation was complicated by the fact that the monarchies in the Balkans were at best only quasi-legitimate. The constitution, as a rule, was granted as a gift of the crown to the people. Very seldom was it a partnership agreement. Every Balkan politician knew that his career depended not upon the desires of the people but on his success in satisfying the financial and political demands of one or another of the big powers. This political outlook encouraged centralism and the domination of reactionary, corrupt cliques. It encouraged the formation of a Great Serbia or a Yugoslavia exclusively Serb-dominated; a Great Hellas, a Great Rumania, and a Great Bulgaria.

Today the disciples of this theory ask for the creation of a new Balkan axis: Athens-Belgrade. They seek a Greater Serbian state, allied with a Greater Greece, which, together, would dominate the Balkans as a whole. Their Croat and Slovene counterpart in the north is trying to prepare an anti-Russian axis—the so-called Catholic Confederation. The alternative to this dangerous plan is a democratic Balkan federation, the outlines of which are even now emerging.

What is the "way out" for the Balkans? When the Red Army crossed the Prut River, Molotov issued a note promising to preserve the status quo. This meant that Russia does not consider the Balkans its preserve, as anti-Russian propagandists have insinuated. Subsequently the agreement between King Peter and Tito was reached.

After their conversations, Mr. Subasich, the new Yugoslav Premier, declared that Tito had said that he did not want communism or revolution, but real democracy such as Yugoslavia and the Balkans have never known before. Tito's stated goal is the unity of all South Slavs in an "independent, democratic federation."

Therefore, there are two possibilities for a post-war organization of the Balkans: (1) South Slav federation comprising Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, running from the Adriatic to the Black Sea; (2) Balkan federation composed of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, and Albania, which was recommended by democrats and liberals at the Balkan conference in 1929. From the point of view of a broader European solution, and because a unilateral South Slav bloc might put the non-Slavic nations of the Balkans in a position of self-defense and fear, the second may be the more desirable.

If the great powers will allow the Balkan peoples to settle their own destiny, the democratic forces, now united in the liberation movement, can realize the federalization, and consequently the democratization, of the Balkan region. The Balkan states can become an interdependent community of sovereign and equal nations on the economic, political, and cultural levels. Naturally, the success of this solution will depend upon the nature of Europe as a whole. A Europe of interdependent states offers the only safe basis for a federal solution in the Balkans. The decision rests largely with those great powers which in the past have manipulated Balkan affairs to suit their own interests. If they fail to achieve a secure union of European states and seek instead to mark out areas of special interest; if they impose governments made up of their own reactionary tools, they will produce only revolutions and new wars. The time has come to let the peoples work out their own destiny.

Vargas on the Defensive

WHILE the Vargas dictatorship felt secure, it encouraged a few "liberals" to enter the government. They provided a front, useful for propaganda and as a link with Brazil's democratic Allies. The most effective of all these was Oswaldo Aranha, the Foreign Minister since 1938. Aranha is a person of questionable integrity but at least he is not fascist, at least he is pro-United States and pro-Ally. He is much liked in Washington and by many Americans was considered a guaranty of the good faith of the dictatorship he served. Now Aranha has resigned his post and his resignation has been accepted by Vargas. The fact itself is sensational enough to set off rumors, and the lack of straight news from well-censored Rio has contributed to the confusion which word of his resignation produced.

Is Brazil going the way of Argentina? Will it swing away from the United States and the United Nations? What led up to the crisis?

Some of the answers to these questions appeared in an article in this section published on February 26. It gave the background of growing discontent out of which the present situation developed. Readers will do well to review the facts in that story. But later events throw even more light on today's news from Rio.

The Vargas dictatorship no longer feels strong enough to allow popular demonstrations in favor of democracy, or tolerate "liberals" in its ranks. The coming defeat of Hitler, the rebellions in half a dozen smaller Latin American states, and the unrest in Brazil itself among formerly conservative groups—all these combined to warn Vargas and his gang that their power rested on shaky ground. And no better evidence could be found than the fact that Aranha, loyal to his chief as long as the regime was secure, had agreed to accept the vice-presidency of the Society of the Friends of America. This group, composed of distinguished citizens—with our Ambassador Caffery as its honorary president—is devoted chiefly to promoting friendship with the United States. But it is looked upon as pro-democratic, too, and so, naturally, dangerous. Aranha must have known that he was challenging the goverment's position, must have been prepared to resign if Vargas got nasty. Vargas did get nasty. His Chief of Police, the pro-Nazi Coriolanos de Goes, padlocked the quarters of the society before Aranha could make his appearance at a meeting in his honor. Forced to choose, Vargas chose to lose his useful Foreign Minister, rather than side with the liberals. But Aranha's act, since he is not a man of principle, is striking proof that the regime is not as tough as its behavior.

Other examples can be given of its defensive mechanism at work: Recently some young people in the state of Ceara organized a group to collect "scrap" for the war effort. They were not Communists but they named their group "Stalingrad" in honor of the greatest collective community effort on record in this war. They made speeches of a liberal nature, praising the democracies and urging the people to contribute to the scrap pile. The movement was suppressed by the federal police, several of the boys were arrested, and their leader was sentenced to five years in prison.

In his earlier mood, Vargas appointed a rather decent, moderate man, Colonel Nelson de Mello, Chief of Police. Recently this official was fired. His job was given to Coriolanos de Goes, who had previously held the post but had been dropped because of public indignation over the machine-gunning of a demonstration of law students in Sao Paulo last November. (This story is told in *The Nation* article of February 26.) De Goes took as his assistant a military man known as a terrorist and fascist. These men are now in power, providing the worried Vargas with an efficient Gestapo set-up.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Faith of Aldous Huxley

IT IS pleasant to be able to report that for more than a third of its way Aldous Huxley's new novel, "Time Must Have a Stop" (Harper's, $2.75), is wonderful serious comedy—the liveliest, wittiest writing Huxley has done since "Antic Hay." But in Chapter XII the book swerves off its worldly course to become the argument for religious faith that we have learned to expect from a Huxley novel. Huxley has just snuffed out the life of his sybaritic Eustace Barnack in such a scene as might have been dreamed up by the Church fathers. It was Eustace's sin to love Degas, cigars, and women more than he loved God, therefore he must die alone and whimpering on the bathroom floor and be followed through his protracted struggle against merging with the divine light. Not that Huxley completely leaves his humor this side of the grave: even after Eustace's death, "Time Must Have a Stop" has some fine comic moments—the seances, for instance, with the medium who is so illiterate that she ludicrously garbles her ghostly messages. But despite these sops to the faithless, it is deeply disappointing to have once again been promised the consummation of Huxley's art and be given, instead, the consummation of his religion.

Of course, even by those who reject his religious conclusions, Huxley might well be studied as a moralist of contemporary life. In a period in which one often has the impression that man's whole responsibility in the world begins and ends at the polling booth, and in a culture which considers political action the cure for all diseases, Huxley dares to call a plague on all political houses and to speak of action as a self-deception and an evil. He has the courage to override all our current easy humanitarianisms. The trouble is, however, that in rejecting humanitarianism, Huxley rejects humanity. He is unable to believe that good can reside within the framework of flesh and desire.

Huxley's distaste for the human body is not a recent development, nor is it even more exacerbated today than it was in his earliest work. Now that he has taken a formal religious position, we can perhaps see more clearly than we could before that, basic to whatever other antitheses he may have suggested in his books, there was the antithesis between purity and sex. But long before Huxley openly celebrated, as he does now, the advantages of celibacy, he thought of love as lust; long before he began to move so comfortably among the dead, he saw a connection between sex and death. The instances in proof that for Huxley sexuality has always been heartless, cruel, selfish, a signpost to decay, and a reminder of mortality can be multiplied endlessly: in "Eyeless in Gaza," a scene of love is spattered with the blood of a smashed dog; in "After Many a Summer Dies the Swan," intercourse is described as a fatal seizure, an epilepsy; and in every novel there has been the counterpart of the Mrs. Thwale of "Time Must Have a Stop" whose rationalistic intelligence is wholly at the service of a destroying sensuality. If, in view of so strong a bias against sexuality, there may be a certain irony in the literary uses that Huxley has made of the charms of lubricity, there should be neither irony nor surprise that his sexual disgust has finally led him to mysticism.

Ordinarily it is off the main path of criticism to trace the subjective psychological pattern of a novelist. But in Huxley's case it is unavoidable: the pattern not only repeats itself so often, but ultimately determines the cosmic order that Huxley propagandizes. In each of his last three novels, Huxley opposes a single pure spirit to the awful run of humanity; in "Time Must Have a Stop" the pure spirit is one Bruno, an Italian bookseller. Although superficially these Huxleyan saints present certain human variations, they are essentially the same person. Each of them is an older man, wise and tolerant, gentle but firm, knowing his way in the world but immune to the demands of the world—in other words, a perfect representation of the father-person, the Oedipal ideal. And in each of the novels, it is the function of this everlasting father to undertake, in the humanness of his divinity, the education of the everlasting son. The Huxleyan sons, too, are cut pretty much from one cloth. Sebastian of "Time Must Have a Stop" is the present-day descendant of Philip Quarles of "Point Counter Point"; he is the most recent of the long line of gifted young men who wander through Huxley's novels trying to cope with their lack of connection with other human beings. We have, then, the father and the son; all that is missing from this familial Eden is the mother. But the mother, being always Eve, would enter Paradise only to turn it into an earthly shambles.

For it is the significant point about Huxley's father-people that they are always conspicuously unattached to any mother-people. Huxley has yet to imagine the female saint, or, for that matter, the woman who would not destroy the saintliness of any man. In "Time Must Have a Stop" he makes rather more explicit than he ever has before the revulsion from maternal sexuality that underlies the inability of his young men to love; only seventeen at the start of the book, Sebastian can still be exposed to what Huxley calls maternal lust, and Huxley has the boy violently repelled by the maternal overtures of a middle-aged lady of his acquaintance. He also describes the boy's dead mother as having been a modern Caroline Lamb to whom Sebastian, in early childhood, bore a "frightening" resemblance, which he fortunately outgrew under the influence of the saintly Bruno. But grown to manhood, Sebastian is shown to have been unsuccessful in his marriage, to have resisted all possibility of re-marriage after the death of his wife, to have never been in love, and to have had his only continuing sexual relationship with the sadistic Mrs. Thwale. Neither Sebastian himself, nor Huxley, is troubled by this incapacity for ordinary affection. Yet it is Sebastian who, at the end of the book, is the vessel of Huxley's ideas about the new love that will save the world.

That the world needs saving there can certainly be no doubt—especially the world which Huxley pictures so brilliantly at the close of "Time Must Have a Stop." The novel ends with an epilogue; it is 1944 and the war is drawing to its chaotic close. Just as there is no easy humanitarianism in Huxley's solutions, there is no easy optimism in his vision of mankind's future; in fact, he rubs our noses in the ever-mounting dirt of our civilization. It is a salutary activity; the lamented Huxleyan pessimism seems to me to be both a lot more searching and a lot more revealing than most of our "healthy" political thinking. Unable to see any end, national or even international, to national squabbles, Huxley pins his hope on the individuals who make up nations—on the "one chance in a million" that the infection of religion "might spread so far that the people with the big battalions would actually not wish to use them." It is a weak hope, admittedly; yet it is not because of the long chance that one refuses the gamble. Indeed, it is almost in the measure that one agrees with Huxley that only by some renovation of the spirit will the world find salvation that one rejects his spirit which denies body, that one refuses his divine love which arises out of a deficiency of human love.

DIANA TRILLING

John L.

LABOR BARON: A PORTRAIT OF JOHN L. LEWIS. By James A. Wechsler. William Morrow and Co. $3.00.

"LABOR BARON" is an attempt to explain the career of the most formidable labor leader of our time in terms of a feeling of insecurity and lust for power. Swiftly sketching his early life, the author plunges into a description of Lewis's career in the labor movement. Although most of the material is by now familiar, it is interestingly and vigorously presented. The picture that emerges is of a blind giant motivated by a restless drive for power, a skilful and adroit negotiator, a daring organizer, a man of considerable personal charm and attractiveness, and a brooding, lonesome figure with self-aggrandizement as his one certain goal.

Lewis's rise to power in his own union, his bitter quarrels and his victory over his opponents, and the decay of his organization in the 1920's are described. Seizing the opportunity offered by a pro-labor Roosevelt Administration, Lewis succeeded in bringing the entire bituminous coal industry under the union banner, a feat none of his predecessors had been able to accomplish. While Wechsler devotes too little space to this achievement, he describes in more detail the events which led to the formation of the CIO, and its dramatic victories in the citadels of open-shop industry. Lewis's contribution to these victories is recognized, but Wechsler observes that the movement was "no one-man affair." It is of course true that the gains of the CIO were due to the many devoted organizers and rank-and-file workers, but the chief credit must go to Lewis. Without his continued aid and direction the movement might have flickered and died. The crucial needs of the non-union workers were not the reorganization of the structural forms of the American labor movement—although the dispute within the American Federation of Labor centered around this issue—but the furnishing of adequate financial support and leadership for the organizing drives. No other leader of a great union would have gambled with the finances of his organization; none other would have given as freely of his time and talent as did John L. Lewis in the greatest organizing drive in American history. Whatever sins Lewis may have subsequently committed were amply atoned for by his conduct in those great days. Moreover, in the crucial period when Lewis had it within his power to influence the stream of history, he acted to strengthen and to enlarge the organized labor movement. Later he lost his grip, and he became embittered, and out of conviction or pique he parted from his former friends. The chapters dealing with Lewis's relations to Roosevelt, Murray, and his alliance with the Communists are among the most informative and interesting in the book.

Reading the story of Lewis's relation to the Communists, one begins to doubt that Lewis is the powerfully shrewd man pictured by the author. A man of great drive and talent, to be sure, but one who is obviously out of his depth when dealing with a new problem. A shrewd horse trader at the conference table with employers and an autocratic taskmaster in dealing with his subordinates, Lewis was completely "outfoxed" by the Communist brethren. It was the shrewd Lewis who raised many of them to power; it was he who negotiated the first contracts for some of their unions; but it was the Communists who stayed on and maintained control. A less "clever" labor official like Dubinsky would never have invited the Communists into the house of labor, let alone built powerful unions for them to manage.

While the author has assembled much interesting material, the study is not altogether satisfactory, especially the sections dealing with motivation. There is, moreover, too much emphasis upon Lewis's "elaborately furnished house filled with the antiques and carpeted with Persian rugs" and not enough on the meaning of the concentration of power in the hands of autocratic labor leaders. Nor is the attempt to paint Lewis as a unique phenomenon entirely correct. Lewis differs from a number of other labor leaders only in his great drive, daring, and intelligence. Shrinking violets shrink into obscurity, and do not become leaders of unions, industries, or even educational institutions. Nor is the type of autocratic control exercised by Lewis unknown in other sections of the labor movement. Lewis does it more brazenly, but he is by no means the only autocrat. Similarly, Wechsler makes too much of Lewis's lack of philosophy. It may explain the lack of direction of his leadership, but not his abnormal craving for power. The members of the Executive Council of the AFL, the chiefs of the railway brotherhoods, and even the heads of most of the CIO unions are not strong on philosophy.

The most serious defect, to the reviewer, is the failure of the book to examine the institutional conditions which make possible the rise of autocratic labor leaders. It is not enough to have a yen for power, a feeling of insecurity, and great drive. The labor movement and the constituent unions must be so constructed that a power-seeking boss has the opportunity to exploit his ambitions. Wechsler inferentially recognizes this problem at the beginning of the book where he discusses the solitude and special character of miners and mining towns. Unfortunately, Wechsler's explanation will not hold water. The United Mine Workers of America was not always a dictatorially-managed union. Nor was it always an isolated segment of labor. For many years it was one of the more democratic organizations, with an active and aggressive socialist faction. Lewis's drive for power undoubtedly helped to undermine the democratic traditions, but the shift of industry and the union to new centers made the task of the dictator easier.

It is evident that the miners' union, like many others, is not organized to resist a resourceful tyrant determined to transform it into a personal barony. A John L. Lewis is unthinkable in the English labor movement. This is no accident. As Wechsler emphasizes, Lewis is the end product of business unionism, business unionism stripped of its last shreds of idealism. There is a vast difference between the business unionism of Gompers and Lewis. For Gompers business unionism was an ideal; a policy under which organized labor could survive and progress. Consequently Gompers always thought in terms of the labor movement, and he avoided any wilful action that would threaten its strength or weaken its position. The newer and less sensitive leaders look upon business unionism as a vehicle for place and preferment. Lewis is unique only because of his great talents, and not because he has no imitators. The ability of a strong individual to transform a democratic union into an engine of personal power shows a serious weakness in the structure of the labor movement, and represents a dangerous threat to society as well.

PHILIP TAFT

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Balkan Memoir

HEADQUARTERS BUDAPEST. By Robert Parker. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.

WHAT one reviewer wrote of an Oppenheim thriller, that it holds up from beginning to end and contains no small amount of sound political theory, can be applied to some of the Balkan memoirs which in recent years have flooded the literary market. It is questionable, however, whether by obliterating the boundary between scoops, beats, and sensational adventures on the one side and serious political information on the other these books really contribute to a better understanding of the problems of Eastern Europe.

Mr. Parker, as a leading correspondent for the Associated Press, covered Hungary and the Balkan countries during the first two years of the war; later he headed the Coordinator's Office and afterward the OWI office in Turkey. He thus had ample opportunity to learn by experience the intricacies of politics and economics in Eastern Europe. His account of German intrigues in Rumania and Turkey is particularly brilliant. No one can question his conclusion that peasant poverty is the outstanding problem of Eastern Europe and that it cannot be solved unless the methods of production are so improved as to make the goods of this region salable in markets other than Germany.

This development, however, is subject to agreement between the United States, Britain, and Russia. Even an isolationist incarnate must share the view of the author that the victors should not impose upon these countries the old discredited regimes or, conversely, take no hand whatsoever in choosing Eastern Europe's governments. Mr. Parker hits the mark when he says that a specific state of mind is the prerequisite of democratic self-government. That entails a big job for the Allies, and Mr. Parker believes that the State Department is not living up to it, but I think it is not exact to identify military expediency with the support given to Admiral Horthy—not by Mr. Hull but J. F. Montgomery, whom Mr. Parker characterizes as the "able American minister in Budapest."

A good many errors have slipped into Mr. Parker's book. It was not General Filipovich who seized Bosnia in 1908 but Count Aehrenthal who annexed it. It was not Horthy and his government which drove "Bela Kun's Communist regime out of the country in 1921"; this regime collapsed on August 1, 1919, under the impact of the Rumanian attack. And it is unlikely that the French minister, De Monzie, "had worked for the destruction of Czechoslovakia because President Benes had once failed to invite him to a cocktail party." Mr. Parker tells us on page 297 that the Balkans are underpopulated, but on page 334 he says that the "outstanding problem of that region is overpopulation." Although the rate of suicides in Budapest was always the highest in Europe, it is an obvious misstatement to say that in the first two months of 1944 nearly 1,500 corpses were fished out of the Danube and that "most had chosen the balcony of Parliament as a jumping-off place"—the quay separating the building from the river is about twenty feet broad.

All these errors, however, are of less moment than the author's attempt to back up the legend that Horthy offered resistance to the Nazis. At least that is the impression one gets from his account of an interview he had with the Regent. Horthy told him that after his royal reception by the Führer at Kiel in 1936 they had an argument in the Berlin Chancellery. "So I started screaming myself," the Regent went on, "and I said to him, 'Herr Hitler, I have had enough of this. Please remember I am an admiral of the Austro-Hungarian navy and you are only a corporal. Please remember I am a regent of a nation which has been independent for one thousand years, and you are the Chancellor of the Third Reich which has not lasted four years yet.' " It may be that Nicolas Horthy has become the Hungarian version of Nicolas Chauvin, the braggart Napoleonic soldier, but even if he did flaunt his *esprit d'escalier* to the American journalist, it is hardly likely that the former aide-de-camp of Emperor Francis Joseph would have lost his self-control to the extent of being rude to a host whose favor he had to solicit. But Mr. Parker evidently believed what the Admiral told him; otherwise he would not have written that "in March, 1944, Horthy again visited Hitler . . . and shouted him down." Moreover, while Mr. Parker is very skeptical of what other dictators told him, he believes that Count Bethlen, who during ten years of his premiership did his utmost to thwart every democratic reform, declared to his friend in 1939 that "the continuance of the feudal system convinced him that sooner or later Bolshevistic ideology will again strike root in the nation."

Such flaws are all the more regrettable since in general Mr. Parker's political thinking is perceptive and clear. He has a lively style and weaves many delightful and witty stories into the accounts of his innumerable interviews. The book has the merits of its author; its failings are in part the result of that unfortunate assumption that a hasty journalistic report changes into a book if it is printed in octavo size.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

The Ultimate Fanfare

LITTLE COQUETTE. By Renée de Fontarce McCormick. The Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.75.

TO THOSE weary of plowing through newspaper reports and the continuous flood of second-rate books on war; to the lovers of France, French food, wine, and wit; to those who once knew a world "whose sole concern was pleasure," as well as to those who may insist they are glad they never did—to these this book should be as welcome, in these dry days, as a magnum of Burgundy.

Its author is an intelligent, humorous, sensible woman—French. She has waited many years before writing not only about her unusual childhood (the palmy days leading up to the last war), but before publishing anything at all. She has adopted a technique which allows her to avoid many of the pitfalls and embarrassments of straight autobiography. "Simone d'Entrement," she says in a foreword, "is a little girl such as I once was. . . . The people, the places, the events of which I tell are in essence true, but the details are drawn from many sources; hence the characters of the book and the correlation of events are really fictional."

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may make you smile, but at least it is preferable to the usual humorless formula. It has something of the disarming quality of Simone's father, that old roué Count Maxence d'Entrement, a man with no neck, no hair, tremendous physical strength, and a passion for misquoting proverbs. The Count fought seventeen duels, all of which he won. Attacked by a butcher during a strike in Lille, the Count, then a cavalry officer, "drew his saber and cut off the man's nose with a single blow." At home, however, in his chateau near Senlis, there were no quarrels. The only occasion on which he raised his fist at his daughter was when he overheard her humming that "song of assassins and murderers," the "Marseillaise." "More royalist than the King himself," the Count spent "half his life with horses, one quarter with women, and one quarter in sleep." He was reputed to have had more mistresses than any other man in Paris. He had an ingenious way of disposing of them: instead of deserting a woman, he "arranged things in such a way that she would desert him." With one exception, it seems to have succeeded with astonishing ease. The exception was a lady who, after the Countess d'Entrement's death, tried to seduce the Count into marriage. One day he heard that she had been seen in the company of the Duke d'Argoux. The Count promptly departed for England. From there he wrote the lady a letter:

> Bless you for the immense happiness you have given me. I am returning herewith several letters which, now that they are in your possession, make you once more your own mistress. After earnest reflection I have concluded that you could be much happier with the Duke d'Argoux. This explains my present decision to withdraw from your life, with a broken heart.

Such information concerning her parents and others Simone picked up by means of eavesdropping at keyholes and telephones, stealing letters from people's pockets and "going through" her father's mail. For such practices she felt as little guilt as did her father for his numerous infidelities. Miss Hayes, Simone's imperturbable English governess, made a pretense at being scandalized; while the Countess, as in everything else, stuck to her guiding principle: "Let us make as small a scandal as possible."

The Countess was a beautiful, exceedingly selfish woman, who, "frankly infatuated with herself," tried to make her figure conform to the prevailing fashion by "stuffing herself with great quantities of sardines in oil." Children "seemed to her as things to be shown off, like the horses and the chateau." She either paid no attention to her daughter's clothes, or bought her over one hundred dresses in a day. She occupied herself with the household, kept an eye on the food, the flowers, and the servants, never had the remotest idea how much money she had or spent, and entertained lavishly. Dinners, with *double service*, consisted of twenty courses "with a sherbet in the middle." Every year, we are told, the Count had to go off to Marienbad to relieve himself of fifty pounds.

When the Countess died, Simone lived with "three naughty bachelors"—her father; her Uncle Louis, who every now and again, tired of sumptuous living, slipped away to seek the company of cab drivers; M. Ballou, the Count's yes-man, "the only member of the household who had tender feelings;" and, of course, the inevitable Miss Hayes. Simone's life with them was such that when it once occurred to her that she might be deprived of her uncle, she exclaimed in alarm: "Life without my three men and Miss Hayes would be impossible!"

It may seem surprising that an intelligent child brought up in such an atmosphere should have been happy; that the very luxury of her life, the pointlessness of those around her, did not lead to boredom and create in her a reaction against it; that as a woman Mrs. McCormick can write of it with so little criticism and complaint. The chief reason, it seems to me, is that hers was a family without fear; it bore no one any grudge, felt no guilt about its position in society, knew its faults, and concealed none of them. It therefore lacked the hypocrisy and greed which was to undermine the morals of so many French families of a later generation and lead that country to catastrophe. If the d'Entrements would have preferred Hitler to Blum, it would have been out of ignorance rather than of fear. The Count was blind, but he had dignity, honesty, and courage. "Woman or no woman," he said in 1914, "I would rather fight for my country than do anything else in the world." And when he clinked his spurs and went off to war, "Only those who do not know how to live do not sin," he told his daughter, "but I have tried to do the least possible harm whenever I could." This is not the voice of a "collaborator," nor sentiments that could have been sincerely expressed by many Frenchmen born into a world such as his.

The only harm I can see that Mrs. McCormick has done is to give us, as the Countess gave her guests at those fabulous dinners, too much of a good thing. I needed a nap by the time the sherbet was served.

JAMES STERN

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HARPER

Sedition by Mail

BLACK MAIL. By Henry Hoke. Reader's Book Service. $1.

IN THE early, uproarious days of the Washington marathon Nazi conspiracy trial, newspapermen found it still a novelty to watch the alleged seditionists gather and harangue each other on the wide courthouse steps. At least once during each recess some reporter would remark that it was inconceivable to him that the gaunt, sepulchral James (Kike-Killer) True, or the late deaf and aged Elmer J. Garner or the perpetually grinning Prescott Dennett really could be a danger to the government or could have plotted to undermine the morale of the armed forces. Other reporters would look about at the twisted face of David Baxter, California Nazi, the pallid, dead-end features of Peter Stahrenberg, the anti-Semitic printer, and the old-maidish Lois De Lafayette Washburn and agree that, perhaps the government was silly and should forget the prosecution.

Now, with the sedition trial in its nineteenth week, along comes Henry Hoke to prove effectively that the government was not silly at all. Hoke says that some of the defendants were responsible for what peppery little William Power Maloney, a government prosecutor, once described as "the most effective propaganda machine that this world has ever seen, so effective and so diabolically clever that it is able to reach in and use the halls of our own Congress as a sounding board for its lies and half truths. . . ."

Written in a florid, excited style, "Black Mail" is the first complete disclosure of the use the German government and its paid and voluntary agents made of the United States mails. Hoke takes apart the interlocking directorate of pro-Nazi propaganda agencies. He reveals the actual mechanics of the network which linked Congressmen to isolationists, America Firsters, German and Japanese agents and anti-Jewish pressure groups. Hoke leaves nothing to the imagination. He reports, for example, that Representative Hamilton Fish's office ordered and paid for 1,600,000 copies of anti-British, isolationist speeches and then distributed them to nationalist groups for free mailing under his Congressional frank.

Hoke discloses that the simple-looking Dennett acted as the front for George Sylvester Viereck, convicted Nazi agent, probably the top pre-war director of German propaganda in America. Viereck, a master at using the mails, was convicted on six counts. The second stated that part of his activities in behalf of Adolf Hitler included writing speeches for Congressmen and getting those speeches in the *Congressional Record*. These talks were reprinted at the request of one of the anti-British Congressmen, such as Senator Burton K. Wheeler. The reprints were then turned over to one of many isolationist fronts set up by friends—or outright agents—of the Reich. Hoke exposes the system which the pro-Germans developed for using Congress for its purposes.

The rest of the book is a detailed account of the anti-Semitic and nationalist propaganda which "Peace Now," the America First Party, and all the other peddlers of hate are still pouring into the mail to sucker lists from which they try to get a few dollars (and supporters) in preparation for the great revival they hope will set in for their trade when peace comes.

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allow the serviceman to vote from wherever he may be providing he is properly registered. To register in those three states, however, he has to appear *in person* before designated local election officials in the State.

Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina, require the serviceman to pay the State poll tax.

Arkansas has a twelve-day period from the day they fix as the earliest date of sending out State absentee ballots and the date on which they must be received in the State. Obviously even if all the ballots were sent out on the very first of these twelve days only a very small portion of domestically stationed servicemen could return their ballots in time.

PVT. M. S.

Somewhere in California, August 21

Baron Wiseacre

Dear Sirs: The New York *Times* of July 6 carried a dispatch from its Rome correspondent, Herbert L. Matthews, acquainting the American public with the latest phase in the efforts of the Vatican to bring about a negotiated peace "with as many elements of compromise in it as possible." It is explained that "presumptive peace negotiators" for the European Axis are actually in Vatican City, namely, the envoys to the Holy See of Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia, and Finland, led by Baron Ernst von Weizsaecker, the German Ambassador. We are, moreover, informed that "every one of these men . . . has often been in touch with Harold H. Tittman, Jr., the American Chargé d'Affaires, and Francis d'Arcy Osborne, the British Ambassador, in recent months."

This correspondent, who has not the privilege of being an American citizen, does not wish to raise the question whether for Allied diplomats to be "often in touch" with Axis diplomats at the present juncture is or is not consistent with the acknowledged policy of unconditional surrender. Since evidently the contacts exist, he deems it his duty, however, to assist Americans in getting an adequate picture of the Axis peace negotiators. He begs to differ from Mr. Matthews, who introduces these men by saying they "are all irons in the Allied fire, so to speak. Every one of them is notoriously Anglophile. Not one of them is a genuine supporter of the Axis or of the governments they represent"; and who assures us specifically that Baron von Weizsaecker "is not at all a Nazi."

True, Baron von Weizsaecker—to concentrate on the man whom Mr. Matthews describes as "the most important of all"—probably never wore a brown shirt or joined the Nazi Party, and it may well be assumed that neither in public nor in private did he ever curse a Jew, Churchill, or even the Bolsheviks. He is a gentleman of the old school, scion of a distinguished and cultured Wuerttemberg family, an accomplished musician, using the pleasant ways and mild manners that made him congenial at the gatherings of the League of Nations, where he often sat on behalf of the German government. The baron does not talk Nazi; that would be beneath his breeding and his dignity. Nor would such a man fully subscribe to a political program that includes so much shocking and in the final analysis really quite unnecessary "radicalism." At many a dinner table and also to visitors before his desk the baron has taken exception to Nazi policies.

So the baron is not a genuine supporter of the Nazi government! The Nazis apparently disagree with Mr. Matthews. While the baron has held the rank of an envoy since 1931, it was under Hitler that he rapidly rose to prominence. In 1933 he received his first major foreign assignment, when he was accredited to the Swiss government. In 1936 he was appointed to no less a post than that of an acting director of the Political Division in the Berlin Foreign Office. In 1937 he was promoted to full director, and in April, 1938, immediately after the Austrian coup, he became Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, the German equivalent, or almost, of the post of Undersecretary of State in this country. In other words Hitler gave him key positions, and his job was precisely to assist the Nazis in the diplomatic preparation for and the diplomatic conduct of their present war. Did Hitler bestow so great a responsibility on a man who did not support his government? Or can one assume that the baron faked his loyalties—faked them successfully for some ten years?

Baron von Weizsaecker's record is clear; from the outset he has freely lent his good name, his considerable talents, and his experience to Adolf Hitler. Not only has he been a supporter of his government. Like the notorious Dr. Schacht he stands out as a particularly dangerous specimen of Nazi agent. Well-groomed and well-spoken, respectable, a gentleman from top to toe, ostensibly critical of the Nazis, an "Anglophile," the baron is ideally suited for the job of befuddling those who cannot or will not see through the Nazi game.

The Stalingrad disaster brought it home to the Nazis that they could not win the war and that their only hope lay in a negotiated peace. At that time the baron left his post in Berlin for that of Ambassador to the Vatican. A clever appointment. Baron von Weizsaecker is an "honorable man," and it seems that there is no Mark Antony to show him up on the *forum Romanum.*

LUDWIG HAMBURGER

Washington, D. C., July 31

For Unity

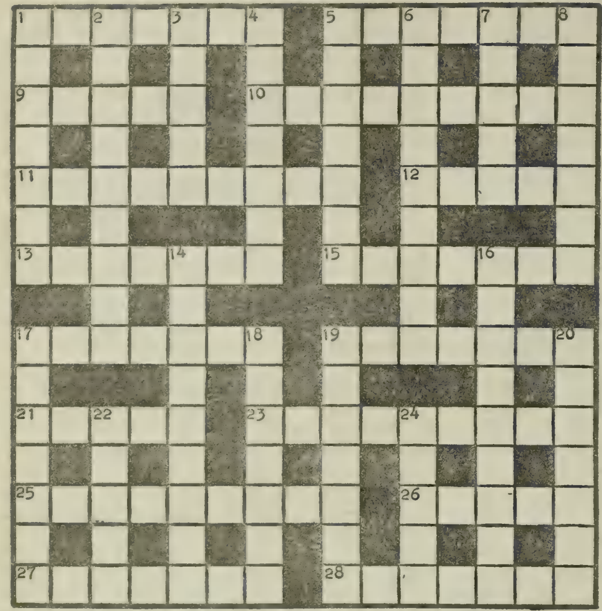
Dear Sirs: In your editorial in the issue of August 5 you write that ". . . if the progressives realize their strength in time they can shape a counteroffensive. For numbers are on their side and the hopes of ordinary men and women and the deepest requirements of our struggling civilization." That is so terribly true that the failure (aside from PAC) of progressives to unite is a sad story for us. The worst example of progressive petulance in recent months has been the decision of the Liberal Party to follow the "no, no, my way only" path to salvation. And that has been the tragic fallacy of progressive movements in America. The history of our intelligent minority movements has been a history of internal bickering, of fatal schisms. But now we have come to a time in the development of our nation when it is vital that the differences between men who place the dignity of life above the value of the dollar sign be resolved into a strong and forceful unity. The forces of reaction are gathering in full power for the kill.

To achieve that unity a congress must be held—after the November elections whether Roosevelt is elected or not, and especially if not—a congress of all the forces which have in one way or another demonstrated their adherence to the principles enumerated.

The composition of the Congress would be varied—organizations like the Union for Democratic Action, Friends of Democracy, the Communist Political Association, Socialist Party, the American Labor Party, the Liberal Party; newspapermen like Max Lerner, Sam Grafton, Freda Kirchwey, Bruce Bliven, Joseph North, Jennings Perry, Kenneth Leslie, George Seldes; union leaders like Phil Murray, Phil Carey, Joseph Curran, Albert Fitzgerald, John Green, Reid Robinson, Harry Bridges, Emil Rieve, Dan Tobin, A. F. Whitney; farm leaders, James Patton, Murray Lincoln;

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 79

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Gate with only one post
5 A family of great expectations, in Dickens
9 Suitable beverage for Haile Selassie?
10 Signally expressive, that's the long and short of it (two words, 5 and 4)
11 Characteristics peculiar to a certain class (hyphen, 4-5)
12 "Their cause I -----, ----- it in heart and mind; A fellow-feeling makes one wondrous kind" (Garrick)
13 A round figure, though it sounds like a round letter
15 Letters from a colonist
17 In bed less and consequently happy
19 Bobadil did, in Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*
21 Considered as a record of the amount of seaside air required, it doesn't seem enough
23 "There is nothing new except what is ---------" (Mlle. Bertin to Marie Antoinette)
25 Parisian night club
26 "The atrocious ----- of being a young man," as Dr. Johnson once expressed it
27 System of holding land in single holdings made up of detached pieces
28 Infuriates

DOWN

1 Wild creature whose foot pollinates flowers
2 Tune is rag (anag.)
3 Where the English have their Derby
4 To be found in the Book of Numbers, no doubt
5 Sticklers for perfect speech
6 Had her nose been shorter the face of the whole world might have been changed
7 Eat away
8 Unsuccessful suitor for the hand of "Sweet Anne Page"
14 Wife of Othello
16 "But Hudibras gave him a twitch As quick as --------- in the breech" (Butler)
17 Fish we do not find in the sea
18 Precious pair in *The Tale of Two Cities* (she, a dangerous woman, everlastingly knitting)
19 Garnets (anag.)
20 They know all about Bobs minor, major, royal and maximus
22 Sultan of the East; conqueror of the Christians. A magnanimous man
24 It may happen that a conscientious objector turns on a dog

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 78

ACROSS:—1 PARSNIPS; 5 FINISH; 10 FANCIER; 11 ERL-KING; 12 LILY; 13 DIVER; 16 DAUB; 17 SATIRES; 19 BOGUS; 20 CEREAL; 22 SHALLOW; 23 HAWAII; 25 VENOM; 27 ENTICED; 31 TWIN; 32 GONER; 33 FISH; 36 APERIES; 37 SPECIES; 38 DASHES; 39 FREDERIC.

DOWN:—1 PIFFLE; 2 RINALDO; 3 NAIL; 4 PERMIT; 6 ILLS; 7 IMITATE; 8 HIGHBALL; 9 REFER; 13 DASHING; 14 VILLAIN; 15 RECOVER; 17 SUSIE; 18 SEWED; 21 SHETLAND; 24 WAITERS; 26 OLIVIER; 28 TOAST; 29 CENSOR; 30 PHYSIC; 34 MINE; 35 LEAD.

Negro leaders, Walter White, Clayton Powell, A. Philip Randolph; writers, Howard Fast, Ruth McKenney, Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos; professors, Ralph Barton Perry, R. M. Lynd, Francis McMahon, Oscar Lange; radio commentators like Frank Kingdon; and, of course, Hollywood.

And the course of action? Discussions should be held on the basic necessity for unity among all of these groups. Committees could be set up, and procedures established for cooperation. Difficulties between many progressives could perhaps be ironed out by face-to-face meetings. Fantastic? I don't know. All over the world people have discovered how basic is the need for unity against reaction. There's the story of Yugoslavia still fresh for us to read, of Italian unity, of French unity. People can come together if they are honest and talk out the difficulties which lie between them and find mutual bases for active cooperation. No one man, no one group possesses the one and only, the true way to "salvation."

For some reason there has been an awful apathy among progressives to bestir themselves from their typewriters, march out of their own lush Arcadias of democracy, and shake hands with each other. It would do a hell of a lot of people a hell of a lot of good, not to mention the country.

CORPORAL

Somewhere in New Jersey, August 10

Letters Wanted

Dear Sirs: I am compiling a book of letters written by women serving overseas in the military services of the United States and will be grateful for copies of letters. A book of such letters, describing the experiences, thoughts, and reactions of our enlisted women, I believe, will not only be of interest to men and women at home but will be a valuable historical record, inasmuch as this is the first time that women have served their country overseas in the military services. Copies of letters should be addressed to Miss Alma Lutz, 22 River Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts, and should have noted on them the name, rank, branch of service, and location of the writer; also the name and address of the sender and his or her relationship to the writer of the letter. Any originals sent for copying will receive good care and be promptly returned.

ALMA LUTZ

Boston, Mass, August 20

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

BELGIUM, HOLLAND, LUXEMBOURG—EVEN while we set down the names whole countries are snatched out of Hitler's grasp. The edges of Germany itself are crumbling, and by the week's end the attack on the inner fortress will certainly be fully launched. All of southern France is now liberated, and in the north 100,000 German troops are supposed to be trapped between the Somme and the Belgian frontier. This in the west. In the east more than half the Balkan peninsula has been taken. Russian forces are close to a junction with Tito's army in Yugoslavia, and a million satellite troops have been lost to Germany just as its own manpower has reached a final stage of exhaustion. The Nazi débâcle in the east is almost complete; only Hungary, headed now by the fascist puppet, General Lakatos, still holds out, driven by its own suicidal determination to keep Transylvania at any cost and by the force of a full German occupation. Finland at last has accepted reality, and the guns on the Finnish front are silent. (What has that miserable country gained by its long servitude to its Nazi overlord?) The stage is now set for every sort of rumor of German collapse and capitulation. Yet areas of stubborn resistance remain to warn us that the enemy, though beaten, may still rouse himself to a final desperate struggle. In Brest the Nazi garrison hangs on, as we write, against the most concentrated air attack of the entire war, and on the Vistula front, as in the Baltic states, the Germans continue to resist Russian pressure. The first engagements on German territory will show whether the Nazi fortress is going to fall intact, as have the occupied countries, or whether there is more than words in the *Angriff* article by Deputy Reich Press Chief Helmut Sundermann, broadcast by the Berlin Radio, pledging that the invaders of Germany would find there "nothing but death, destruction, and hatred."

*

THE NAZIS HAVE AT LAST ADMITTED THE certainty of defeat. Although there is still talk of a secret weapon which will win the war in four to six months, it appears that few Germans place much stock in the latest whoppers. An informal poll conducted more than a month ago by a Swedish agency revealed that at least 80 per cent of the Germans questioned believed even then that military defeat was inevitable. This view has been given official sanction by none other than General Kurt Dittmar, Germany's leading military radio commentator, who declared recently that "the course of events seems to support" those who believe Germany's military defeat is near. Dittmar went on to say that Germany must fight on, not in order to win, but in the hope that the Allies can be induced to make a softer peace than is implied in the term "unconditional surrender." Civilians are being urged to make every German city a Stalingrad. Without doubt the German people will hold out for a time, but it will be because they are terrorized by secret police and a Nazi party organization that still retains its efficiency in face of the impending military collapse. But the resistance shown by the population of Stalingrad, Leningrad, and Sevastopol will not be repeated in Germany. Indeed, the necessity for terroristic methods is but an external reflection of the inherent German morale.

*

THE LATEST PROPOSALS FOR POLISH UNITY submitted by Prime Minister Mikolajczyk after approval by the exile cabinet and the underground parliament in Warsaw appear to represent an honest attempt to reach a settlement with Moscow. Mikolajczyk has declared his willingness to set up at Warsaw, immediately after its liberation, a democratic coalition government which would include representatives from the pro-Soviet Polish Workers Party. This government would renew relations with the Soviet Union, undertake the responsibility of assuring order in the rear of the Red Army, and prepare immediately for elections. The new government would also take steps to remove one of the thorniest points of friction with Russia by abolishing the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Polish forces held by the bitterly anti-Soviet General Sosnkowski. Proposals are also said to have been submitted for a compromise on the long-standing border dispute. It is not known how closely Mikolajczyk's plan approximates the proposals presented to him by the new Committee of National Liberation, but the contrast between the new plan and all those previously submitted by the Government in Exile is so great as to raise hope that an agreement may be possible. The terrible toll taken among Warsaw's brave and patriotic population because of lack of coordination between the underground and the advancing Red Army has created a dramatic urgency which should facilitate a compromise settlement

*

THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT IN LONDON has made public the agreement between Premier Subasich and Marshal Tito, signed on June 16 on liberated Yugoslav soil. The agreement calls for a government which will include persons who have not "compromised themselves in the struggle against the National Liberation Movement." It recommends the unification under the leadership of Marshal Tito of all forces now fighting in the country. And it wisely postpones until after the war the solution of the organization of the state. The people will be given the right to decide whether or not they want a king to rule them. In a statement appended to the agreement, the exile government recognizes "the national and democratic achievements of the Yugoslav people during the three-year struggle, by which the foundations of a democratic federal organization of the federal states have been laid and a temporary administration of the country set up" by the National Liberation Movement. "All traitors to the people who collaborated with the enemy either openly or secretly" are condemned, and Marshal Tito is given full credit for the leadership of the resistance. Mihailovich is not mentioned at all. And so at last, the people are recognized and Marshal Tito is acknowledged as the military and political authority within Yugoslavia, empowered to communicate with the chancelleries of the other United Nations. It is to be hoped that the agreement will hasten the flow of supplies into Yugoslavia.

*

COMMENTING ON SIDNEY HILLMAN'S ABLE statement before the House Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures, the New York *Herald Tribune* admits that the CIO Political Action Committee is not violating the law. But it says "the whole business is wrong." It is wrong, in the *Herald Tribune's* opinion, "because it is the systematic application of heat to candidates for public office by a powerful pressure group with a distinct economic interest." But American politics, and both major parties, as the editors of the *Herald Tribune* well know, have long been subject to the pressures of groups with distinct economic interests. We have yet to hear the *Herald Tribune* or any other conservative newspaper object to the powerful pressure exerted on both parties by the New York banking community, or by American industry. It would seem that the objection is not to pressure groups in general but to the exercise of pressure by labor. The *Herald Tribune* says that the CIO PAC "constitutes a threat to freedom of choice in a democracy and majority rule." But it seems to us that a committee directly representing 5,000,000 workers and indirectly reflecting the Presidential choice of the overwhelming majority of America's 60,000,000 workers is far less "a threat to freedom of choice . . . and majority rule" than the activities, let us say, of the du Pont or Rockefeller families—or the $1,300,000 pre-election "educational" campaign of the National Association of Manufecturers. For the money of these few easily outweighs the votes of many. Far from being a threat to majority rule, the activities of the CIO Political Action

Committee should help to reestablish majority rule by arousing millions of workers to an effective use of their ballots.

*

IN PASSING THE EMASCULATED GEORGE BILL by an overwhelming vote the House has greased the ways for the coming post-war depression. True, the Senate bill offered little that would prevent a crisis when ten million service men and fifteen to twenty million war workers scramble simultaneously for peacetime jobs which may never materialize. But the Senate bill did at least provide unemployment compensation for the several millions who are employed in federal shipyards and arsenals. And it provided a federal training program for demobilized war workers together with an allowance to enable those who have left their homes to work in war factories to return to their former place of residence. If a sufficient number of telegrams and letters go to Washington this next week from the people who will vote in November, these provisions may yet be reinstated by the Senate-House conferees. Otherwise, we face an inevitable post-war crisis because millions will lack the buying power to maintain a high level of production, either by agriculture or industry. But the failure of Congress to assure adequate compensation for displaced war workers is not its most serious shortcoming. Far graver has been its delay in setting up an agency empowered to lay plans for post-war public construction. It has begun to look as if, instead of "full employment," we are in for another protracted period of apple-selling and leaf-raking. And this time Democrats as well as Republicans are responsible.

George W. Norris

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WHEN George W. Norris was defeated for the Senate in 1942 he believed that his usefulness was gone and his end near. Now, two years later, the great Senator has died, and from all over the land he loved so deeply men are hurrying to testify that never in his long life had he been more needed than today. For the strange fact is that Norris's defeat was also his release into a freer, broader field of action. It is true that he was weary and disheartened. But it is equally true that his retirement from the Senate transformed him into a national symbol of the country's struggle toward a more vigorously democratic future. The integrity that had stood like a fortress against the assaults of the strongest and most unscrupulous financial interests in the United States, the fierce faith in a more just and generous society—those qualities suddenly became a nucleus around which the hopes of progressives of every faction could rally.

In December, 1942, two months after the election, *The Nation* and the Union for Democratic Action combined to hold a great public dinner in New York in honor of the man and his record. It was an amazing affair. Instead of the usual demonstration of appreciation and respect—though these were not lacking—the dinner developed into a political rally. The audience itself was an indication of Norris's place in America: it was a "popular front" of all the progressive elements in the community. And the speakers, one after another, called upon the old Senator to use his freedom from official duties to act as leader of a new movement, non-partisan but militant, to resist reaction and fight for a people's peace, for full production and a decent American standard of living.

Philip Murray, President of the C I O, at the close of his speech struck Senator Norris on the shoulder and called out, "You lead, George, and we'll follow!" James Patton pledged the active participation of the Farmers Union. And the many unattached liberals at the speakers' table, as well as on the floor, felt a new lifting of hope, a new energy, at this sudden, warm demonstration of unity.

The attempt to create a movement out of that single event did not succeed. Perhaps the moment was not right. But an impulse of such strength, expressing such obvious need, seldom dies without issue. Last month George W. Norris accepted the post of Honorary Chairman of the National Citizens Political Action Committee. And on the board of the new organization are to be found many of the leaders who came together that night to convert defeat into victory by closing their ranks around a man who represented the best in all the groups on the left in America.

The other day I had a letter from Senator Norris. It must be one of the last he wrote for it is dated August 25, four days before his fatal attack. The letter was personal but it shows so clearly how he felt at the end of his life about the organization he headed and the issues with which it must deal, that, with a few omissions, I am going to print it here. I look upon it as a last testament, however unintended, to his political followers. Readers should remember that it was written by a man who had championed labor all his life; who was the author, with Mayor La Guardia, of the anti-injunction act outlawing "yellow-dog" contracts and protecting labor's right to strike and picket. They should realize that when Norris criticizes workers or leaders who have encouraged wartime strikes, he is speaking out of a passionate desire for a labor movement, not only strong in numbers and militant in behalf of its own interests, but statesmanlike and mature, aware of the political responsibilities that go with power.

After resigning from the Republican Party, Norris had no political affiliation. But he always hoped to see develop that unity in action between workers, farmers, and liberals of other groups out of which a national progressive coalition might arise. He believed that the PAC, with its roots in the labor movement and its branches reaching out into the community as a whole, might provide the start of such a coalition. The letter which follows should be read with this background in mind.

Dear Miss Kirchwey:

I have read your letter of August 16 with a great deal of interest. One of the reasons I hesitated about becoming the Honorary Chairman of the National Citizens Political Action Committee was that I feared it might be, in the mind of the public, coupled with a purely labor organization. I feel that it ought to be much broader than that. I have at different times talked the general subject over with Mr. Murray, and I was always greatly impressed with his fairness and with his own belief that labor, like other groups, has made its mistakes. An organization that was purely a labor organization would not be popular, especially in the West. There is a feeling among the farmers that labor organizations have not been fair and that they insist on getting a high wage for themselves, while disregarding the fact that the farmer's financial success is after all a gamble and depends entirely upon the weather and other conditions over which he has no control whatever.

I might say in passing that I do not agree with the position that many leading farmers have taken. They, like some of the leaders of labor, are, I think, unreasonable; they are jealous, they are prejudiced and do not take a broad-minded view of the situation. They are too selfish and have little regard for the feelings and rights of people not connected with their group. This of course is not true of all leaders of either group. Some of them are broad-minded, fair men, and are taking positions that seem to me very commendable. I myself have had a feeling that there have been strikes that were unnecessary and should have been avoided. I have been very much perturbed by the fact that some of these strikes have taken place against the wishes and desires of labor leaders. I feel, particularly, that the Philadelphia strike was uncalled for and that the people who were hurt by it, more than any other class, were the laborers themselves. That strike excited a feeling that it was unwarranted and, under the circumstances, even unpatriotic.

I read a report of the strike quoting from a speech by one of the leaders, that grieved me very much. I thought it injurious to our war effort and particularly to labor. This speaker seemed to have nothing else in view than the success of the strike. He had apparently no idea of the terrible condition in which the country is now placed. He evidently did not care whether bombs and other munitions of war were made in sufficient quantities so that our soldiers at the front would have the means of carrying on the fight, and I noticed in the report, that when he made the loudest claims for labor he was cheered immensely by his hearers.

I have no sympathy with that kind of behavior. I think no one will deny that I have been a friend of labor practically all my life, but I condemn such actions as bitterly as anyone else does. Labor ought to be prepared like any other group of citizens to make the sacrifices that are necessary to bring success. Sometimes these sacrifices would mean that it would have to put up temporarily with conditions that under ordinary circumstances would be unbearable, but unless we are all willing to sacrifice—and that means give up some of our own ideas and keep on fighting, even though we are not getting the right kind of treatment—we cannot hope to achieve the unity that will bring success to our cause; and that is one reason why I would have hated to become officially identified with an organization that I knew was going to be charged with representing only labor. . . .

I think the National Citizens Political Action Committee ought to let the country understand that we are a much broader organization, that we want justice and fairness for labor, and that we are equally anxious that every field of activity, including the farmers particularly, should have the same fair, honest, equal treatment. If we could get this idea abroad and could convince the people that we are asking no special favors for labor, we would go a long ways towards winning the fight.

Yesterday I wrote a letter to Mr. Clark Foreman, Secretary of the N.C.P.A.C., in which I enclosed a letter I had received from a Methodist minister in New Jersey. I enclosed also a copy of my reply. This minister had written criticising me severely for becoming Honorary Chairman of the N.C.P.A.C. He evidently thought that he was a liberal, but he was outspoken in condemnation of Roosevelt. He did not want a fourth term. He was mad at England because she had not treated India right, and he had it in for China because Chiang Kai Shek was a dictator, and he had hatred for the Communists and therefore did not like our partnership with Russia. He evidently hated everybody except that he said nothing about Hitler or any of his supporters.

Such men are scattered over the country. Many of them cannot be subdued of course, but all such men as have written me are leaders of public thought in their communities. I wanted to cause him to stop and think what he was doing. I did not express any bitterness in my reply although I think I would have been justified in doing so. It seems to me that our honest patriotic citizenship, especially the citizen inclined to the liberal cause, ought to be reminded that we have in our midst men and women, perhaps patriotic, who are opposing our cause because they do not like Russia or China or Great Britain. And we ought to be able to convince these people, not only of the righteousness of our cause, but also that citizens who hold back because they do not like Russia, China, or Great Britain are doing a great injury to their country and are disuniting our people in a fight where absolute unity is necessary for success. G. W. NORRIS.

The death of Norris has occurred at a moment when labor has finally become aware of its enormous potential strength as a factor in American politics. In the full development of that strength lies the greatest hope of our democratic future, but it must be inspired by the high sense of responsibility so earnestly stressed by the Senator in his letter.

[*An article on Senator Norris by David Lilienthal, head of the Tennessee Valley Administration, will appear in an early issue. And later on* The Nation *will publish several chapters from Norris's autobiography, which was happily completed before his death.*]

A Plea to the President

THE editors of *The Nation* appeal to President Roosevelt to send a special message to Congress asking the passage of the Chavez-Scanlon bill for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee. They believe that the President would thereby invigorate the campaign for his reelection. A courageous insistence on the application at home of the principles for which we fight abroad would give his supporters a lift their spirits badly need. A certain enervation is visible in their ranks. We are not unmindful of the necessities of so-called practical politics, but a combination of excessive caution and dubious expediency in domestic policy may turn out to be highly impractical. The invocation of Mr. Roosevelt's past achievements is running into the stage of diminishing returns, and the moment has come for a move with some admixture of the heroic.

We do not know what the Nervous Nellies of the White House palace guard are telling the President, but we cannot imagine a more favorable combination of circumstances in which to defy the right-wing Southern oligarchy which thinks it owns the Democratic Party. The Republicans, after their platform promises, and on the eve of an election in which the Negro vote may prove decisive, cannot vote against the Chavez-Scanlon bill. To ask for its passage now would be to drive a wedge, perhaps a permanent wedge, between the Republicans in Congress and their reactionary Democratic allies. The passage of the bill, under prodding from the President, would bring the great majority of Negroes back into the New Deal camp and would give new heart to listless progressives who are for the President as against Dewey but are fed up with Mr. Roosevelt's long-continued appeasement of the right.

We are not ungrateful for the President's action in establishing the Fair Employment Practices Committee or for the limited support he has given it, but we believe an unusual political opportunity presents itself at this time to make that committee permanent, to give it legal standing and power, and to write into law the principles it has applied. Mr. Justice Roberts gave those principles the sanction of the Supreme Court three years before the FEPC was set up. In the New Negro Alliance case the court extended the protection of the Norris-La Guardia act to picketing against racial discrimination and said, "The desire for fair and equitable conditions of employment on the part of persons of any race, color, or persuasion, and the removal of discrimination against them by reason of their race or religious beliefs is quite as important . . . as fairness and equity in terms and conditions of employment. Race discrimination by an employer may reasonably be deemed more unfair and less excusable than discrimination on the ground of union affiliation." Congress has full power to act, and the President should ask it to do so.

The establishment of a permanent FEPC seems to us part of any sound program for the preservation of social stability in the transition from war to peace. A permanent FEPC would help to prevent the grave racial disorders that marked demobilization after the First World War. "The homecoming Negro soldiers," Gunnar Myrdal says of that period in "The American Dilemma," "met the suspicions and fears of the Southern whites. In the North, their new footholds in industry were contested by anxious white job-seekers in the post-war depression. A wave of lynchings swept the South and even more bloody race riots swept the North." In 1919 there were race riots in twenty-six American cities, the worst in Chicago, where fifteen whites and twenty-three Negroes were killed. The field of race relations has too long been the no man's land of American law, and the firm enforcement of equality in employment opportunity will go far to prevent the festering resentment that breeds disorder.

We likewise believe that the establishment of a permanent FEPC would be an effective weapon of political warfare when Hitler is defeated and our energies turn toward the defeat of Japan. It would give the justifiably uneasy and suspicious brown and yellow peoples of the Far East concrete evidence of a progressive change in the American attitude toward the colored races. It would dissociate us in their eyes from attitudes that seem to them strikingly similar to Hitler's and thus spike the biggest gun in the arsenal of Japanese propaganda. In Latin America, long disturbed by discriminations here against immigrants from Mexico and other Latin American countries, it would give new reality to the Good Neighbor policy.

A permanent FEPC would erect a barrier against those forces which lie in wait for us at home and intend with the coming of peace to exploit for the purposes of reaction every racial and religious difference among us.

Anti-Semitism will be stronger and better organized than before, and Nazi propaganda techniques will be applied to set Americans of different racial origins apart from each other. We ask the President to act in the name of justice to the Negroes and other minority groups in our armed forces. A permanent FEPC would be some guaranty that they will not face at the employment-agency window what they thought they had defeated in Europe. Ernesto Galarza of the Pan-American Union, testifying before the House Labor Committee on behalf of Mexican Americans, summed up what the FEPC means to all minorities in this country when he said that it gives them "a feeling that they belong."

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

RADIO Tokyo has come up with a new phrase explaining defeat which belongs in the same class with Radio Berlin's "elastic defense." The phrase first appeared after the loss of Saipan, and much seems likely to be heard of it in the coming months.

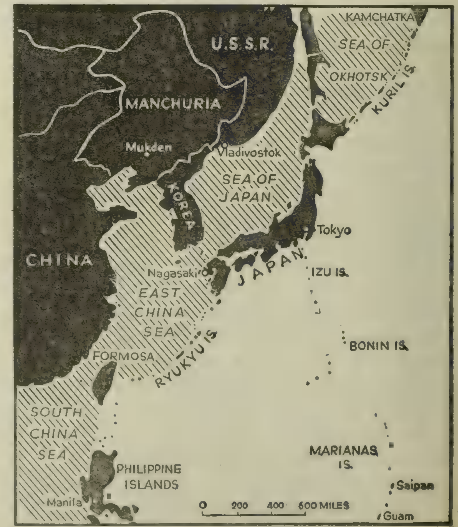
"Basic sea area" is the phrase. It is used to describe that area of the sea which is considered vital to Japan's existence as a nation, the area which Japan naturally controls and will fight for. This area runs from the Sea of Okhotsk in the north southward through the Sea of Japan and the East China Sea to the South China Sea: that is, the entire belt of seas bordering the east of Asia, from Kamchatka in the north to Sumatra in the south — a distance of more than five thousand miles.

The most obviously significant thing about this list is that it makes no mention of the Pacific Ocean—ordinarily considered quite an important body of water. Japan now claims not only no dominion but no essential national interest anywhere east of the great island chain stretching from the Kuriles through the home islands, the Ryukyus, Formosa, and the Philippines to the Netherlands East Indies. And even in the latter group, it would seem that Tokyo has written off Netherlands New Guinea, the Moluccas, the eastern Sundas, and Celebes.

It is in the "basic sea area" that the Japanese fleet is to operate; here, presumably, it is to give battle to the United States Third and Fifth Fleets, or any other Allied fleets which present themselves. The casual dismissal of the Pacific smacks more than a little of sour grapes; it is by way of being a back-handed compliment to Task Force 58, that extraordinarily mobile strategic air force, and the troops and planes of the Allied Southwest Pacific command. It may also be a prior apology for the non-appearance of the Japanese fleet at a number of threatened points: the Volcano and Bonin groups, stepping-stones from the Marianas to Tokyo; Formosa, a dagger thrust at the China coast; the Moluccas, and the Philippines themselves. All of these are approached from the Pacific, and the inaction of the Japanese fleet is thus explained.

This is an inexcusable perversion of the fleet-in-being principle—inexcusable, that is, in Western eyes. The principle requires that an inferior fleet maintain itself intact, not offering combat, but forcing the superior enemy fleet to restrict its operations until the fleet-in-being is destroyed. But the sole type of mission which justifies the fleet-in-being principle is the defense of territory in the nation's home waters; and it is inconceivable that the waters on one side of, say, Formosa are "home waters" while those on the other side are of no concern; are "outside the 'basic sea area'."

Of course the reason for this change of heart and strategic concept is not hard to find. Allied sea power began to increase relative to Japan's sea power at Mid-



Shading Shows Japan's "Basic Sea Area" way, and the difference has since increased at an almost fantastic rate. The Japanese attempted interception at Saipan, but failed in their aim to reduce our combat strength to approximate equality with their own by preliminary air attacks, which cost them four hundred planes, and fled before closing surface action. They inflicted *no losses* on our fleet, and suffered a defeat of magnitude themselves: a Hayataka-class carrier was definitely sunk and another was left burning; these were two of the newest carriers in the fleet and among the very few large fleet carriers in the entire Japanese navy. Two more carriers, slightly smaller but still among the largest and newest of the fleet, were listed respectively as probably sunk and badly hit.

Against this we now have *seven* battle fleets, plus Admiral King's own Tenth (anti-submarine) Fleet. Obviously Radio Tokyo would not care to dispute the Pacific Ocean, nor would it care to dispute Admiral Nimitz when he says: "These three islands [Guam, Saipan, Tinian] give us the very best springboard to complete the occupation of the Marianas and to enable us to keep moving. All you have to do is to look at the map to see that they are strategically located with reference to Japan, China, the Philippines, and the Southwest Pacific. We have in these islands an area which will mount a good many troops and we propose to develop the facilities for that purpose—to carry the war to the Japs."

Consequently the Japs are preparing to meet the war nearer home, along a defense line as close as they can shave it to their vital area—the natural resources of the East Indies and the Philippines. Already the Halmaheras air bases are being abandoned, runways are being obstructed with logs, and Allied air strikes are destroying grounded Jap planes without being intercepted. The Japanese ground situation in New Guinea is steadily worsening; the rest of the Marianas, the Bonins, Palau, and Truk have been reduced to vulnerable outposts, the army garrisons outside the "basic sea area" are being left to starve, and air activity everywhere has been cut to the bone, except in China.

But enemy air strength has not simply disappeared; it is being concentrated in the Philippines, where garrisons are also being strengthened, and it is still on the offensive in China, where the army regrouping has been completed and the drive toward Kweilin has started. Japan will fight hard to protect the "basic sea area," and harder to protect its "defensive triangle"—the home islands, China, and Manchuria. For behind the reluctant Japanese navy still stands the bulk of the Japanese army.

[*Next week: Japanese naval concepts; the "defensive triangle"; the Cabinet and the people.*]

A Purged Press for France

BY RUFUS BAXTER

THE reform of the French press, undertaken by the Algiers government as part of a vast effort to resolve the problems of liberation and reconstruction in the spirit of the Fourth Republic, has provoked a wave of criticism in this country and Britain. Many newspapers have complained that the legislation, drawn up under the auspices of M. Henri Bonnet, Commissioner of Information, will amount to a government monopoly of news in France. Some have even cited these laws as indications of a dictatorial tendency in the De Gaulle government. Frederick Kuh, in a dispatch from London published in *PM,* writes: "The issue involved is basic because the French policy is threatening to the progressive, enlightened plan maturing in America and Britain to insure a free flow of news throughout the world after the war." I think, however, that Mr. Kuh and the others who have criticized French policy would feel differently if they took the trouble to examine more closely the whole problem of the press in France.

One is too apt at this distance to judge the measures taken in Algiers according to conditions prevailing in Britain and the United States. But it should not be forgotten that if the venal and libelous press of pre-war France cried out for reform, four years of German occupation have made deep surgery one of the very conditions of a renovated French Republic. The official press, having served the enemy with docility or zeal, must be totally wiped out, not simply "purified." A vigorous new press has already started to come out of hidden print shops and cellars, where for four years it has led a clandestine existence. Can it for a moment be thought that this press, born in a spirit of fierce liberty of thought and expression, will submit now to anti-liberal controls imposed by the provisional government? The new legislation, drawn up to meet the peculiar conditions existing in France today, provides the weapons necessary for a legal purge of a fascist-distorted press. Neither its purposes nor its provisions should alarm democrats in any land.

One of the earliest in date of the laws which will govern the reform of the press during the transition period is the anti-libel law passed on May 6. The necessity of this law, designed to strengthen, so as to make operative, the classic French libel law of July 29, 1881, will be apparent to anyone who remembers the scurrilous and defamatory journalism that flourished before the war in papers like *L'Action Française, Gringoire,* and others. One of the features of the new law is that infractions of it are punishable by fines so great (up to a million francs, plus expenses, in some instances) that offending journals expose themselves to the possible seizure of their plants or capital. It is clearly up to the defendant to prove the truth of his statements—this was not the case in the law of 1881—but truth may not be offered as defense in cases involving the plaintiff's private life, facts going back more than ten years, or alleged offenses covered by amnesty, rehabilitation, or reversal. The term *"diffamation"* is carefully defined so as to give maximum protection; scurrilous abuse is also forbidden. The original law of 1881, *"la loi Jules Ferry,"* which embodies basic republican guaranties, begins with the words, *"L'imprimerie et la librairie sont libres."* This fundamental principle is not modified but rather fortified and protected in the new legislation, which was accompanied by a measure abolishing all but military censorship in time of war.

In the *Journal Officiel de la République Française* for July 8 appeared a further series of laws regulating all media of information—radio, cinema, and press—during the period of liberation. Full control of these media will temporarily be exercised by the government. As regards the press, a law of June 22 provides that all newspapers which had obeyed the directives of the occupying power or of the "de facto authority calling itself the government of the French State" will, as the territory is liberated, cease publication and will be placed in public custody. All existing press organizations or unions will be dissolved outright. In their place regional press and information committees, with members representing the Ministry of Information, the resistance movement, and the newspaper trade unions, will be formed to supervise the creation of new publications, grant licenses to publish, and keep the Ministry informed on all matters concerning the press in the various regions. The local committees will be affiliated with a national one of approximately the same composition.

But it is the "Law of June 22, 1944, concerning the distribution of news in the territory of France in the course of its liberation," which has created the greatest stir abroad. This law provides that the government-subsidized news agency, the recently formed *Agence Française de Presse,* will alone be authorized to distribute news inside France during this period, unless the Commissioner of Information decrees otherwise for particular regions. In short, foreign agencies (or any other French agency, for that matter) will not be allowed to deal directly with French newspapers but will be obliged to use A. F. P. facilities for the distribution of news inside France. Little wonder that there was such a storm of criticism! Indeed, Mr. Kuh reports in the dispatch cited above that "with the tacit support of the Associated Press, Britain's leading news agency, Reuter, has now strongly protested to the French administration." There is no doubt that these established agencies, already operating with the Allied forces, hoped to get in on the ground floor in France with little or no local opposition. The law in question, however, gives assurance that there will at least *be* a French agency.

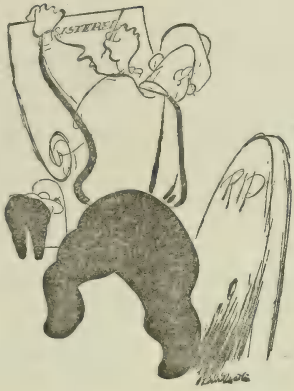
Drastic as the law may seem, there is no doubt that without it an independent French news agency would be impossible. M. Henri Bonnet, in a press conference held in Algiers some six weeks ago, explained why. The A. F. P., he said, will soon be turned into a cooperative belonging to the French newspapers themselves, according to the decree of July 21. But, he added, such an agency can function and live independently of government subsidies and control only when the French newspapers themselves again become going concerns. Pointing out the strictly temporary character of the law, M. Bonnet explained that just as soon as conditions become normal in France full liberty will be given any French or foreign news agency wishing to operate in France. But French newspapers—and France itself—will by then possess at least one agency of their own. The French government, he concluded, is not only willing but anxious to cooperate with other nations to the end that the peace treaty shall contain provisions preventing any obstacle to the free and reciprocal exchange and circulation of news throughout the world.

Thus the French government categorically rejects the formula of a permanent official news agency on the model of Havas or pre-war Reuter. Reuter itself has now become the property of the British press, the shares formerly held by the government plus some new ones having been sold to the newspapers. Havas exercised in pre-war France a virtual monopoly not only of news but of advertising, so that its demise is a double blessing. Furthermore, in discussing the efforts of the French government to insure a healthy press for France, it should not be forgotten, I think, that even in this country we have our troubles. The anti-trust action brought against the Associated Press by the Chicago *Sun* and the refusal of our agencies to carry political news unpleasing to the authorities—as, for example, news of the activities of the Italian partisans figuring in General Alexander's communiqués—should save us from a holier-than-thou attitude.

The remainder of the new French laws concerning the press contain various provisions, the most important of which oblige journals to make public their sources of income and the true names of their directors and backers. Taken as a whole, this legislation represents a significant advance toward a free and liberal press regime.

Pennsylvania's G.O.P. Is Worried

BY F. G. L.



THE Republican leaders of Pennsylvania are not glowing with optimism over the prospects of winning with Dewey. They don't know whether the election is worth a real fight this year. And the corporations which finance Republican victories in Pennsylvania are not overjoyed at the prospect of a Dewey victory. They are torn between a desire to take over and a fear that the Dewey forces don't begin to measure up to the job of taking over for them.

On the other hand, the Democratic leaders are sniffing victory, and they promise to put on a show reminiscent of the way they cracked forty-four years of Republican rule when they elected George Earle Governor of Pennsylvania in 1935.

The Democratic leaders have the encouragement of two previous Roosevelt victories in Pennsylvania. They believe the people haven't changed. The Republican leaders have only their old standard method of winning elections.

In the earlier editions of the "Encyclopedia Britannica" the character of Pennsylvania Republican politics is recorded. It has attained the status of a legend. And this legend has more of truth in it than most legends. It reads thus:

> On the political side, the chief feature of the state's history after the Civil War was the growth of the Cameron-Quay-Penrose political machine, founded by Simon Cameron, strengthened by his son James Donald Cameron, and continued under Matthew Stanley Quay and Boies Penrose, down to the time of the latter's death in 1921. It was based upon the control of patronage, the distribution of state funds, the support of the Pennsylvania Railway and other powerful corporations, and upon the ability to persuade the electors that it was necessary to vote the strict Republican ticket to save the protective system.

You must read into this legend that the support of Pennsylvania corporations means the huge slush funds with which the corruption of the ballot is accomplished. And the euphemistic "persuade the electors" means wholesale vote-buying and the bribing of election officials—both Republican and Democratic—so that cemetery tombstones, horses, and absentee electors may be voted.

Pennsylvania politics hasn't changed much since the piece was originally written for the "Britannica." Penrose, Quay, and Vare have passed on. They are looked upon by the present heirs of the Republican Party as crude and, if anything, a shade less effective than the present-day leadership.

Under the new leadership the corruption of the ballot has been perfected almost to a fine art. The corruptors are eminently respectable and would raise an eyebrow at the suggestion that they might have had something to do with the purchase of the margins of victory. The good church people could hold their noses at Penrose and Vare, and vote for their candidates anyway. But today they don't hold their noses, and they call the successors of these earlier political gangsters Mister, and they ring the church bells for their candidates on Election Day. And some of the most important pewholders are also officers of the corporations that provide the slush for corrupting the ballot.

There is a body of habitual Republican voters in Pennsylvania about equal to the habitual Democrats, and a large body of "independent" voters. The independents are divided into three groups—honest men, including many of the farmers, who think their interests lie generally with a Republican administration; a progressive remnant of the Pinchot followers, who continue their Republican registration but usually vote Democratic; and the wraiths and floaters and inmates of county homes and jails, who are usually taken from one polling place to another on Election Day to be voted as often as may be needed to make the margin of victory secure. There are still some few districts overlorded by feudal industrialists who force their employees to be registered as Republicans and then intimidate them on Election Day. Their numbers, however, are growing smaller each year, and they don't make much difference in a Presidential election.

The Republican edge on registration amounts to about 600,000. But a good half of that edge is composed of the real independent voters who determine elections, and the rest are probably faked registrations.

One other factor exercises some considerable influence in Pennsylvania elections at times. The Democratic Party in Pennsylvania has more than its share of "practical" politicians whose influence can be bought every time these practical ones think they can get more out of a Republican victory than a Democratic victory. They have a considerable nuisance value, for, usually by grace of Republican patronage, they are in positions where they can connive with Republican officials to corrupt the ballot. Their stooges serve as Democratic election officials. They are regular only often enough to blackmail a place for themselves in the party councils, and thereby keep themselves in a position to exploit any little friction within the party. And they are used by the opposition to assassinate the character of Democratic candidates who won't play ball with the Republican machines. But the Republican moneybags always pay them much more than they're worth.

To play an important part in a Pennsylvania election, issues must cut deeply into the body politic. And the candidates must capture the imagination of the people. Roosevelt succeeded twice in carrying Pennsylvania. He did so because the New Deal meant something to the cast-offs of Pennsylvania's ruthless industrialists, and those industrialists couldn't or wouldn't put up enough money to buy the margin of victory.

In the 1944 elections the issues cut deep enough to make a difference. Roosevelt doesn't hypnotize the voters, which accounts for his small margin in the polls of public sentiment. But the people overwhelmingly want a secure peace this time, and they want a stable economy after the war, and they realize that they haven't a chance of either with Dewey.

The Republican leaders know this. They aren't sure they can buy up enough votes or steal enough votes to bridge the gap necessary for victory. The corporations are afflicted with the out-of-state sentiment which the realists say is definitely anti-Dewey—so much so that they don't believe he can win even if he carries Pennsylvania. With such an attitude, they are not proposing to throw their money away.

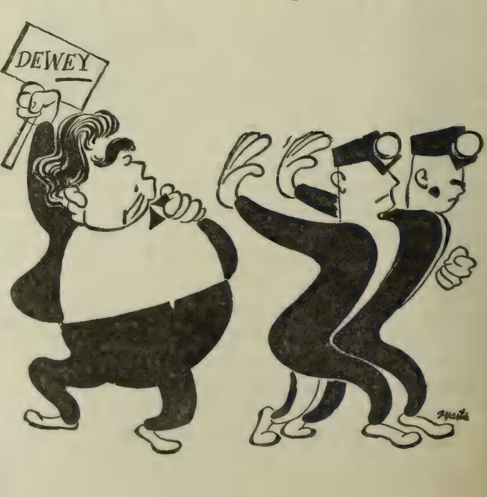
Dewey has been a most uninspiring candidate for the Republican leaders. One of the most important men in Joe Pew's camp came back from Chicago convinced that the Republicans had thrown away the chance of victory for the mere prospect of getting New York's electoral votes. He suggests that with a strong platform Dewey might be elected, but he can't see a phony platform and a "trimmer" standing on such a platform. And one of Grundy's men has already passed out the word to his local organization that the game isn't worth a fight this time and they should concentrate their efforts on holding their organization together.

The Democratic leadership is united at the top. Dave Lawrence and Joe Guffey are practically inseparable these days, in spite of the fact that Guffey covered himself with glory in his fight for Wallace while Lawrence carried a third of the Pennsylvania delegation for Truman. Both are working hard to get their followers to stop fighting each other during the campaign.

The Democrats are happy because they are completely convinced that the margin of purchasable votes is negligible this year, and the price is higher than it ever was. They are convinced that the CIO Political Action Committee will be a big help in getting the voters registered. And when the voters are registered, the Democrats know that the margin always swings in their favor. One high state leader of the Democrats says the CIO Political Action Committee will choke off the Republican victory at its source. For, he says, a man who will put up his own money to help in an election won't go out and sell his vote on Election Day, and he won't sit at home.

This particular leader says that if the Democrats win Pennsylvania, it will be the result of the CIO Political Action Committee. Until a few weeks ago, however, he was fearful that the Committee in Pennsylvania wouldn't show much action. After the pep meeting held in Harrisburg on July 29, he changed his mind.

The Republicans have been banking on a strong protest vote from the farmers of Pennsylvania. It must be admitted that until very recently there has been a lot of dissatisfaction among the farmers. They have had to buy feed in the black market. They have paid excessive prices for it. But they have bought most of that feed from other farmers, and they know it. With the harvests well under way, they are realizing heavy returns from the crops, and some of the talk has switched from complaints about the high price of feed to 35-cent wheat and 87-cent milk and 12-cent eggs. Most of the bitterness about selective service has disappeared, probably because their own sons are in the fight. In early June a trip through one farming



district convinced me that the farm vote would be overwhelmingly against the Administration. A return trip in late July indicated that there is a swing away from bitter complaint to considerable satisfaction with the way things are going. So the protest vote from the farmers is likely to be much less than has been expected.

Reports coming to me from the coal regions indicate that so far as Pennsylvania is concerned, the miners will not follow John L. Lewis into the Republican camp. In the anthracite region they are needling John L. Lewis whenever they get a chance. They'd like him to threaten to resign if they don't support him.

Pennsylvania's much-touted "best soldier-vote law" is still extremely difficult of administration. It is doubtful whether half of Pennsylvania's soldiers will be able to vote or will be concerned about voting. While the soldier vote from Pennsylvania may favor Roosevelt, I am inclined to believe that most of the soldier voting will be done by those who were active in politics before entering the service, and this vote will be strictly on party lines without regard for the issues.

I believe the optimism of the Democratic leaders is warranted. I don't believe the Republicans can obtain the margin of victory even if the corporations loosen up with the cash. I believe the CIO Political Action Committee and other independent groups which are forming in various parts of the state will more than offset anything the Republicans can do. I believe Roosevelt will carry Pennsylvania by a good safe margin.

But the Democratic leaders are not very optimistic about winning a Congressional majority in the state. The Reapportionment Act of 1943 gerrymandered districts in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, throwing large Democratic majorities into a few districts at the expense of districts where the Democratic majority was small. Even though they expect to carry Philadelphia and Pittsburgh for Roosevelt, the Democratic leaders think they will be lucky to hold their own in the Congressional fight in these cities. They expect to pick up a Congressman in the 21st district, comprising York, Adams, and Franklin counties, a combination of industrial and rural areas, and one in the 12th district, comprising the anthracite-mining Luzerne County. They believe a Roosevelt victory in the state might bring in two more Congressmen, in Erie and Cambria counties.

The crucial contest will be between Jim Davis and Francis Myers for the Senate. Even with Roosevelt leading, Davis can pull away from the trend. He is well-known in every corner of the commonwealth. Myers, on the other hand, is obscure. He has an excellent voting record in Congress, he is able, he is a good campaigner, but he is unknown, and up to the present the Democratic leaders have done little to get him before the people.

[*Future articles in this series on key states will deal with Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio.*]

In the Wind

AMONG THE INVITATIONS in the morning's mail is a post card that reads in part as follows: "If you are a Native Born, White, Protestant, Gentile, American Citizen of Good Character and believe in our principles, an opportunity to join a secret organization that stands primarily for WHITE SUPREMACY awaits you. Our Organization stands for: Christianity. America First. White Supremacy. Upholding Constitution of U.S.A. Racial Segregation. Racial Purity. Pure White Womanhood. American Leadership of American Labor Unions. Closer Relationship Between American Capital and American Labor. Opposition to Communism. America for Americans. State Rights. Separation of Church and State. Freedom of Speech and Press. No Foreign Immigration, Except Pure White. Law and Order." It is at such times that one regrets not being of Good Character.

JOHN B. TREVOR, president of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, whose name appeared in a list of "leaders" recommended for America by a German propaganda agency in 1933, is now campaigning against the admission of anti-Nazi refugees to America. Senator Robert Rice Reynolds of North Carolina is helping him distribute his literature.

RADIO STATION WQXR, New York, having refused to accept any more singing commercials, has received a flood of thanks from its listeners.

SOME IMPERTURBABLE BRITONS are busy with plans to preserve the relics of Roman and medieval times which robot bombs have unearthed in London.

SENATOR WALSH of Massachusetts, asked by a number of constituents to state his views on American participation in an international organization to enforce peace, said, "A nation which does not pursue peace . . . will find soon enough that it is involved in the wars of other nations." He enclosed a speech of his, delivered November 11, 1943, in which he expressed the belief that this is not our war.

THE CITY OF LOUISVILLE, KY., paid $5,000 to Roy Wenzlick, one of the nation's top real-estate analysts, for a report on post-war city planning. It contains the following note on slum clearance: "The logical solution to the housing problem is to build new housing units for those who can afford to pay an economic rent. As these housing units become older and less desirable, the original owners or renters move to more modern and better located properties, leaving the older properties to be occupied by those who cannot pay a sufficient rental for new buildings."

FESTUNG EUROPA: As a solution of the fuel shortage in Holland, the Nazi administration has issued an order proclaiming that "removal of chips or pieces of wood left over from the construction of German army installations will be regarded as theft from the Wehrmacht and will be punished as such."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*]

Europe's Wandering Jews—and Others

BY LEWIS S. GANNETT

London, August 27, by Cable

AN IMPOSING-LOOKING parliament of thirty-two nations met in London last week as the "Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees." It heard a report from its chairman, Sir Herbert Emerson, former High Commissioner for Refugees of the League of Nations, enlarged its executive committee to include Soviet Russia, adopted a constitution, and set up a new committee of experts to deal with travel documents for hundreds of thousands of refugees who will emerge from the war with neither homes nor passports nor even a recognized nationality. In the course of its discussions the word Jew was seldom heard and the word Palestine never.

The fact is that despite all the hullabaloo about organization this international body will have little to do with the immediate problem of probably twenty million human beings in Europe described in official language as "displaced persons." Set up at Evian in 1938 to help political and racial groups get out of Germany, the Intergovernmental Committee's first job virtually ceased upon the declaration of war. It was reorganized after the Bermuda conference in April, 1943, with a larger field. It has since acted as a sort of international clearing house for such official organizations as the American War Refugee Board and such voluntary organizations as the American Friends Service Committee and the Joint Distribution Committee, aiding the emergency rescue operations of the Jews trickling out of Hitler's *Festung Europa* into Spain, Switzerland, or Turkey.

Reorganized again, its function is redefined as principally dealing with the third and ultimate stage of the refugee problem when those who have homes to go to have reached them, immediate relief has been provided, and the residue of uncertain numbers is left to be sent no one today knows whither. Then the Intergovernmental Committee will act as successor to the old Nansen Committee, which issued papers for "stateless persons," then principally White Russians.

Meanwhile the expectation in London is that some eighty million people in Europe will soon start walking home and at least twelve million more will wait for official aid. "Unorganized trekkers" is the official word for the walkers, who are expected to clog the roads, go hungry, and enormously complicate the official program. The task of helping them will be primarily the army's. Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force, does not approve of unorganized trekkers. It regards them as a certain interference with transportation, a probable menace to health, and a possible police problem. Its Civil Affairs Department, headed by the able Major General Allen Gullion, U. S. A., with a joint Anglo-American staff, intends to assume immediate control of the problem; when the United Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will get into the picture, if at all, is anybody's guess. UNRRA has liaison officers with the army but no direct authority, and it is believed that the army will retain control for a minimum of six months.

The army has assembled all available studies of displacements of the population of Europe, tabulated and charted them, and printed twenty-five million each of two types of registration cards—three hundred tons of cards alone—for what, fond of alphabetic symbols, it calls "DPs"—displaced persons.

According to these studies at least eight million foreigners are now in Germany doing semi-slave labor in factories and on farms. About half of these are in the eastern region, for which presumably Russia will be primarily responsible. In the territory which Britain and America are likely to control there are, the army reckons, 700,000 Belgians, one-tenth of the entire population of the country and close to half the adult male population; also about 150,000 Dutch, 650,000 Frenchmen, 200,000 Italians, 130,000 Yugoslavs, 110,000 Greeks, 700,000 Czechs, 1,500,000 Poles, more than 1,250,000 Russians, and small numbers of Hungarians, Rumanians, Bulgars, Danes, and Norwegians. Also there are more millions in the satellite countries, some of whom may have been withdrawn into Germany before it collapses.

Some DPs, working close to the borders, will get somewhere under their own steam. The army program, however, is not to permit mass migrations along roads which the military will need but to collect and concentrate DPs of Allied nationalities into assembly centers, whence they may be transferred after screening to reception centers, where they will become the responsibility of their own governments.

At the assembly centers DPs will be registered, their previous homes and desired destinations recorded. They will be medically examined, checked for military security, and, if in order, given visas for return home. They will be given pre-numbered identification cards about the size of Social Security cards, and when transportation is available will be sent to the reception centers in their own countries.

A small try-out has already been made in parts of

France, where the refugees were collected by our army in assembly centers and promptly transferred to dispersal centers operated by French officials. But the army differentiates such "refugees" displaced within the borders of their own countries from "DPs" who will try to cross the frontiers.

The army belief is that its organization, fresh from its experience with the greatest logistics operation in history, is infinitely better prepared to deal with a gigantic movement of peoples than any civilian organization, official or unofficial, could be.

UNRRA had developed a large program of its own but the army has definitely assumed the responsibility for the first stage. The Czechs have formally agreed to cooperate with the army system of registration and transfer. The other exile governments have indicated their approval. Enormous supplies will be needed—if registration cards weigh three hundred tons, the tonnage of food required will be astronomic—but the army believes it has sufficient reserves. Initial supplies may be lifted by air, as has been done with the advancing armies.

The army does not regard Spanish refugees who were in France before the war, and are still there, as a military responsibility; it will leave their care to the French government and to private agencies.

While millions of Germans have been "displaced" to satellite countries during the war, the army believes that most of these will have been withdrawn close to the German borders before the war ends. Civilian Germans will be assembled and returned to Germany by a similar process and then will become the responsibility of whatever German authorities may exist.

After six months the army believes the bulk of the job will be done and mopping-up operations can be transferred to UNRRA, which likewise has a six-month relief and rehabilitation plan, presumably on a far smaller scale than that envisaged in the earlier stages of its existence before the army clarified its views of civilian operations in the military zone. What UNRRA can do will depend on what the army does first. Its planning problem is obviously extremely difficult. The army is likely to turn to it as soon as individual problems differentiate themselves from mass movements, as in the case of a couple whose former home in Poland was burned, whose passports were lost, who cannot prove their nationality, who have cousins in Palestine, children in the United States, and no jobs anywhere.

The Intergovernmental Committee comes back into the picture after the army and UNRRA have done the preliminary jobs. Although the army's registration cards provide for optional registration of religion, the army does not regard Jews as a separate problem. Its job is a mass-production one of returning people to the countries of their origin. UNRRA will do a further sifting, but there will remain a desperate residue of hundreds of thousands, possibly more, who don't want or will not be permitted to return to their pre-war homes. General assurances have been given by most exile governments that they will accept former residents regardless of nationality, but some have different ideas as to what constitutes residence; also, many people who in the course of Hitler's mad careening became almost professional refugees, fleeing from one land to another and then still another, may be stranded without recognized homes. New frontiers will further complicate the picture, notably for those Poles who were displaced westward during the war and may not wish to return under Russian sovereignty. Millions of Jews forcibly transferred to new ghettos by the Nazi regime and others who have found temporary haven in North Africa will have nothing to return to that they can call homes.

Here will be the major sphere of the Intergovernmental Committee. Its recent plenary session formed a technical sub-committee to study a new form of passports for "stateless" persons, a problem complicated enough but simple in comparison with the problem of finding homes for them.

The ultimate destination of the stateless is a delicate, difficult, probably endless problem. In some circles there has been sharp criticism of the Intergovernmental Committee because it included no representative of any Jewish group. It invited some thirty Jewish bodies, including relief committees as well as the Jewish Agency for Palestine, to attend the session without the right to participate. Nobody was asked to present the ideas of the Jews at its sessions. Palestine wasn't mentioned. The answer is that the Intergovernmental Committee is an intergovernmental committee. Its success is dependent on the cooperation of member governments. It cannot have a policy of its own. It can only explore possibilities, suggest, and administer when national policies are clear.

Whenever in the past the international conscience has been outraged by the plight of the Jews, the answer has been to reorganize the Intergovernmental Committee, thus suggesting that something is about to be done. The real answer is not a new kind of committee but havens for Jews. From a European perspective America, usually generous with money, always vocal in demanding a modification of the Palestine immigration policy, might show a more realistic generosity by modifying its own immigration policy. A free port for one thousand Jews, who are expected to return to devastated Europe after the war, doesn't seem a large contribution. Pressure for the liberalization of the Palestine policy should help, but it might be more effective if it were accompanied by the recognition of American opportunity. The present likelihood seems to be that a year hence the world, including America, will wake up to the fact that emergency measures are only emergency measures and possibly a million Jews will still be homeless.

Polls, Propaganda, Politics

Bias in the Phrasing of Questions

ONE way polls make propaganda is in the selection of what questions are to be asked when. To ask: "Should Candidate Jones return the money he stole from the townspeople?" just before election would obviously help his opponents. Professional pride tends to keep the phrasing of questions and the statistical methods scientifically acceptable most of the time. Questions of the "have-you-stopped-beating-your-wife?" type are rare. A much more difficult kind of bias to cope with is the choice of questions which in terms of the expected response must embarrass one party.

With this problem in mind, we have analyzed the questions raised by two national polls during the months of May, June, and July of this year. The Gallup Poll (American Institute of Public Opinion) published results on twenty-seven questions not directly concerned with candidates, nominations, or voting. Each question was independently evaluated by five public-opinion specialists. They rated sixteen of the twenty-seven as genuinely neutral—those dealing with such issues as beer on navy ships, Germany's plans for another war, the shortage of victory gardens, and the desirability of holding the line on prices and wages. (The omission of profits from that last question is noteworthy and perhaps not wholly neutral.)

Ten of the remaining eleven Gallup questions were judged as probably helpful to the Republican side. Only one question was considered to be the sort of thing the Democrats would like to have publicized to help their campaign. This was, "If a new Council or Union of Nations is formed after the war to take the place of the old League of Nations, should this country join?" (Yes, 72 per cent.)

Ten of the eleven questions might well have been welcomed by the Republican National Committee. The reader may judge for himself whether raising these questions at this time and publicizing the results in headlines would not tend, in effect, to discredit the Roosevelt regime: (1) What do you think of the travels of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt? (Approved, 36 per cent; disapproved, 45 per cent); (2) From what you know about this case, which side are you more inclined to think in the right, Montgomery Ward or the government? (Montgomery Ward, 60 per cent); (3) Do you think there is need for a law to prevent strikes in war industries? (Yes, 70 per cent); (4) Is there any particular plank which you would like your party to include in its platform in the coming Presidential election? (Only the suggestions offered for the Republican Party's platform were published.)

The other questions dealt with recognition of the De Gaulle government, Administration restrictions on hiring power, a two-term Presidency limitation, the effect of CIO support on a candidate's chances, Soviet Russia's trustworthiness, and the South's one-party system. All these were questions presumably embarrassing to the Democrats. Similar questions on the opposite side might be: "Would the fact that isolationists support Mr. Dewey affect your attitude toward him?" "Would the fact that most big-business men support a candidate influence your vote?"

The present analysis does not impugn the Gallup Poll's sincerity or its desire to be fair. It is not Gallup's fault if the government had a publicity problem in the Montgomery Ward case. Criticism of the Administration's action is apt to be more newsworthy than approval. Questions whose import is hostile toward the Democrats might be asked without premeditation.

Questions asked by the *Fortune* (Roper) poll during the same period are not really comparable to Gallup's. They were designed to provide information for *Fortune's* "management" readers rather than to make newspaper headlines. One-third of them were asked only of business men.

Of the eighteen queries *Fortune's* interviewers put to a sample of the general public, fifteen were found by the judges to be helpful to neither side in the election. The other three seemed likely to help the Republicans because of special circumstances. One asked people to name "special groups you feel had too much influence over Congress in the past year or so" at a time when the CIO's Political Action Committee was in the headlines. The second was a question about whether unions ought to "put on campaigns themselves for the election of a particular national candidate." The absence of a parallel question about corporations or business pressure groups makes the poll's fairness doubtful.

BUREAU OF APPLIED SOCIAL RESEARCH
Columbia University, New York

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE ELECTION IN ARKANSAS on Monday was the first in which a certificate of the payment of a poll-tax was made a prerequisite to voting. "In consequence," says a despatch from Little Rock, "the Negro was practically eliminated from the contest." . . . If a Mahone ever turns up in Arkansas with a campaign fund of $25,000 or $50,000, the Negro vote will not be so thoroughly eliminated as it was on Monday. It may even happen, as it did in Virginia, that the poll-taxes of the blacks are more generally paid than those of the whites, and the Arkansas Democrats may finally feel constrained, as did those of Virginia, to repeal the tax law for the sake of their party.—*September 6, 1894.*

THE RECORD of railway accidents is humiliating. During the year, 2,727 employees and 299 passengers were killed, and 31,729 employees and 3,229 passengers were injured. Collisions, derailments, and accidents at stations account for the injuries and deaths of passengers. Employees were killed and injured principally by coupling cars and falling from trains, making a seriously large total.—*September 6, 1894.*

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM adopted at Saratoga last week was evidently written by a common scold. It denounces about one thousand facts and tendencies which it observes in the Democratic Party, without saying, however, what the Republicans would do or ought to do if they had the power.—*September 27, 1894.*

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

Hitler's Last Alibi

HERR FRIEDRICH HILDEBRAND, Gauleiter of Mecklenburg, assembled the Nazi Party leaders of his district on August 7 and imparted to them this information:

> A new phase of the National Socialist Revolution has now begun. Certain elements who have always been furiously hostile to our party, without, however, admitting it publicly, will be dealt with. Our Führer did not want to settle accounts with these negative forces in our midst until after the war. But now, thanks to the events of July 20, a new phase of the National Socialist Revolution has begun.

The leading Socialist organ of Switzerland, the *Berner Tagwacht,* published on August 15 an account of a conference in which Himmler, Dr. Ley, and General Sepp Dietrich, head of the Elite Guards, are supposed to have participated. At this conference it was decided "to initiate an extreme left-wing policy, liquidating all capitalistic tendencies and even the capitalists and Junkers within the Nazi Party." Actually, the dispatch adds, this "extreme left-wing policy" was already in full force when the conference was held: "Indescribable terror reigns in Germany against all those connected with the nobility and high finance."

It must be said that there has been thus far almost no concrete and reliable information concerning the details of this "new phase of the Nazi Revolution." Never has Germany been more nearly hermetically sealed than since the alleged attempt on Hitler's life. The names of the arrested, the executed, the deposed, and those who are being shadowed by the police are known only to the extent that they have been given out by the Ministry of Propaganda—and aside from those of a dozen or so members of the "small clique of traitorous officers" and the former mayor of Leipzig, Dr. Goerdeler, it has given out no names. An exception is the official announcement in Silesia that the Baron Palombini, a large landowner of that province, and his wife were arrested for allegedly harboring the fugitive Dr. Goerdeler, and that "the Palombini estates were immediately confiscated." And for unknown reasons it has been officially announced, for foreign consumption, that in Breslau a "former chairman of the commission of experts," one Professor Buhtz, "has been killed by mistake."

Even without details, however, it is absolutely certain that countless people have been sacrificed, all lumped together under the general heading of "big scoundrels." "There are continuous arrests of aristocrats in all large cities," said the *Arbeiter Zeitung* published in the Swiss border town of Schaffhausen on August 11; "they disappear and no one knows where they have been taken." The *Journal de Genève* reported on August 7: "Leading industrialists in Leipzig and Dresden, and also students of a military school, have been arrested. It is believed that they are being held as hostages." The *St. Galler Tagblatt* added, "A special concentration camp for officers has been opened in Spandau near Berlin." And the *Weltwoche* of Zurich said on August 18, "Hundreds of leading figures in Germany's economic life are no longer alive today or are being held in 'protective custody.' "

But if all these stories of the operation of the "left-wing spirit" are lacking in specific detail, at least the trend of the propaganda is clear. The tone was set by Dr. Ley. Two days after the alleged attempt on Hitler's life he dismissed the idea that only a "small clique of officers" was guilty and turned his attack on a much larger objective. The new line first appeared in an article by him in the *Angriff* of July 22—and it is to be noted that all the correspondents in Berlin agree that this article created as great a sensation among ordinary German newspaper readers and radio listeners as the alleged attempt itself. "Ley's article," said the Stockholm *Aftonbladet,* "caused a tremendous sensation in Berlin and was the chief topic of conversation in all circles." Ley fulminated not only against "some officers" but against the whole "blue-blooded, dirty, idiotic, criminal aristocracy." This is what he said about the "degenerate, conceited, idling, senile clique of reaction":

> These reactionaries thought that they could again raise their heads. But now at last they will learn that their time is up. This clique must be uprooted. It is not enough to seize the individual perpetrators of this crime; the entire brood must be eliminated. Every German must know that if he conspires against Germany in writing, in talk, or in deed, his family must die. His family as well as he himself must die. The destruction of this blasted clique means more than a battle won.

Since that day Dr. Ley's tune has been played, with a hundred variations, on all the instruments at the disposal of the Nazi Party. On July 24 the *Völkischer Beobachter* said, "The public feels instinctively that the conspiracy emanates from those reactionary circles which want to deprive the German people of their social gains and again deliver them up to exploitation by a small clique." The press has outdone itself with articles on that theme.

In the official report of the "trial" of the eight officers who were hanged, the accused figured in the tirades of the prosecutor and the judge not as individuals, hardly even as officers, but as "typical reactionaries." Such abuse of the upper classes is now resorted to on the most far-fetched pretexts.

The Gauleiter of Silesia, Karl Henke, regaled a mass meeting in Breslau with the theatrical story of how an "aristocratic scoundrel," one Graf von Dagenfeld, the military commandant of the province, had ordered the arrest of all the Nazi provincial leaders so that he and his "reactionary gang" could usurp all official positions. And on July 30 the *Preussischen Zeitung* of East Prussia published a diatribe entitled "The End of the Reactionary Rats," which was reprinted all over Germany. It should have considerable historical interest. It traced the "nefarious undermining activities of the reactionary elements" since the first days of the dictatorship. From the very beginning, it said, "the eternally retrograde Junkers and their allies in the clubs, in the restaurants, and at hunting dinners sniped at the laws and decrees of the new state." As early as 1933 there was a seditious movement in Hanover, "led by the landowner Lesmann von Oberg, which had to be stamped out." There was a *Stahlhelm* conspiracy; there were monarchist organizations of every conceivable type, which always laid their plans in cooperation "with certain Paris, Moscow, and London circles." But now they are finished! Through their "lack of instinct, their undignified and almost ridiculous jingoism (*sic!*), their jobbery and disloyalty," these "reactionary rats" have dug their own grave. The Nazi state left them "their lives, their property, and their titles"—but now its patience is at an end!

It is easy to contrive any number of theories as to the motives behind this campaign. The most obvious explanation is that the dying Nazi Party is making a desperate effort to win the greatest possible popularity with the greatest possible number. Also, the need for a scapegoat is presumably a factor; and they may have decided that the more the party is remembered for its "leftism" the better will be the chances of resurrecting it at some future time. But more important than the question of motives is that of how far the Nazis will really go with their "new phase of the revolution" in the time they have left. Discussion of that question must wait for another time.

Inside the Fortress

BY GEROLD FRANK

Jerusalem, August 20, by Cable

IF YOU want to know first-hand how Germany's morale in *Festung Europa* is crumbling hour by hour, speak with the refugees arriving from the heart of Nazi Europe. Their stories present a picture of a terrified, overwhelmed people awaiting an inexorable fate.

The account of Bertha Aptowitzer, who arrived here yesterday under the auspices of the Jewish Agency, is typical. Miss Aptowitzer is twenty-three. For five months she was in a concentration camp at Bergenbelzen near Hanover, where there are seven thousand inmates, mostly Jews. She left the camp on July 15 for Palestine via Passau, Vienna, Budapest, Sofia, Istanbul. She says the morale of the Nazi guards and train employees is bitterly low. They actually did favors for the refugees, hoping to be remembered later and perhaps to soften reprisals. Fires started by Allied bombings were still burning in Budapest and the railroad station was a mass of ruins. Sofia had been badly bombed. Before her internment she passed through Bremen in daylight. The city was razed to the ground.

The strain the Nazis are undergoing is indicated by the type of work the inmates of the camp were assigned to do ten hours each day: (1) ripping apart civilian shoes so that the pieces might be used again for the military; (2) ripping apart worn military uniforms—obviously those of Germans killed in battle, for the bullet holes and bloodstains were still showing—so that the cloth could be used again. Both the shoe and uniform remnants were then packed in large sacks and later removed. This was the sole work of the thousands of inmates sitting at long tables in wooden barracks.

"The day of the Normandy invasion was terrible for the Nazis," Miss Aptowitzer said. "We were not permitted newspapers or radios, but we learned the news the same day. Two women who were cleaning the commandant's apartment saw a newspaper on the bed and read the headlines. I was working in the kitchen that day. We were careful about not talking, but our SS guard was so nervous that he shouted, 'Do you think that I don't see you are whispering to each other?' That night the guards for the first time carried rifles and helmets and set up machine-gun defenses. When we departed we were permitted to take 40 kilos of possessions each. One SS guard said, "Ah, if I could leave now I'd gladly go without anything.' " And, added Miss Aptowitzer with satisfaction, "One stout guard must have lost at least ten pounds worrying during the first week of the invasion."

I have spoken to scores of refugees from the Nazi fortress. No matter from what country they come they all agree. Germany has lost the war. The Nazis know it. They expect the Russian armies to be marching into Berlin before November.

Quislings After Defeat

BY T. ADAM

[*The following interview appeared originally in* La Turquie, *a French-language Turkish daily newspaper published in Istanbul. We offer it as an example of the strange fruits of Anglo-American foreign policy.*]

QUISLINGISM is a *mal de siècle*. It has its variations, as in Vichyism. Those who are afflicted by this illness are in no sense romantics in search of a dream world, but realists, in truth cynics, who want to maintain the status quo despite the changes which the world is witnessing today. Here is the confession of a Vichyite to a neutral observer during a conversation about recent events:

"You think, Monsieur, that I am a lost man who has played his last card. You think that I am an obstinate man who persists in a course which can lead to nothing. I played the German card and beat the Gaullists. Now the Germans are losing the war and the Gaullists are emerging triumphant, so you think that I have lost.

"You are making a profound error, Monsieur. With the defeat of Germany wonderful perspectives are open to Vichyism, whose principles and methods remain more than ever valid under the new conquerors. For the Anglo-Americans differ very little (save in style and temperament) from the Germans. After the Germans they will rule Europe, govern the Europeans not in the name of authority (this is not the Anglo-Saxon technique) but in the name of liberty, not by brute force (this is not the Anglo-Saxon temperament) but by economic and political restraints.

"England will finish one day by becoming dependent on America, with the result that America and Russia will dominate the world. The Gaullists have never understood that. They cherish the illusion of reviving a past forever gone, a past of the independence of nations. They believe that the Anglo-Saxons are going to allow Europe to live as free and independent states. Neither the statements of Marshal Smuts nor the projects of the AMG have opened their eyes. They are lost, definitely lost, because of their persistent devotion to the chimera of a new sovereign and powerful France. Their program does not correspond to that of the liberators, so they will of necessity be shunted aside—in fact they have already been shunted aside.

"The Gaullists' second mistake is to believe in the pledge given by Churchill in 1940 to reestablish the independence and grandeur of France. Even if Churchill wanted to keep his promise, he would not be able to do so, dependent as he is on Roosevelt. On the other hand the Gaullists have in mind a subjective picture of the Anglo-Saxons as idealists and romantics like themselves . . . only the uninformed can believe that the Anglo-Saxons could be anything but practical people with a vested interest. Look at the Spanish affair. Francoism, which aided the Axis so greatly (remember the promise of millions of Spanish bayonets which were to bar the route if Germany were menaced by invasion), is today honored, blessed, sanctified. Why? Because today it offers to the Allies the services which they are demanding of it. Only the present counts. The Gaullists make the fatal mistake of hypnotizing themselves with the past and creating illusions about the future.

"We Vichyites do not make the same mistake. We see very clearly. As soon as the liberators have need of us, we shall offer our hand and be saved like the Francoists. Besides, we understand the technique of collaboration. The Gaullists have never understood how to collaborate. They have been paralyzed by pretensions to equality and independence, while we know how to submit, serve, and obey. Five years of experience have taught us to understand the mentality of the conqueror and satisfy it. These methods are perfectly useful in relations with the Anglo-Saxons, since their goal is no different from that of the Germans: to dominate Europe, at least western Europe. The Gaullists embarrass and obstruct them in this aim.

"The Germans did not operate any differently, though perhaps awkwardly at times. They promised France a happy and prosperous future in the new German order once the war was over. Until then France was to show herself deserving of that honored place in the Europe of tomorrow by present contributions of workers, services, and soldiers. The Anglo-Saxons also promise France an independent life. But in the meantime she is not to obstruct the march of the Anglo-Saxons, and is not to have a real government even though she has the interests and rights of a community of 100 million inhabitants to defend.

"We shall bring to the liberators our methods, specialized personnel, and the temperament of collaborators. It is true that certain of us who have been too prominent will have to retire for a while—for example Pierre Laval, who will no doubt be fished out later and restored to power by Sir Samuel Hoare, his old friend of the Ethiopian affair. But we shall all remain on the spot and we will be effectively protected by the Anglo-Saxon armies (witness the reaction of the Allied press when the Gaullists dared to execute Pucheu and Cristofini). No, Monsieur, we are not at all lost. We are preparing to live a wonderful life."

For lack of space I must break off at this point the confession of an *enfant du siècle* who was carrying a brand-new English grammar in his pocket.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Mexican Workshop

Mexico City, August 18

THE Taller de Grafica Popular is a characteristically Mexican enterprise—a Workshop for Popular Graphic Art, or perhaps it would be better to say, Graphic Art for the People. It was founded some seven years ago by a group of the younger artists, all of them members of the famous League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists. Leopoldo Méndez and Alfredo Zalce were perhaps the main instigators. It was not to be a school, or a salesroom, but a workshop; and these artists wanted to work together not merely because presses are too expensive to own individually, but because they believed that cooperative work raises the stature of the individual artist.

So they set out to do printing for the people. They made handbills and notices for the workers' groups and the unions. They designed posters and wall-newspapers decorated with woodcuts in the good Mexican tradition of Posada, urging farmers to sell their grain to the cooperatives, wakening workers to the dangers of inflation. They printed *corridos,* wonderful illustrated ballads on current events, which would be sung in the far places of Mexico, to inform the people why the nation was at war, or why the trolley-car employees had to strike. To say that many of these were collectors' pieces is to miss the point. They were real; they were made by artists who were playing their part like men in a real world. They were also, miraculously, keeping themselves in food and clothing, and paying the rent of the Taller.

This summer Leopoldo Méndez made a new lithograph, for the annual Salón de Grabado of a private gallery in Mexico City, the Galería de Arte Decoración. It referred to the attempt on the life of Avila Camacho. In Leopoldo's graphic version, however, the disembodied form of assassination which thrusts out its pistol is not anonymous. The initials P. A. N. identify it as the Partido Acción Nacional, which we know more intimately as the Sinarquistas. The print was rejected, on technical grounds, although Leopoldo is easily the most brilliant lithographer in Mexico. He asked frankly whether the rejection had not been for political reasons, and got the admission that this was true. The jury disliked it, and the gallery director didn't feel that it was his place to take a stand on political questions.

Leopoldo took his lithographs back to the Taller, and all the other boys went and got theirs, too. The refugee artists withdrew what they had sent—who would know better than they that anyone who is not for us is against us? Two things became clear: the Salón de Grabado of 1944 was going to be pretty dull, and, secondly, there was material wasting for a fine exhibition of graphic arts. The Taller had lately moved into new quarters, and suddenly it became clear that the prints should be shown there, in the workshop, in the last weeks of August.

An even more interesting thing happened then. Everyone wanted to be in the protest exhibition. Painters who had never worked in the graphic arts came to the Taller and took away stones to make lithographs for the show. A few topical prints, like a group of jury-faced monkeys called "Los Changos Vaciladores," were run off in sheer exuberance. Siqueiros, not to be left out, made a lithograph after his new mural. Even the Old Guard, so long isolated from the younger men, Orozco and Diego Rivera, sent prints. "The works collected in this exhibition," the catalogue said "constitute a demonstration of the solidarity of their authors against any anti-democratic discrimination in art." It constituted also a demonstration of the vitality of an art which refuses to be cut off from life.

For the purely aesthetic consequences of this exhibition promise to be excellent. The boys can hardly wait to get the exhibition down and the public out, so that they can work again in their workshop. The painters, stimulated by their excursion into the graphic technique, are eager to work there too. A portfolio on the "Drama of the War" has been projected as a collective enterprise for the Taller—an event of first importance in the graphic arts. "This whole thing has the feeling of steps ahead," an artist says. "The exhibition was not important as mere publicity—not even merely as an historical event. It is important because we stood together, and now we will work together: there is a regeneration of that cooperative spirit of the early mural-painting days." "It is important because in our own way we took a shot at the Sinarquistas," another one responds gloomily, adding a suitable epithet.

ELIZABETH WILDER

Pertinax on France

THE GRAVEDIGGERS OF FRANCE. By Pertinax. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $6.

AT THE moment when the civilized world rejoices in France's liberation, a truly great work has appeared explaining why it fell. "The Gravediggers of France" is the English version of two volumes published last year by the most distinguished and best informed of all French newspapermen, André Géraud, who for more than thirty years signed his columns in the *Echo de Paris,* and since 1938 in *L'Europe Nouvelle,* with the pen name Pertinax.

In six hundred illuminating and disturbing pages the author not only analyzes the military, political, and moral collapse as seen in the acts and policies of those chiefly responsible for it: Gamelin, Daladier, Reynaud, Pétain; but gives a detailed cross-section of France viewed in historical perspective. It is the vast range of political consideration which makes this book unique. For without the knowledge of the profound fissure existing in French national life, American readers would find it difficult to understand how and why a relatively few men could exploit a moment of mortal peril to dig the grave of 1940.

For a century and a half, "two Frances which lost no love on each other have lived side by side. . . . Under varying battle flags, those of the King, of the church, and of the Bonaparte pretender . . . strong minorities always fought against the republican idea, against parliamentary democracy," writes Pertinax. But in the past these minorities had never faltered in their patriotic duty. In the stormy period following 1934, years when "the great Fear" of social change haunted the well-to-do, "it is not so sure that many did not look with indifference at an eventual military disaster."

The author rightly differentiates between men like Gamelin, "at his wit's end" after the swift German break-through; Daladier, "dictator in spite of himself"; the "broken mechanical toy Reynaud"; and the infinitely more contemptible figures of Pétain and Laval. The first three sinned through weakness. Their intentions were good, though Gamelin led his armies to disaster, Daladier's spineless sloth outmatched his inconsistencies, and Reynaud, beset by defeatists, shirked action and frittered the war's last decisive days on "heroic incantations." But for the artificers of the National Revolution the armistice "was a means . . . a means attained by deceit . . . toward a supreme end, reshaping their country from its foundations."

Pertinax ruthlessly destroys the Pétain "myth" fostered by Allied diplomats in the "Vichy Kremlin." From his timidity and defeatism at Verdun to his last ignoble command on D-day, that the French nation "loyally stand by the German army," the old marshal is shown as a vainglorious, narrow-minded bigot, convinced that France was lost in a maze of atheism and Marxism and that only through defeat could the virtuous *ancien régime* be restored.

More than anyone else, Pertinax blames Pétain—Inspector-General of the Army—for the inadequacies of the French forces, giving chapter and verse of his reductions of appropriations for armaments, fortifications, and reserves. But it was when Reynaud made him Vice-Premier in the War Council in the fatal May of 1940 that his "duplicity" became evident. For it was then that he paved the way for the most dubious elements in French politics. Laval had long since made the old man his "docile tool"—Laval, whom Pertinax terms the leader of the Fifth Column. But there was another sinister faction surrounding the dotard, which by egregious flattery and cunning had succeeded in making him the dictator of its choice. This was a group of Treasury officials, big industrialists, bankers, some of them the spearhead of Nazi economic penetration in France—Baudouin, Bouthillier, Barnaud, Leroy-Ladurie, Pierre Pucheu—names almost unknown in public affairs until they all figured prominently in Pétain's first Cabinet. It was this "cabal," this "brazen gang," as Pertinax calls them, a type of official never before wielding ministerial power, who with Pétain as figurehead exerted a baleful influence during the last hundred hours of the Third Republic.

"The Gravediggers" is one of the first books to unveil this very seamy side of high finance and politics; and not a little of the opposition to General de Gaulle is due to his announced intention to purge these traitors. Very revealing too are the chapters on Allied-Vichy relations, with a passing reference to American gullibility and a devastating record of Pétain's military collaboration with the Nazis in North Africa. But in this comprehensive and extremely well-documented work every angle of France's downfall is considered: nothing, nobody is overlooked. There is the story of the Generals' quarrels, prevarications, and inertia at G. H. Q., (Weygand lied flagrantly and feared communism as much as Pétain); there are details of the corrupt press with some money flowing directly from Hitler and Mussolini into Parisian journals; the decline of the French Academy, once dominated by the country's élite only to become subservient to fascist Italy. It is rich in juicy anecdotes and racy pen-portraits of Bonnet, Flandin, Darlan, the slippery Chautemps—all the intriguants rotating in the cascade of Cabinets between 1933 and 1942. Pertinax is a conservative, writing for conservative papers; he recognizes that the "fascist rabble" existed in the extremes of both the right- and left-wing parties, and was not confined to any single stratum of society. But his is the first authoritative voice definitely indicting his country's leaders for failing in their responsibilities.

Despite the gloomy picture, Pertinax is not pessimistic about the future. He knows that France never recovered from the staggering human losses of World War I; that since the days of Poincaré and Briand second-raters have ruled the land, as indeed where have they not? Parallels of inertia, corruption, and sedition are not lacking elsewhere. Just as France's swift collapse somehow symbolized the climax to a decade of world-wide jungle politics, so her national tradition and resiliency may enable her yet to lead the universe in new forms of government and ordered life. For this great task De Gaulle will need new men to help him; clemency for Vichy, with its lure of vested interests, would be fatal, warns Pertinax. Certainly his own unflinching record of events is ample proof of the high courage and character with which Frenchmen have always offset their weakness.

LILIAN MOWRER

Philosopher-Politician

GEORGE BANCROFT: BRAHMIN REBEL. By Russel B. Nye. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

THE title is not alluring and the sub-title is highly questionable, yet here is a sound and refreshing book about one of the chief molders of the prevailing American mind and mood. Here, in little more than three hundred pages, is all that need be remembered about the long, full, and influential life of the Dean of American Historians, together with the main contemporary opinions and events by which that life was affected. Mr. Nye has a thoroughly interesting and certainly an important story to tell. It is neither diminished in the telling nor unduly magnified. If the book shows little psychological subtlety, the reason may be that George Bancroft did not show much. If there is less critical comment than one expects in good biographical writing, that is because Mr. Nye lets the facts speak for themselves, as George Bancroft seldom managed to do.

One doubts, at first, whether Bancroft deserved so compact and unified a record. For he was characteristically expansive, like the drop of oil that spreads over acres of water. Beginning as a poor clergyman's son studying at Harvard and abroad for the ministry, he became a rich man, a politician, Secretary of the Navy, and Minister Plenipotentiary first to England and then, in his old age, to the Prussia of

Bismarck. Though reared a Whig and allied by marriage to New England bankers, he was in politics a Jacksonian Democrat—a fact which did not prevent him from ghost-writing the first message to Congress of the Republican President Andrew Johnson. Primarily a man of the library, he had much to do with launching his country into the war with Mexico which many thoughtful New Englanders regarded as unnecessary and unjust. Although he knew little at first hand about naval affairs, he founded the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis in the face of Congressional indifference. On the one hand Bancroft was a shrewd Yankee with strong worldly ambitions, most of which must have been fully satisfied. On the other hand he was a Transcendentalist with a set of metaphysical beliefs hardly distinguishable from those of Emerson. And it is one of the stranger paradoxes of his life that his almost chauvinistic patriotism was corroborated, during his student years at Göttingen and Berlin, by the thought of Hegel, Fichte, and Schleiermacher.

Yet Bancroft's life, thought, and work were governed by one philosophic tenet. He believed, like all other Transcendentalists, that mankind is endowed with a direct intuition of "the world of intelligence and the decrees of God." He held that this institution is not the prerogative of a few but an "attribute of the human race." Thence came his conviction that "the best government rests on the people and not on the few, on the free development of public opinion and not on authority." Quite simply and literally he believed that the voice of the people is the voice of God. History was to him the record of God's will as imperfectly exemplified in the past, and politics he understood as an effort to make that will prevail in the present. That the will of the Omnipotent must ultimately prevail was certain, and therefore Bancroft was an unquestioningly optimistic believer in Progress. It seemed to him obvious that the purposes of God would be most promptly fulfilled in the Land of the Free, where they would meet the least impediment from human authority. To him, therefore, the history of his own country was little less than a divine revelation.

Here lies one reason, if not an excuse, for the tumid and pontifical prose style which makes Bancroft's "History of the United States," once familiar to every literate American, almost unreadable today. It is written as though the author were constantly proclaiming, "Thus saith the Lord!"

Something of the same sort must be said of Bancroft's political career, with which the most valuable and interesting parts of Mr. Nye's narrative are concerned. Here too one sees the man guided by his one central tenet. Worldly considerations, to be sure, were never far from his thoughts, yet he reached Jacksonian democracy by the philosophic path. Even when floundering through the mire and squalor of political expediency, showing himself by no means averse to rough-and-tumble and name-calling, he had in mind a purpose worthy of an idealist. His own family and that of his wife, nearly all his friends, quite all of those persons who might have helped him to social and academic success, were Whigs—many of them with the inveterate virus of Federalism still in their veins. During his visit in Boston Charles Dickens wrote to Macready: "I speak of Bancroft, and am advised to be silent on the matter, for he is a black sheep, a Democrat."

By years of hard work Bancroft made himself the head of his party in Massachusetts. His party was strengthened by the prestige of his literary fame and by his determined leadership. Thus he put his philosophy to work as few other Transcendentalists were able to do. Emerson could write: "The philosopher, the poet, or the religious man will, of course, wish to cast his vote with the democrat for free-trade, for wide suffrage, for the abolition of legal cruelties in the penal code, and for facilitating in every manner the access of the young and the poor to the sources of wealth." Emerson's political activities, however, usually stopped short at phraseology. In all his comments upon his contemporaries Emerson never went farther astray than when he said: "Bancroft and Bryant are historical democrats, who are inter-

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ested in dead or organized, but not in organizing, liberty."

In his political and diplomatic career Bancroft was actuated by the same motives that held him all his life to the study and writing of history. It should have been he who first said that "history is past politics," and he might have added that politics is history in the making. He saw nothing remarkable in the fact that he, a man of monumental learning with international fame as a writer, was taking a citizen's part in the running of his country. Plato's fine-spun theories about the necessity of drafting "philosopher-kings" for the government of the state must have seemed to him ridiculously aristocratic. On one of his stump-speaking tours he wrote in his journal: "The people is the sovereign. The man of letters is his counsellor."

As a politician Bancroft had to learn the truth of Burke's saying that "all government is founded on a compromise and barter." In the library, however, he could give his idealism full swing. There were, of course, the facts of history to be considered, and he always treated the facts with respect. Indeed Bancroft has had too little credit for the preference he always showed for "original sources." Yet it cannot be said that he maintained a wholly "objective" attitude toward his data. History writing, to him, was an art rather than a science, and as an art it not only allowed but demanded self-expression. Under his hand it became also a kind of preaching. The facts were his raw material, awaiting interpretation in the light of Transcendental intuition.

Mary Austin tells us that "among the Navaho there is a nine-day performance designed to make the smell of a man's own tribe seem a good smell to him." Americans of a century ago were served in a similar way by George Bancroft's "History of the United States." It gave us what we then most needed: pride in our past, confidence in our destiny, tradition, almost a mythology, and native saints and heroes. Struggling as we then were, without much help from other lands, to win and to keep and to justify our national self-respect, we were not a little comforted to find that the annals of our country—eked out, to be sure, by occasional digressions—could already fill ten large volumes written in a style at least as imposing as that of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall." We did not at first hold it against Bancroft that he habitually made his little fishes talk like great whales. That was what most Americans were doing in the Age of Andrew Jackson. Neither did we think Bancroft any the less a historian because of his conviction that history has a meaning and that a thoughtful presentation of the past can provide some guidance for the future. What we felt about Bancroft's History was that here was a noble story, nobly told. For fifty years we accepted it as orthodox, almost canonical. Today the work is nearly forgotten, but in its time it passed so completely into the heart and mind of America that it is living still in our national optimism, in the idealism that underlies our materialistic preoccupations, and in our sense that we are a dedicated people.

Tested by the criteria of the present day, Bancroft's History is seen to have many obvious defects. Even in his own time it was clear that he lacked the brilliance of Prescott, Motley, and Parkman. Now as then, however, it should be equally clear that he surpassed these younger contemporaries in the steady devotion of all his literary power to the task of understanding and interpreting his own land. Among his faults we do not find any failure to recognize, or the least tendency to shirk, the responsibilities undertaken by every writer who sets himself to narrate and evaluate his country's past.

ODELL SHEPARD

Josiah Wedgwood, Democrat

TESTAMENT TO DEMOCRACY. By the Right Hon. Lord Wedgwood. American Chapter, Emergency Council. $3.75.

AS MR. LASKI has put it, democratic government is less a matter for eulogy than for exploration. No matter whether this exploration results in the classic definition we were given by the Gettysburg address or in the more subtle explanation that democracy is government by discussion and reason, it remains, like any other political institution, an ideal dependent on the imperfection of human beings.

"Were I asked"—this is what Winston Churchill wrote—"for the best evidence of the virtues of our democracy I would cite the whole political life of my old and gallant friend Josiah Wedgwood." In his book as in his life, Lord Wedgwood's endeavor is to enhance the charms and virtues of that variety of rule which is known as British parliamentary government.

This "Testament" which Lord Wedgwood of Barlaston bequeaths to democracy is indeed a valuable heritage. He sat as a Liberal-Labor member in the House of Commons for seven and thirty years. The lesson of his life's experience was that "criticism is precisely what constitutes government by reason and the great virtue of Parliament is that there are always some to find fault with the government of the day and keep a check upon its actions." It is not hard to understand how uneasy he felt when he was muzzled in the House during the year he held a post in the MacDonald Cabinet.

Comparing Parliament with other instruments of democracy, Wedgwood considers a free press to be the most important but "Parliament must function if democracy is not to languish." No one is more competent to describe the intricacies of the British Parliament, and the late Lord Wedgwood, in spite of his predilection for the Mother of Parliaments, has done it with his characteristic wit and candor. He thinks the rigid separation of the executive from the legislature in the Constitution of the United States was "based entirely on the misconception of Parliament." Nevertheless, "with respectful deference to Mr. Churchill," he is bound to admit that the present British Parliament has become too full of executive "place-men" in spite of the control of the executive by the legislature. Most interesting is the chapter dealing with corruption, one of the weaknesses which made possible the success of fascist propaganda. Education of the electorate is, in Lord Wedgwood's opinion, the only remedy against, and the only salvation from, fascist retrogression. Accepting as the essence of all true education the dictum of Archbishop Lang, "Teach them to think, not *what* to think," Wedgwood gives full credit to the great public schools which taught the governing class of England courage, self-respect, and team spirit. Now, when democracy no longer consists of a Parliament of one class well trained for governing, "if democracy is to survive, the people must be taught to think as well as to read and write."

But Wedgwood's "Testament" contains more than sound advice on how to save democracy, which is asserted to be in crisis only by those who ignore the fact that both freedom and democracy are the only legitimate twins of our civilization. It is at this point that the "Testament" turns to prophecy. Predicting that the triumph of the United Nations will involve an international five-year plan for the salvage of civilization, he sets his hopes on a financial federation of Britain and America because only a supernational financial unity can check a runaway inflation. Safety, peace, and justice being the common desire of all mankind, a step would be the union of the English-speaking peoples with the door open to all democratically governed countries.

The next to the last chapter of the "Testament" deals with "Hitler's Subhumans" and suggests a larger Palestine as a self-governing state pledged to open frontiers for immigration. Wedgwood's deep sympathy with the tragedy of the Jews explains the American publication of this volume by the American Chapter of the Emergency Council of the Chief Rabbi of Great Britain. Royalties from the book will be donated to the Wedgwood Memorial Fund.

The upright character, the frank and genial personality which distinguished the author are manifest in his book. Accused once by the leader of the House of "inciting to violence," Lord Wedgwood admitted the charge. "In a sense," he wrote, "my whole life has been an incitement to think, to see, and then to act. Every idea is an incitement." That can be said of the ideas in "Testament," which is addressed to all brave and conscientious crusaders for liberty.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Sea Power in World War II

A GUIDE TO NAVAL STRATEGY. By Bernard Brodie. Princeton University Press. Revised Edition. $2.75.

THIS excellent book of a well-known naval writer is not simply a new edition of his "A Layman's Guide to Naval Strategy." For all practical purposes it is a new book, which contains not only a discussion of naval strategy but also a naval history of the present war up to our landings in Normandy and Saipan. Lieutenant Brodie has set himself the task of stating the mission of a navy under modern conditions of war. While emphasizing the revolutionary changes brought about by air power, Brodie shows that aviation will not drive warships of any category from the seas. Nor does air power deprive sea power of its basic function, which is "to control transportation over the seas during wartime."

The course of the war has fully vindicated Dr. Brodie's earlier and present analysis. In fact, the last two years have seen naval fighting of an intensity unprecedented in history. The author points out, for instance, that at the end of the Guadalcanal campaign "the tonnage of sunken warships lying off the island was considerably greater than that lost on both sides at Jutland"—and Jutland was hitherto the greatest naval engagement in history. Moreover, the navy has now assumed greater importance than ever before, because in the twentieth century war has become essentially a transoceanic affair. The greatest naval writer of the inter-war period, the French Admiral Castex, emphasized a few years ago that land power was asserting itself more and more over sea power. Yet the present war shows that sea power has influenced the course of history more than ever before: landing operations cannot be carried out without the fire power of warships; large forces of carriers constitute the only genuine air power at present in existence.

The chief value of Brodie's book lies in its modernistic orthodoxy. Most followers of Mahan have reiterated merely the old venerable principles without being able to apply them to modern conditions. Brodie is the first naval writer who has written on naval war as it is fought in the period of triphibian war. It is important, however, to bear in mind that Brodie's book is oriented almost exclusively toward Anglo-American naval problems, and is written from the point of view of a *superior* sea power.

The "Guide to Naval Strategy" is to be recommended to those who want to enrich their knowledge of the present war. The author describes the tools of sea power and shows what these tools can do. It is remarkable how well he succeeded in turning a rather dry matter into interesting reading. His account of the submarine war in the Atlantic is the most illuminating which has yet appeared in print (and incidentally reminds one of his prediction, published in the dark days of 1942, that the U-boat offensive would shortly be broken). Equally interesting are Brodie's analysis of the failure of German naval strategy, his description of the

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astonishing naval campaign in the Mediterranean, and his review of the Pacific war. The latter war is most difficult to understand because of the novel elements of geography and because problems connected with Japan are puzzling to the Western mind. It is not always fully realized that for many dreary months our forces in the Pacific were inferior to the Japanese. In Brodie's interpretation the Pacific war makes sense. His interpretation also highlights the brilliant quality of our recent Pacific strategy. Needless to add, Lieutenant Brodie, who in civilian life is professor of Political Science at Dartmouth College, has not neglected the political and human aspects of naval strategy. STEFAN T. POSSONY

Fiction in Review

FRANZ HOELLERING'S "Furlough" (Viking, $2.50), set in Germany in this last year in which Germany has been learning defeat, is unusual, among anti-Nazi novels at least, for its refusal to exploit the bloody possibilities of its material and for having as its male lead a character who couldn't be played by Gary Cooper. Far from being a virtuoso of the underground, the Hans of "Furlough" is a Nazified young brute who in earliest childhood showed the bent of fascist self-assertion; it is merely the latest outbreak of ruthlessness that Hans kills a comrade on the Russian front in order to steal his furlough papers. But vacation from war is a disappointment: conditions at home are desperate and Hans's sweetheart, Leni, is an anti-Nazi. By the end of the furlough, the stalwart Hitlerite has become a purposeful deserter. The political conversion is quick but convincing. What is not convincing is the hope Mr. Hoellering would seem to pin to the regenerated Hanses of Germany. For while I agree with "Furlough" that no amount of coercion makes a Nazi out of a decent human being, I believe, by a similar logic, that no amount of disillusionment makes a reliable human being out of someone as temperamentally susceptible to Nazism as Hans, or so deeply poisoned by it. Mr. Hoellering has let himself be pushed to a sentimental extreme if he considers even a reformed Hans anything but a problem for the future.

Warren Beck's "Final Score" (Knopf, $2.50) is another study of the fascist personality of our time—of the possible American fascist personality. A first novel, written with much quiet taste, it is the history of a small-city football idol who becomes a dangerous political demagogue. Bill Hutten was born at the wrong end of town and reared among people who are much more apt for the revenges of violent action than for the slow healings of due process; like the German Hans, he had "some dark primary evil" in his heart even as a boy. Then, on the college athletic field, and later as the front for a sporting-goods company, Hutten learns the taste for power; he graduates to the deeper satisfactions of being the front for a local political putsch. Mr. Beck unfortunately tells his story through the minds of a pair of close spectators at Hutten's rise instead of casting it into direct action—a method which reduces the dramatic effectiveness of his novel and makes it somewhat tedious. Nevertheless, "Final Score" is a firm and thoughtful American psychological-political document. DIANA TRILLING

IN BRIEF

ON LIVING IN A REVOLUTION. By Julian Huxley. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

Considering its distinguished author, this book can be set down only as an undistinguished *olla podrida.* Professor Huxley prints here a miscellany of his essays from the magazines, and even a radio script. About half of them advance the theme that society is undergoing a "transformation toward a world more planned, more closely connected, and more internationally organized." The rest of the book is made up of things like the amusing if irrelevant piece on the original perpetrator of the Spoonerism, a personage bizarre enough to delight Julian's brother Aldous. (The man who made the remark about "occupewing my pie" happens to have been a myopic albino don, of saintly character.) The editing is so slipshod that at one place Emerson, at another Carlyle, is credited with saying, "Gad, she'd better!" when Margaret Fuller announced her acceptance of the universe. It all adds up to a footling sort of book. No one in his senses could quarrel with Professor Huxley's main theme, but he offers nothing that will implement it. That portion of the public which is on Huxley's own intellectual level surely grasped the concept of a planned world at least as long ago as the creative years of Wells and Shaw. And as for the vast uneducated public which must be won over to this idea, because only through them can it be carried out democratically, this book—so blandly donnish, so centered in sociological abstractions—will do nothing whatever to enlighten them.

DAY OF DELIVERANCE: A BOOK OF POEMS IN WAR TIME. By William Rose Benét. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

When patriotic sentiment is wanted, the poetasters can be counted on to fill every need. With this general remark, and with charity rebuking the suspicion that there is always an element of exploitation in such performances, criticism has done its full duty by Mr. Benét's latest book in saying that there is no discrepancy between its matter and manner, both of which are execrable.

Coming Soon in *The Nation*
"THE JEW IN OUR DAY"
By Waldo Frank
Reviewed by W. H. Auden

RECORDS

VICTOR'S September set (932; $2.50) of Bach's Concerto in D minor for two violins, played by Menuhin and Enesco with an orchestra under Monteux, offers the performance that has been available for about ten years on two single records, which have now been put into an album. On the whole it is an acceptable performance, and preferable to the badly recorded Szigeti-Flesch version. As for Menuhin's playing in the performance, I did not like it when I first heard it; and rehearing it now I recognize the qualities I disliked, but I also am aware of how much worse his playing has become since then. I speak, of course, of what I have heard on recently issued records; and records, in fact, document a deterioration that is both saddening and mystifying. I have Victor record 7182, issued around 1930 (it was in the Victor catalogue until recently, and I hope will be restored after the war), on which "Master Yehudi Menuhin" plays the slow movement of Mozart's Violin Concerto K.216, producing a clear, compact, and lovely tone in simply inflected, large-spanned phrases. On the records of Bach's concerto, issued about four years later, there are changes in the tone, which tends to be tremulously over-sweet (I called it "treacly" at the time), and in the phrasing, which tends toward exaggerated small-scale inflection (I called it "precious"). And on recent records the tone is coarse, the phrases chopped to bits.

Also on Victor's September list are a number of singles. On one (10-1105; $.75) is a little Corelli Sonata in F for strings and organ, of which the two slow movements are characteristically lovely and poignant, and the second of the two fast movements is superb. The performance by the Fiedler Sinfonietta and E. Power Biggs is good, and is well recorded. On another (10-1104; $.75) are the duet *Bei Männern welche Liebe fühlen* from "The Magic Flute," sung by Rethberg and Pinza, and *Se vuol ballare* from "The Marriage of Figaro," sung by Pinza. Rethberg's voice is unpleasantly acidulous in its high register but lovely in its middle and low range, and her phrasing in this range is exquisite. In the duet Pinza sings with vocal and stylistic constraint that gives the impression of his not being at ease in the music or the language; in the aria, on the other hand, he is completely at ease to the point of overdoing everything.

Sevitzky's performance of Strauss's "Frühlingsstimmen" Waltz with the Indianapolis Symphony (11-8609; $1) is gracefully straightforward most of the time, with only a few of the exaggerated retardations that are considered correct in Strauss waltzes; on the reverse side is what is described as an arrangement by Dubensky of a Waltz by Weber, which is very charming. The performances are well recorded. And finally Rachmaninov creates around Bach's E major Partita for unaccompanied violin a thick texture which not only obscures the original single line of music with its rhythms and its strands of counterpoint, but occasionally falsifies it with some of Rachmaninov's own chord progressions. The result is acceptable as an occasion for some stunning piano-playing, but not as a statement of Bach's work (11-8607; $1).

Letters have come in expressing agreement with what I wrote about Heifetz's playing recently; and a friend for whose musical judgment I have the highest respect remarked: "Your article was especially interesting to me because just recently someone took me to hear Heifetz at the Stadium. One of the things he played was Chausson's "Poème," which is a piece that I love very much and have heard a great deal and know very well. And I can tell you that I was horrified by Heifetz's performance. Everything the work does with delicacy Heifetz exaggerated and cheapened in the way you described: the slow parts he dragged and sentimentalized; the animated parts he rushed, so that they became displays of pyrotechnics. It was without any question a thoroughly vulgar performance."

The idea of the people who created "Song of Norway" seems to have been that it was legitimate to work the music of Grieg's Piano Concerto and smaller piano pieces and songs into a tuneful musical comedy score if the libretto and lyrics were concerned with a story about Grieg himself. But I don't accept that idea; and I would be outraged by the misuse of his music even if what it was misused for—action, dialogue, comedy, acting, and in particular the comic "hamming" on a grand scale that Irra Petina has done heretofore in minor comedy parts at the Metropolitan—were not of a kind to make me writhe most of the evening. Relief came only near the end, with the two little ballets which provided new and charming examples of Balanchine's fresh and imaginative use of ballet materials. His musical comedy choreography I did not care much for; and I disliked the rhythmic perversities that he introduced into the peasant dances. B. H. HAGGIN

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ODELL SHEPARD, professor of English at Trinity College, won the Pulitzer prize for biography in 1937 with his "Pedlar's Progress."

8 BOOKLETS BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

Bertrand Russell, the distinguished philosopher, mathematician, logician and Freethinker, recently said that he enjoyed writing booklets for E. Haldeman-Julius because he is given the fullest freedom of expression. In the booklets listed below Dr. Russell offers a feast of reason, information, logic, wit and rollicking humor. We present:

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Letters to the Editors

They Still Think

Dear Sirs: This must be a private letter inasmuch as servicemen are scarcely supposed to have political hopes and thoughts, during an election year especially. Of course this is an infantile attitude. You and I know that in order that war may become "a crusade and not a crime" there must be deep and soul-stirring emotions to rouse us into action. A person thus moved to take up arms can scarcely be asked to stop thinking simply because his superiors so command. Blind obedience, fortunately, has never been the strong point of democratic peoples. When the day comes that I feel muzzled and cannot think, hope, express, and argue my beliefs, that is the day I shall be tempted to rebel.

Until recently I was out in the Pacific theater as a combat dive-bomber pilot aboard a carrier. I was there for well over a year and of course it was a constant struggle to keep up with world developments even in a most limited sense. During this period I depended more than ever before on my *Nation* to supply me with the perspective that is so difficult to maintain on or near the actual war fronts.

It is very true, what Justice Holmes told us about war—that it makes the participant realize more fully the vital and passionate nature of life; and yet there is still the drawback of being too close to see the whole. My *Nation* has helped tremendously to supply this deficiency and consequently I am "mighty beholden." I am pained that it is not more widely read and appreciated but even at 26 I have long since discovered that most men don't wish to develop much of their brain power.

May you keep plugging along and chiseling away at the public conscience; who knows when the floodgates might be loosed? A. W. B.

Somewhere in Florida, August 13

There Are Ways

Dear Sirs: The management of the Philadelphia Transportation Company must bear its share of blame for the strike of prejudiced white employees there against the upgrading of Negro workers.

The company did nothing to stop, but apparently encouraged, anti-Negro agitation among its workers by a relatively few racial bigots, instead of making a genuine effort to sell the idea of working with Negroes as motormen. There are established techniques for handling such a situation, developed by organizations like the Urban League and by progressive employers. They include assuring the white workers that they will not lose their jobs to Negroes and stressing the patriotic and democratic aspects of providing Negroes with job opportunities according to their ability and seniority.

These methods were not used, and racial bigots among the workers were given the green light by the company because the company wanted to defeat the CIO union in a labor-board election among its employees. The company knew that the CIO union, the Transport Workers, would not permit curtailment of the right of its Negro members to be upgraded, and hoped to defeat the CIO on this issue by fanning into flame the race prejudice among its employees which otherwise would have been dormant and could easily have been overcome without a strike if the management had honestly tried to do so.

Negroes work as motormen and bus drivers in New York, and without any racial incidents.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

New York, August 24

Among Our Non-Readers

Dear Sirs: Some time ago I received a letter inviting me to subscribe to *The Nation* at a special rate of $3. While I do not care to accept this offer, I venture to reply to a question asked in the letter:

> "The battle lines have been clearly drawn, not only in the field of military combat abroad, but in another theatre of operations that affect you just as vitally—in the struggle of democracy vs. totalitarianism here on the home front.
>
> "On which side are you?"

I am on the side of democracy, whereas *The Nation* is on the side of totalitarianism. The position for which *The Nation* stands is in general that an American citizen, unless he happens to be a left-wing intellectual or a member of the CIO, has no rights that the national government is bound to respect and that the ideal political set-up would be one in which these favored classes ruled the rest of the population with a rod of iron. That is not exactly my conception of democracy.

Incidentally, I don't think it would be a very good investment to pay even $3 to ascertain "why President Roosevelt has dropped the name and abandoned much of the program of the New Deal." Mr. Roosevelt's one overmastering ambition, as everybody who reads the papers concluded long ago, is to get and hold for himself power, power, power, in ever widening circles. For as long as the cultivation of the intellectuals and of the CIO served this purpose, he was ready to do anything and everything to enlist their support. Just now he plainly feels that these elements comprise, after all, only a minority of the total population, and that there is a possibility that the disaffection of these other elements may reach the point of temporarily neutralizing their differences and uniting them to sweep out the New Deal. Under these circumstances the prospects of the fourth term will presumably be enhanced by affecting to throw the left-wingers overboard and playing up the safe-and-sane traditions of Jeffersonian democracy (*sic*). HAROLD S. DAVIS

Boston, August 5

Voters and Bosses

Dear Sirs: A letter from R. W. Pence in Greencastle, Indiana, poses a paradoxical question: "Would it not be better to turn the country over in November to the frankly reactionary group—the Republican Party—than turn it over to the reactionary bosses of the Democratic Party? Thus the Democratic Party could retain the reputation of being the one liberal hope in the country."

This argument reminds me of an argument which Walter Lippmann some weeks ago advanced as a reason against President Roosevelt's reelection. Mr. Lippmann—who in 1932 described Roosevelt as "a pleasant man who, without any important qualifications for the office, would very much like to be President," and who in 1936 again exhibited the profundity of his political views by urging the election of Alf M. Landon—gave as his 1944 opinion that President Roosevelt should not run for reelection because, if he should run and fail, both the war effort and the peace plans would be discredited.

It would require no great effort to expand such views into a comprehensive philosophy of action—or, rather, of inaction and reaction. Lest a cathedral go up in flames we should not, obviously, light a candle on the altar. Lest the human race should fall into fresh errors, we should practice infanticide. Lest we stumble and fall, we should not ascend a ladder, personally, politically, nationally, or internationally. Think of the colossal ignominy of forming a new and better League of Nations and perhaps having it collapse some day in the distant future! Obviously, our duty is to do nothing at all and thus avert every vestige of discredit that might ensue upon the failure of our ambitions.

As for political bosses, let Mr. Pence stop worrying about trivialities that already are over-advertised by our Republican press. Nobody is bossing my vote and nobody will be bossing Mr. Pence's vote if he doesn't permit himself to be pushed around by childish arguments incessantly advertised by reactionary newspapers. We, the voters, are the bosses. We cease to be at the very moment that we relinquish our right to vote for the best President, the best Vice-President, the best Senators, the best Representatives who are available for office.

WINTHROP PARKHURST

New York, August 28

Those Italian Prisoners

Dear Sirs: As an American who has tried to follow closely our policy toward Italy, I have been struck by the folly of our short-sighted treatment of Italian war prisoners. Thousands of these men have declared their readiness to take up arms for the United Nations cause; they have been screened by the FBI; they are not Fascists. Many of them, in fact were active anti-Fascists long before the United States entered the war. Yet they are denied the opportunity to fight, and are still paid the miserable 80 cents a day granted war prisoners—while they work long hours at war work—and while misinformed Americans write indignant letters to the papers protesting what they term the "coddling" of these men because they are given a few hours off per week during which they are able to make some contact with American life.

If this war is a simple game of cops and robbers, then one Italian is no different from another. But if, as most of us believe, the war has political meaning, if it is a war of democrats against fascism, we are under solemn obligation at all times and in all cases to distinguish between our friends and our enemies, whatever their nationality.

RICHARD N. KELLY,
Editor, *Facts from Italy*

New York, August 28

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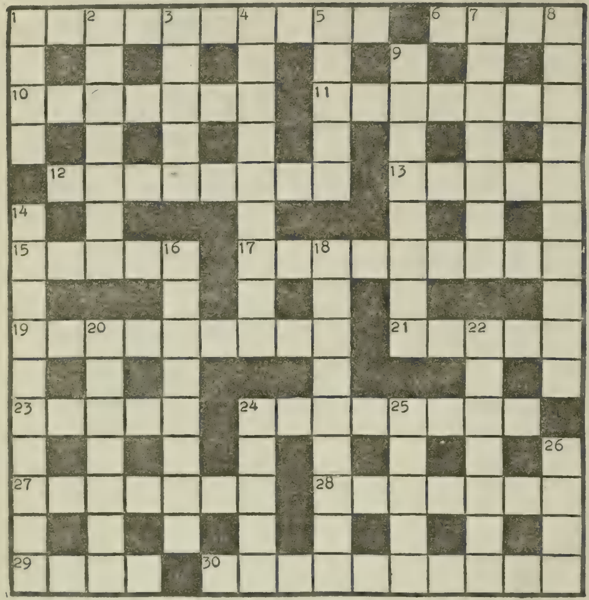
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 80

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

[redacted] This Treaty was written in two languages
[redacted] Nurse in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, fond of quoting "Mrs. Harris"
10 Hold up
11 Bouncer or chucker-out, perhaps
12 "- - - - - - - - they heard a most melodious sound" (*Faerie Queen*)
13 Boring part of a garden nuisance
15 Dish a boy must finish
17 French coins or cakes
19 But no breast-plates?
21 You might make this Muse orate
23 In Ipswich or Norwich
24 Anything but neat's-foot, you would think
27 I lament (anag.)
28 A letter of advice with frigid ending
29 Black
30 "Garden of Eden, nr. Babylon, Asia Minor," might have found them (three words, 4, [redacted] and 3)

DOWN

1 Garment that's rather short for a goddess
[redacted] In confusion there is naturally fluster, but it seems strange here
[redacted] Parson in Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*
4 Dreamland (three words, 4, 2 and 3)
5 Yet seven may be such times of day
7 Sea-captain, friend to Sebastian, in *Twelfth Night*
8 Leave with a girl in the midst of it
9 Bugle call the soldier dislikes most?
14 Digest this!
16 "- - - - - - - -, at his utmost need, By those his former bounty fed" (Dryden)
18 Complaint of one who has lived with an optimist?
20 The Moor of Venice
22 Wolf's-bane or monk's-hood
24 Say, Ted, have you had enough?
25 Mystic number
26 Give up

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 79

ACROSS:—1 POSTERN; 5 POCKETS; [redacted] NEGUS; 10 MORSE CODE; 11 HEADMARKS; 12 PLEAD; 13 ROUNDEL; 15 SETTLER; 17 BLESSED; 19 SWAGGER; 21 OZONE; 23 FORGOTTEN; 25 TAMBOURIN; 26 CRIME; 27 RUNDALE; 28 ENRAGES.

DOWN:—1 PANTHER; [redacted] SIGNATURE; 3 EPSOM; [redacted] NUMERAL; 5 PURISTS; 6 CLEOPATRA; 7 ERODE; 8 SLENDER; 14 DESDEMONA; 16 LIGHTNING; 17 BLOATER; 18 DEFARGE; 19 STRANGE; 20 RINGERS; 22 OSMAN; 24 OCCUR.

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

THE BATTLE OF GERMANY BEGAN LAST Sunday with the firing of the first Allied artillery shell into the territory of the Reich—that "holy territory" which is about to be purified, though perhaps not sanctified. The firing of that shell was a milestone in five years of bitter war, one of the climaxes of a great and brilliant campaign which is still continuing toward new climaxes. It came at the end of a week in which the Allies had consolidated their gains into a single unbroken front from Nancy to the sea; a week in which the Germans, as anticipated, had managed to throw up temporary defenses along the main covering positions before the Siegfried Line. General Patton's Third Army, having raced ahead the fastest, was the first to be halted, along the difficult tank trap of the Moselle between Nancy and Metz, by stiffened resistance and over-extended supply lines. South of it, General Patch's Seventh Army drove up the Rhone toward the Belfort gap, leaving the ruins of the German Nineteenth Army in its wake. North of it, General Hodge's First Army moved through the "impenetrable" Ardennes and into Luxembourg. Farthest north, General Dempsey's Second Army liberated Brussels, thrust a finger into the Netherlands, wheeled east toward the flat plains of Westphalia. Behind them all lay buried Germans, Germans in hospitals, Germans in stockades—half a million of them. The Battle of Germany began with the odds heavily weighted in the Allies' favor.

*

WHAT ARE THE GERMANS' CHANCES IN THE west? The covering positions, especially in the south, may be retained long enough for the Siegfried Line defenses to be refurbished and manned. These defenses will prove difficult but not insuperable. Already four Allied armies are drawn up on the western borders of the Reich; once the Channel ports are reduced, a fifth army, the Canadian First, will be free to move in where it is most needed. This last factor is important: having many vehicles, much gasoline, and the glittering prize of air supremacy, the Allies possess both strategic and tactical mobility to the highest degree. In a few days they can concentrate overwhelming men and material against any part of the Siegfried Line. The Germans, lacking transport, out of gas, and denuded of the air umbrella, cannot counter-concentrate. They must hold the long line with what remains of their once-powerful armies in the west: hold a line whose strength depends on the ability of its defenders to counter-attack sharply and instantly. This they cannot do on anything like the necessary scale. We may expect the longest possible delaying action before the line and in it, while tank traps and blockhouses are constructed in the villages of Germany—continued fighting once the Siegfried Line is broken may thus become possible. But as for the line itself, look for the tested Eisenhower-Montgomery-Bradley pattern to unfold: careful reconnaissance, building up of great strength, then the coordinated assault with aerial bombardment, the dropping of as many as six air-borne divisions to open gaps from the rear, and frontal breakthrough. No amount of time won can save the Germans from this splintering in the west.

*

MR. DEWEY LAUNCHED HIS CAMPAIGN AT Philadelphia with a clarion call for an early return to the governmental and economic policies of Herbert Hoover. It is true that one may read his speech from beginning to end without finding a single mention of the last Republican President. But throughout his address Mr. Dewey insisted that all the difficulties with which the country is beset had their origin on March 4, 1933, when the "defeatist" policies of the New Deal were inaugurated. Warming up to this theme, he asserted that the New Deal had "kept this country in a continuous state of depression for seven straight years." Mr. Dewey did not object to any specific New Deal policy. Far from it. He called the roll of New Deal policies—security regulation, bank-deposit insurance, support for agriculture, unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, the Wagner act—and endorsed them all. But he was against "bureaucracy" and "experimentation" and a "controlled regulated society"—as if any government could operate without bureaus, occasional changes in policy, or regulations. In place of these fearsome evils Mr. Dewey would give us "an open door for every man who wants to start out in business for himself" and "government policies which encourage enterprise." Mr. Hoover's heart must have leaped as he heard those magic words—magic words that described his own administration's policy in the Golden Days of 1928 and 1929. Alas, that the New Deal intervened with its Great Depression.

*

NOW THAT HIS GOVERNMENT IS INSTALLED in the capital, General De Gaulle is tackling the tough political problems that were bound to confront him as soon as French soil was liberated. First is the major and most delicate job of reorganizing the government. He must eliminate the doubtful and weak and give representation to the various political elements that support the reborn Republic. So far he appears to have made a good start. He has drawn into the government eight men who were active in the resistance movement and seems to be making room for a few of the pre-war democratic leaders who symbolize the best of the Third Republic. The name of Jules Jeanneney is significant of this intention. By far the most encouraging change reported—it is not yet officially confirmed—is the dismissal of René Massigli from the post of Foreign Minister and the appointment in his place of Georges Bidault, the young left-wing Catholic leader, who has been president of the Council of Resistance. His selection for the top place in the De Gaulle cabinet should go a long way to satisfy the legitimate demands of the men and women who have fought the anti-Nazi battle inside France. Meanwhile, a few foreign journalists, for instance Karl H. von Wiegand in the New York *Journal-American,* are busy drawing pictures of terror and incipient civil war. This sort of talk is being echoed in the editorial columns of the reactionary press. Actually, responsible American reporters have been astonished at the restraint shown by both the government and the people after four years of German-Vichy rule. Talk of terror is nothing more than a new version of the vicious anti-Gaullism that poisoned American relations with Free France in the months before the invasion.

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THAT THE GERMAN UNDERGROUND FACES much graver obstacles to effective action than any other movement of resistance must be admitted. But on the other hand it is equally true that its zero hour is striking now at the very moment when the Allied armies are fighting on German soil. No one will seriously dispute the existence of anti-Nazi sentiment in Germany. But sentiment cannot be equated with physical resistance, and until now nothing has happened in Germany that can be remotely compared with the activities of the *Maquis.* It is true that within the Reich the Gestapo is in a better position to suppress any resistance activity than outside Germany. But the Nazis in Slovakia these days are not treating the underground with particular indulgence; and yet uprisings, not merely among civilians but in the Slovak military garrisons, have spread like wildfire. There is something that the underground can do: promote mass desertions. As Argus points out in his column, the menace of the S. S. and the Gestapo may prevent many things, but it should not prevent the lower ranks of the army—the common soldiers and petty officers—from surrendering if they really want to. A movement arising out of such actions, a collapse of the Nazi regime due to the refusal of the German people to commit mass suicide, will not be the democratic German revolution anti-Nazi Germans and other anti-fascists have been hoping for. But, as the exiled German socialist leader

Paul Sering points out correctly, "it would be a first coming together of masses of Germans against Nazism in action, an active contribution to its destruction, a beginning of its political defeat by Germans as distinct from the strictly military defeat at the hands of the Allies."

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IMPERIALISTS OF THE WORLD, UNITE! AT HIS press conference in London just before leaving for Holland, the Dutch Prime Minister, Pietr Gerbrandy, stated that as soon as possible after hostilities ceased the Dutch people and the residents of the Dutch East Indies would be asked whether the Dutch empire should receive a greater measure of self-government. Whereupon Brendan Bracken, British Minister of Information, who was present at the interview, urged the Dutch "not to relinquish any portion of their far-flung territories after the war." In other words, don't liquidate the empire. Brendan Bracken, former private secretary to Winston Churchill and still Churchill's close friend, wants company for the British Empire. The liquidation of the Dutch empire might amount to pressure on Britain to give freedom to India or Burma and start a whole wave of liquidation. In the same spirit, Mr. Amery, now British Secretary of State for India, once advised a tolerant attitude toward Japanese expansion in China. "Our whole policy in India," Amery said in the House of Commons, "our whole policy in Egypt stands condemned if we condemn Japan." Imperialists understand one another. It is to promote such understanding on the part of Americans that many British imperialists would welcome an American empire in the Pacific, provided, of course, it did not tread on British toes.

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NOW THAT MR. HULL HAS BRANDED Argentina as the fascist headquarters of the American hemisphere, we can claim that our insistent warnings have been fully justified. One after another, competent observers, including many Latin Americans, have told our readers the story of fascist penetration in the various South American republics. It must have been unbelievable to many people who have not realized the true character of fascism that so insolent an offensive could be launched at the very peak of Allied power. And yet the fact remains that in the autumn of 1944 we face a worse situation in Latin America than we did three years ago. Someone must have been working pretty fast and well, and if his record in Spain does not prove Franco a good organizer, it must be admitted that he has very efficiently contributed to the growth and power of Latin American fascism. The writers who for three years in these columns, have been denouncing the state of affairs now officially admitted by Secretary Hull have been unanimous in pointing to the Spanish Falange as the chief instrument of fascist penetration. That was also what Representative Coffee of Washington concluded in his speeches in the House on February 24 and June 19, when he asked that diplomatic relations with Spain be ended. Mr. Coffee cited numerous examples of Franco's hostility to the United Nations and of his complicity in Latin American fascist intrigue. We can now mention in addition the great quantity of Nazi money that is pouring into Argentina, assigned to Spanish banks and erstwhile residents of Spain.

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ALTHOUGH CHINA'S ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, and military situation remains grave, recent dispatches give some ground for hope that a turn for the better may soon be evident. In his speech before the People's Political Council Chiang Kai-shek reported that bumper crops had restored economic stability. True, no progress has been reported in the protracted negotiations at Chungking between the central government and Communist representatives. Nor is there any indication that the physical blockade that has been maintained against the Communists in the Northwest for the past four years has in any way been lifted. But the arrival of an American military mission at Yenan close on the heels of the first group of Anglo-American newspapermen to visit the Communist area suggests a weakening in the political blockade. Similarly, the removal of General Sheng Shih-tai as governor of Sinkiang may be regarded as an effort to improve Chinese-Soviet relations. On top of this, Sun Fo, president of the Legislative Yuan and son of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, has delivered another courageous speech, declaring that "Chinese politics cannot be divorced from the main current of international thinking, which is toward democracy and liberalism." Although Sun Fo's speeches are not permitted to be circulated in China, it is said that news of them quickly gets around and that they have had a profound effect on public opinion. If the United States and Great Britain had a clear-cut policy for supporting the rising democratic elements within China, it is quite possible that Chiang Kai-shek might find the courage to oust the fascist, pro-Japanese clique that is responsible for the recent totalitarian trend in Chungking.

Business and Taxes

OF THE various post-war tax plans suggested by business men or business groups, the recommendations of the research committee of the Committee for Economic Development are most deserving of close study. The C. E. D. is exclusively a business group, and naturally it advocates a program which it believes will be helpful to business. But, unlike most recent tax proposals put out by business men's organizations, its announced primary objective is not the promotion of "free enterprise" or more profits but maximum employment. The plan recognizes the threat to the nation as a whole in large-scale unemployment and the necessity for maintaining a high level of buying power among the masses if business is to prosper. The program is also noteworthy because it is based on a scholarly and objective survey of the whole federal tax problem by Professor Harold Groves of the University of Wisconsin and differs only slightly from his recommendations.

The sincerity and intelligence of the C. E. D. plan are shown, for example, in its forthright rejection of sales taxes on the ground that they impose a "clear inequity" upon "all low-income taxpayers, for they would have to pay a disproportionate share of their income in taxes." For similar reasons the C. E. D. would repeal all federal excise taxes except those on liquor, tobacco, and perhaps gasoline, and would eliminate the victory tax, which now falls predominantly on those with low incomes. These changes—which were also recommended recently in the Ruml and Sonne plan issued by the National Planning Association—would not only remove the chief regressive aspects of our present federal tax system (apart from the social-security taxes) but would provide a cushion against post-war depression by assuring a higher level of buying power for that part of the population whose buying habits are most sensitive to unemployment and cyclic changes.

While affording this relief to low-income groups, the C. E. D. plan treads on more questionable ground in proposing the elimination of all corporate taxes except a single flat tax corresponding to the basic normal tax on individual incomes, and in urging that the money received by individuals in dividends be exempt from the normal tax. This is a modification of the familiar business plea that corporations be freed from the income tax so as to encourage private investment in new enterprises. Messrs. Ruml and Sonne urged the complete abolition of federal income taxes on corporations, and the so-called "Twin Cities Plan," prepared by industrialists and financiers from Minneapolis and St. Paul, advocated a two-thirds reduction in the corporate load. The claim that the corporation tax hinders production by discouraging risky investments will not bear too close examination. It must be remembered that the tax falls only on *profits*. Men may hesitate to start new business enterprises because of fear of loss, but they will hardly abandon an enterprise that shows promise of profits because half, or less, of the profits will be absorbed in taxation. The real objection to the corporate income tax is that it is a flat levy which cannot be adjusted in accordance with the stockholder's capacity to pay. Thus the millionaire stockholder pays no more, proportionately, on the taxed portion of the corporation's earnings than the worker with one or two shares obtained through a company pay-deduction scheme. Despite this limitation, the corporation tax is not one which should be lightly cast aside. From the point of view of the Treasury it has two great advantages: (1) it costs little to collect; and (2) it cannot easily be dodged. These advantages are probably important enough to warrant retention of the corporation tax as an integral part of our tax structure.

Reduction of the tax on corporations and elimination of the normal tax on dividends would be unwise for still another reason. Studies of the causes of the world depression beginning in 1929 by Keynes and other leading economists have indicated that oversaving by American business corporations was one of the principal causes of the crisis. This tendency was encouraged by the fact that wealthy stockholders frequently preferred to leave their earnings undistributed in the corporation treasury rather than pay a high surtax on dividends. The C. E. D. plan would tend to accentuate the pressure to withhold dividends, because earnings would be larger, thus threatening to force the individual stockholder's tax into still higher brackets. A high corporation tax, on the other hand, forces a large part of the nation's business earnings back into circulation and thereby aids directly in supporting employment and business activity.

The C. E. D. has performed a useful service in emphasizing tax revision as a prerequisite to successful planning for full employment. Its plan is in many respects far more satisfactory than our present system of taxation, which rests so heavily on the low-income groups. But like all business plans, it assumes that the primary function of our fiscal system, apart from raising needed revenues, is the encouragement of private enterprise. That is a natural assumption for a business group, but, as experience in the 1920's should have shown us, it is an extremely dangerous assumption upon which to base governmental policy.

How to Keep the Peace

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WHILE the world is still in the process of being destroyed, a new world is being built. At Quebec, at Dumbarton Oaks, in London, the representatives of the great powers are busy piecing together the Europe that lies just the other side of liberation—close now, threateningly close when you think how little has been decided and what great gaps of disagreement remain. A new world is being built and from this angle the view one gets of it is disappointing. Of course one can't tell how the finished structure will look, but its beginnings are awkward, top-heavy.

Perhaps the best hope rests in the fact that Britain and Russia and the United States are working on the job together, struggling toward arrangements which will be satisfactory at least to them. And that is a fact not to be despised, since nothing at all can be accomplished if this primary union of purpose is not achieved.

Perhaps the worst danger lies in the fact that the smaller nations are not in on the plans at all, even though they are the constituent parts of the new Europe that is being built. The three major powers—plus China—are doing the planning, with results that are exactly what you would expect. They will make the terms on which the war will end; they will set up the structure on which the peace will rest; and they will have the sole right and duty to put down threats to that peace made by any other states, large or small. The only powers that may commit aggressions are themselves.

This is discouraging. The one prospect of peace offered by Louis Fischer, in his able discussion of the Dumbarton Oaks conference elsewhere in this issue, lies in a world-wide effort to revise the new power system during the next decade or so, while the world is still recovering from this war and hasn't seriously begun getting ready for the next. Mr. Fischer has no faith at all that the big nations, each dominating its own sphere of interest, are going to maintain peace in the longer future, and history certainly supports his skepticism. But an even more discouraging aspect of the emerging plans is that, bad as they are, they are not bad enough to suit a considerable number of United States Senators. Whether they will be still worse—more lacking in teeth, more tender of national sovereignty—by the time they are completed and acceptable to two-thirds of the Senate, no one can say. But it almost seems a waste of time to worry over the manifold faults of the plans now under discussion, when you know that it will take all the mighty powers of persuasion wielded by the President and Secretary Hull to get the Senate to accept *any* agreement which obliges the United States to act upon the decision of an international council—even when our representative on the council has a veto. One's inclination is to say: Better let bad enough alone; if we oppose these plans or try to improve them, we won't get anything. For liberals have at least learned one lesson since 1919: The alternative to an unsatisfactory international order is not generally a satisfactory international order; it is uncontrolled power politics, international anarchy, and everything thrown into the lap of the nation with the fiercest appetite and the most brutal arrogance.

No doubt the big-power system will, after exhaustion is past, keep the peace only as long as the big powers want it kept. Its virtue is that it is a system. A corrupt police force is better than no police force. A reactionary government is better than no government. Citizens can force a clean-up or throw out an administration. It is important that people accept the fact that international government and policing of the peace are both essential. Once that is accomplished, once a sense of responsibility and participation is established, the chance of making something decent out of the new league of nations will be better. Popular support of the plans being drawn by the big powers must rest on the modest belief that something is better than nothing.

But my own hopes for the future are not really bound up in plans, good or bad. Like most people, I have little faith in organizations as such. The one thing I feel sure of is that no organization will be any more effective than its chief members want it to be. Even if the new structure were to be replanned according to my private specifications, I should expect little of it until I saw a new set of men in power and a new set of policies in effect. For it is leaders and policies that will determine the world of day after tomorrow.

I could talk about Britain or Russia. I'd rather talk about America. No statesman in the United Nations wants a peaceful world more than Franklin D. Roosevelt does. I am sure of that. He hates war and he wants to have a hand in building a lasting peace. Certainly he is more likely to make an honest try at it than Dewey, in spite of the Republican candidate's recent support of international cooperation. Dewey's record is too ambiguous, his position too shifting, his advisers too questionable, his backing too heavily charged with isolationist elements. The President is committed by act as well as word to American participation in keeping the peace. But when he makes Robert Murphy chief adviser—with the rank of ambassador—to General Eisenhower on policy toward Germany and when he puts Samuel Reber in charge of relations with France, then I know that his Administration has not shaken off the illusions that controlled its policy during the years of pre-war appeasement and have dominated its political strategy ever since.

The illusion that peace is secured by propping up reactionary governments threatens the success of a new world order far more than any form that order may take. As long as the United States connives with Britain to crush the democratic forces in Greece so that Greece can be used as a British appendage; as long as the revolutionary elements in Italy are disarmed and repressed so that British and American business interests can be reassured; as long as Franco continues to win American support while he conducts Hitler's affairs in Latin America; as long as the problems of European settlement are discussed by American agents in the sound-proof confines of the Vatican—as long as all this goes on it doesn't really make much difference what happens at Dumbarton Oaks or in London or Quebec.

The United States would do more for peace by calling off its Rebers and Murphys and backing the democrats of liberated Europe than by fabricating the best league of nations ever dreamed of. And a decent league would follow. I hope American liberals will believe this. Let us accept whatever world organization the various conferences manage to agree upon, let us accept it and try if possible to improve it. But let us also realize that it is the cart, not the horse. The horse is a democratic foreign policy, a policy designed to oust forever the gang of fascists and their hangers-on who ran Europe before 1939, who are responsible for the slaughter and horror that have followed, and who are well represented still in the governments and groups with which we do business. The cart will move along better if the horse is hitched up in front of it.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

LAST week I reported on the new phrase that Radio Tokyo has found to excuse the absence of the Japanese fleet from the Pacific—"basic sea area," which means the seas along the eastern coast of Asia, inside the great chain of islands which includes Japan and the Philippines. I pointed out that the Allies now have a tremendous superiority at sea and good springboards (Saipan, Guam, Tinian) for further advances, but warned that the Japanese air force was being husbanded for further action and that the bulk of the Japanese army still stands behind the reluctant Japanese navy. Japan's strategy of defeat and Allied opportunities for hastening that defeat require further treatment—which I propose to present as a modest reminder that, despite imminent victory in Europe, half the global war is still to be won.

I said that the inaction of the Japanese fleet in Japanese home waters on the Pacific side is inexcusable—in Western eyes. In Japanese eyes it is not only excusable but desirable, as Alexander Kiralfy demonstrates in his discussion of Japanese Naval Strategy, one of the most remarkable chapters in that excellent book "Makers of Modern Strategy" (Princeton University Press). As early as the sixth century B. C., Kiralfy says, "the Japanese became impressed with the concept of a vessel as a means of transport rather than of fighting." Japanese naval theory is based on the transport fleet and the protective squadron, the latter supposed not to destroy the enemy's ships but rather to guard the troopships as they carry men to establish a beachhead—a term which appears in Japanese history as early as 1597. Strategically, therefore, the aim was "to inflict only that amount of damage which could be counted upon to keep an enemy away from 'troopship' waters." The ideal was never the Nelsonian one of annihilating the enemy fleet, but to derange its *plans*, in the most economical fashion—"The Japanese fleet was a dynamic barrier rather than a javelin."

Hence the eagerness to avoid fleet action ever since Midway, where the increasing American naval strength was demonstrated. "Calculated risk," dear to Anglo-American seamen, has no place in the Japanese admiral's textbook. Rather the fleet is to be kept in check until the enemy threatens "troopship waters"—which are obviously those encompassed in the "basic sea area"—and vital land operations—which are obviously those in the "defensive triangle" of the home islands, China, and Manchuria.

This is the area where Japan lives, a fortress triangle of land-based military positions. The new Premier, Koiso, is a general, a land-power man, and long an advocate of the theory that Japan's real future lies in this triangle. If anyone is capable of leading continued resistance on the mainland after an invasion of the home islands, he is the man. That is a possibility not altogether to be dismissed: Manchuria's war industries have been intensively developed; it is the base of the Kwangtung Army, which contains the most and the best Japanese divisions; and the drive to split China in two and clean up the coastal area is making fairly good progress.

The Emperor and the Premier have told the rubber-stamp Diet that Japan faces a grave crisis, in which "the life or death of the Yamato race is at stake." The new total mobilization, labor service, and "expansion and perfection of our fighting power" are being put into effect vigorously to meet this crisis; and the present Cabinet is a strong coalition, involving the industrialists with the militarists in such a way as to produce the greatest possible unity of will and effort of production at home. It is difficult to estimate what effect future reverses will have on the home front; already there are certain signs of unrest in the Cabinet shift and the juggling of prefectural authorities, who play the chief role in police work and similar local concerns. Quite probably further Allied successes will bring further Cabinet changes; but this total mobilization is serious, and it would be unwise to count on crippling breaks in home-front morale. Japan is losing its war, but it is only just where Germany was after Stalingrad and Alamein, and still a long way from defeat.

"A long way" does not necessarily mean, however, even the two years which Germany has lasted since Alamein. Allied power in the Pacific is increasing relatively faster than it did in Europe. The disappearance of

Japanese air power in outlying regions indicates a build-up of strength for an all-out battle on a new line—presumably the Philippines, to begin with. At the same time, as Secretary Forrestal has now made public, the Japanese have improved the quality of their aircraft; so that "a long and hard" fight lies ahead. The tremendous reorganization of the enemy's aircraft industry includes experiments on engines of 2,500 horse-power, multi-gunned cannon and machine-gun turrets, self-sealing fuel tanks, and improved armor. But it seems doubtful that these improved models can be brought into full production in time to achieve decisive results. Moreover, the already precarious shipping situation between the Indies and Japan has been worsened by close-in air and submarine attack; this has resulted in a worsening in the air situation, for planes are being diverted to convoy shipping. All in all, Japan faces the race for time that Germany has already lost: it must consolidate the "basic sea area" and the "defensive triangle" before the end of the European war releases unprecedented masses of ships, planes, guns, and tanks against the shrinking empire.

Finally, there is the human element, expressed to me in a recent letter from a United States naval lieutenant: "The reason we beat the Japanese out here is not because we have more or better ships or planes or guns; it's because we have more courage, daring, and imagination. Also, we're a lot crazier than the Japanese, and most of us are anxious to get home."

The Big-Power Peace

BY LOUIS FISCHER

FOR eight or ten or twelve years after the end of this war there will be no major war because no country will have the physical and moral strength to launch another world conflict. This is a safe assumption; it is a basic consideration in any discussion of the peace. By the time Germany and Japan are defeated, they will have been seriously weakened by the destruction of their industries, communications, and man-power. In fact, that is why they will be defeated. Later, Allied occupation and control as well as punitive measures will further reduce if they do not completely destroy Germany's and Japan's ability to make war.

To prevent German and Japanese aggression in the future is the first task of the peace settlement. Because of the undermining of German and Japanese might and the overwhelming power of the victorious nations, it is certain also to be the easiest task. Far more complicated, and of course no less important, is the business of removing the fundamental causes of war and organizing the world for prolonged peace and prosperity. The Dumbarton Oaks conference and various United Nations commissions have been nibbling at this great problem.

Dumbarton Oaks has served the extremely valuable purpose of revealing the basic ideas of the participating governments on future peace arrangements. In view of this clarification the complaints about the secrecy enveloping the conference are not only obviously partisan but stupid. The little reporter may regret his inability to attend sessions where diplomats haggle, bargain, and weigh the words of a document. But to the observer of the political scene the Dumbarton Oaks meeting has been a godsend; now, at last, we know what we previously suspected.

One fact that emerges from Dumbarton Oaks is more significant than anything that has emerged from any other conference or official statement about the peace settlement: in the New York *Times* of August 23 James B. Reston wired from Washington that he had "obtained from an unimpeachable source the following digest of the three plans" which the American, British, and Soviet governments submitted to the Dumbarton Oaks meeting. Reston's dispatch actually quoted from the texts of the official plans. "The American plan," Reston wrote," stipulates that in order to use force to prevent aggression, the four permanent members (the United States, Russia, China, and Great Britain) must vote for it unanimously." Further, "Like the British and American plans, the Russian vests the power to prevent and repel aggression in a World Council dominated by the great powers, each with a veto power." Mr. Reston repeated these statements in subsequent dispatches, and they have been confirmed by others. For instance, Senator Connally, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, declared on September 5 on the floor of the Senate that "under the American plan the United States delegate to the proposed League Council would always be able to veto any proposal to use force against an aggressor."

What does this mean? It means, unmistakably, that the new world organization could not stop the aggression of its own leading big members. For if the United States, say, committed an act of aggression it would veto measures against itself; and similarly, Great Britain, or Russia, or China—or France if admitted later as a great power—could prevent the use of force against itself if it attacked another country.

Only the Chinese plan suggests that "a party to a dispute, whether or not a permanent member of the council, shall have no right to vote in any decision relating to the dispute" (New York *Times,* August 31). But this deviation was put down to Chinese ignorance of Western civilization.

In other words, the new world organization would probably be in a position to prevent aggression by the defeated Axis powers—unless one great power vetoed measures even against such aggression—but could in no event interfere with American, British, Russian, or Chinese aggression. Walter Lippmann, who has made himself the spokesman of every reactionary proposal for the future peace settlement, openly urges such a limitation. In his *Herald Tribune* column of June 3 last he said, "In the charter of the new league open to all peace-loving states we need not and should not incorporate any commitment to use military force. We should base the new league not on the principle of enforcing world peace but on the principle of continual consultation." And what about Germany and Japan? The pledge to use force against them should be embodied in separate "treaties, by which, for the period of their probation, we settle with Germany in Europe and with Japan in Asia."

The post-war plans of the big three show clearly that the peace settlement on which the governments are laboring is designed not as a system to end aggression and war for all time, and not as a structure to solve world problems, but rather as a scheme for dealing with the vanquished. This is necessary, but it is woefully inadequate.

In granting the big four—actually only the big three, since China's admission to the exalted company is nothing more than a polite gesture—freedom to engage in aggression, these plans merely recognize existing conditions. Suppose the United States attacked Mexico or Peru or Argentina. Russia and England would not have the military means of coping with such a situation. Suppose Russia violated the territory of Rumania or Poland or Czechoslovakia. How soon and how effectively could England or America intervene? Who could stop Britain from seizing Abyssinia or Tunis?

After the elimination of Germany, Japan, Italy, and France as effective great powers, Russia, America, and the British Empire, with their enormous industrial and man-power resources, will each automatically become the arbiter of a large area beyond their frontiers. The new world organization hatched at Dumbarton Oaks and elsewhere will legalize the supremacy of each big power in its sphere. The American plan, according to Mr. Reston, "proposes that whenever possible the forces of each country shall be used in its natural region. Thus if a Balkan state committed an act of aggression or appeared to be ready to do so and the World Council decided to take action against it to prevent or repel that aggression, the security league council under the American plan would 'direct,' say, Russia, to use the stipulated quota of its army and air force against the potential aggressor. Similarly, always provided the United States representative on the council had not exercised his veto power, the council could, if aggression took place, say, in Cuba, or somewhere in the Pacific, direct the United States to apply a certain amount of its army or air force against that aggressor." Here Mr. Reston once more emphasized that the official source of his information had "seen and studied" the American and other plans.

Interestingly enough, the idea of the regional use of the armed forces of the big three is likewise found in an article in the Leningrad *Star* of recent date. This article, some seven thousand words long and signed by M. Malinin, was wired to the State Department in Washington, which multigraphed and distributed it in this country. It is a close forecast and justification of the Russian plan that was laid before the Dumbarton Oaks meeting.

"The responsibility for guarding the peace," writes Malinin, "must not be divided among sixty or more states, must not be intrusted to an impersonal organization, but must rest upon those few big states which have the real force necessary for this purpose. . . . We would consider it very important that the great powers take upon themselves appropriate obligations regarding active participation in the struggle with aggression not merely on the basis of such declarative pacts but also on the basis of treaties concluded with one another. [Page Walter Lippmann.—L. F.] In these treaties there must be defined as precisely as possible the role of each power in extinguishing this or that center of aggression. This role, of course, will not be the same for each power, and will depend on a number of political, geographic, and strategic conditions." This is a definite plea for the demarcation of three spheres, in each of which the military strength of one of the three big powers will be paramount and the political influence of that power, therefore, decisive.

What we are coming to is peace through dictatorship. According to the present streamlined "design," Russia will be the dictator in one large region of the earth, Britain the mistress of another, and America the colossus astride a third. (Simultaneously, of course, lip service will be paid to internationalism, and there will even be an international organization with a world court and an assembly of sixty or seventy big and small nations.) Great powers which wish to intervene in the domestic affairs of small nations in their respective spheres will at first meet little opposition. Already the tendency is toward big-power intervention to shape the policies and the personnel of the governments of lesser states. The independence of small nations after this war will depend on the benevolence of the big nations. Some countries will be independent in name and colonies in fact.

This was not always true. A greater number of nations used to be strong enough to resist outside interference in their internal affairs, and, besides, they could hope for aid from friends and neighbors. But with the de facto recognition of spheres of influence, which in turn translates into political terms the three-power cartel of war-making power, small aggrieved nations will have no means of redress. The monopolistic concentration of strength achieves the same results in the political as in the business field—it crushes the little fellow.

This is why I do not believe that any mechanism or international organization that will now be set up can advance the cause of maintaining peace. It may gather labor statistics and worry about opium traffic and codify laws, but it cannot lay the foundation of lasting peace. So let the big three make their treaties to sit on Germany and Japan, and, for the rest, nothing will be lost if the world peace society or league now contemplated is never born. It would merely be dust in the eyes of the common people of the world. Good folks everywhere would put their trust in it and think, wrongly, that humanity was making progress toward the organization of peace and economic well-being.

Some will argue that we should take what little there is in the new league and try to add to it. I see it differently: even if there is no league, maybe even if there were no treaties to keep down the Axis enemy states, there would be no war for ten years after the end of this one. This interval of peace through exhaustion will be the most decisive in world history; in this period the peace will be won or lost. During this period true democrats and internationalists in all countries must carry on a tremendous fight to create the kind of changed world in which alone there can be peace. It will be a great crusade, a crusade to save the peace. We are entering upon a bleak phase of history, but it will be brightened by rumblings of popular dissatisfaction and then open protests against the peace through dictatorship that is now crystallizing. Asia and Europe surely, and perhaps Latin America and Africa too, will not long remain passive under the new world regime. The function of free men everywhere will be to guide, organize, and otherwise aid the inevitable world revulsion against the lost peace. A peace though lost can still be won.

The beginning of this struggle must be an unwavering realization that the statesmen of the great victors have again, as in 1919, muffed the opportunity. The League of Nations, the Locarno treaties, the Kellogg Pact, and similar instruments created the illusion of successful steps toward the bolstering of peace. Let us, at least, have no illusions this time.

The new league will probably be established, and the United States will probably join it. But it will simply be camouflage for a spheres-of-influence peace. The real battle for the peace begins when the diplomats finish.

In the Wind

EVERYTHING, IT SEEMS, is a New Deal plot—even the Russo-Polish boundary dispute. Now that the Poles are beginning to make concessions, *Barron's* recalls that it "reported weeks ago that before election Joe [Stalin] might do something in a big way to help elect his friend Franklin. Already there seems real hope of a Polish settlement which may assuage the anger of the normally Democratic 'Polish vote' in several key states." That—wobbly syntax and all—is the sort of stuff our responsible business leaders read.

THE UNITED STATES OFFICE OF EDUCATION reports that high-school enrolments have dropped more than 300,000 every school year since the beginning of the war, and the rate of decline is becoming greater.

IN A STUDY OF ST. LOUIS, Missouri, as a possible place to locate post-war industries, the *Wall Street Journal* says this: "Factory labor is employed in the majority of cases on an open-shop basis. . . . Wage scales are not quite as high as in most industrial centers because of the normal plentiful supply of workers."

THE LONDON *New Statesman and Nation* reports that Lieutenant Colonel G. R. Gayre is being seriously considered for the post of chief education officer in the British Civil Administration of occupied Germany. In his recent book, "Teuton and Slav on the Polish Frontier," Colonel Gayre speaks highly of "German racial science" and discusses post-war problems entirely in terms of race.

NOW THAT WESTBROOK PEGLER'S column has been dropped by Scripps-Howard and picked up by Hearst, the San Francisco branch of the National Maritime Union has voted to secure a berth in the merchant marine for any Hearst editor who resigns in protest.

THIS LETTER from a soldier appeared not in a radical magazine but in *Time:* "Hollywood has manufactured a series of war pictures that makes soldiers overseas practically retch, and causes even entertainment-hungry troops to file out of movies before a picture ends."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Two interesting items from Belgium have come in this week, but we must pass them up, since it is quite likely that Belgium will have ceased to be a part of Festung Europa by the time this issue reaches its readers. We look forward to the day when this weekly paragraph will have to be dropped entirely. . . . In Oslo, a city of 250,000 people, there are now only four filling stations, and they are reserved for the Nazis and for "privileged persons." . . . The Norwegian underground has discovered what the Nazis' next secret weapon will be: "A large white flag on a long stick."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Free Spain Fights On

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

I

IT IS not rhetorical license to speak of the Spanish Republic in Exile. Considering itself only temporarily defeated, the Republic went into exile at the end of the Spanish War. It went *en masse,* and that fact alone would distinguish the Spanish from any other political emigration.

When, in February, 1939, Germany and Italy, enjoying the advantages which the betrayal of Munich had given them, poured war material and men into Spain in sufficient quantities to smash the Catalonian front, everyone on the Loyalist side who could reach the border left Spain for France. This exodus was not like others, which have included only persons who were politically responsible or directly exposed to the danger of reprisal. This was a people's expression of its hate for fascism, a supreme gesture of repudiation. People left Spain who had not participated directly in the fight, who had not intervened in politics. But they all had a clearer idea of what was happening in Europe than many statesmen, experts in foreign affairs, or distinguished writers and commentators, who began to know the truth only a year or two later. Mingling with the retreating armies, complicating the job of the military commanders, hundreds of thousands of people poured into France—there to be interned by a reactionary French government.

And not in numbers alone has the Spanish emigration differed from others. Together with that great mass of people, every organized element of Republican political life—parties and workers' organizations—evacuated the country. Of course, a formidable number of Republicans remained, men and women whose spirit has never once broken during five years of terror and oppression, whose daily behavior since March, 1939, is the surest proof of the unreality, the ephemeral nature, of Franco's victory. Here is a people eminently Republican, democratic, pro-Allied.

Every concentration camp in France became, in its way, a continuation of the battle in Spain. Nine out of ten French officers in charge of those camps were enemies of "Red Spain"; they could never understand how the "wretched Spaniards," emaciated by hunger, wrapped in rags, with the mark of three years of terrible strain upon their bodies and faces, could continue to be so firm and so proud—and so determined not to allow the hostility of the French fascists to wear them down. The situation in the French camps became a great international scandal, but it did not succeed in defeating the Spanish exiles. In Paris, after the outbreak of the war, during the autumn of 1939 and the winter of 1940, when the examination of foreigners became very severe, the Minister of the Interior, Albert Sarraut, rather sympathetic to the Spanish Republicans, amused himself by telling the following story: "The police come into a Parisian cafe. At most of the tables the people at once become silent and frightened. They are refugees of various nationalities. The police approach them, and ask for their papers. Their papers are in perfect order. At a table in one corner there is a crowd of young men, shouting, discussing, eating, paying not the slightest attention to the police. The police come to their table, ask for their papers. Not one has papers that are in order. It is hardly necessary to say that these are Spaniards."

Every Spanish exile, in or out of a concentration camp, felt that he had fulfilled his duty to the cause of freedom, and he could not understand why a nation fighting the same enemy he had fought for three years should regard him as a suspicious character. This bewilderment increased as the battle went on. The greatest ambition of the Spanish refugee in France was to join in the fight against fascism. The fact that they had been treated in the most unconscionable way in the country of the Rights of Man did not lessen their desire. But the French administration took a different view. When a Spanish Republican—aviator, technician, or simple soldier—went to a French draft bureau to offer his services, he was lucky if he was merely thrown out into the street; in general, he risked capture and shipment to a concentration camp.

And that was the case not only in France. Without concentration camps, with better manners, the other democratic countries treated the Spanish exiles as a dangerous and unwelcome lot. Even today, in September, 1944, on the eve of victory in Europe, every Spanish Republican in England or America finds tremendous obstacles impeding his movements and the performance of his duty toward his country. During the course of years the need for personnel with a knowledge of Spanish has become increasingly pressing, and a certain number of Spanish Republicans have gone into the war agencies of the United Nations. Throwing aside any feeling of resentment, they soon gave evidence of their enthusiasm and their loyalty to the Allied cause.

Not only when they were given an opportunity to prove their sentiments, but even when every means was denied them, the Spanish Republicans continued to serve the Allies. It did not seriously worry Martínez, one of my assistants in the General Commissariat of War, when Allied officials were too slow in providing him with the papers he required to move from one country to another. He found the way out of all bureaucratic difficulties by compressing his personal effects into the compass of a water-proof belt of his own creation. Then he had only to wait for a dark night to swim across the broad river which separated one country from another. "And yet," he swore in Spanish, "the bastards will get me one day and shoot me as a spy." He was referring to the Allies. The possibility of being shot by the Fascists was too commonplace to be worth mention.

In Latin America every Spanish refugee has become an Allied propagandist fighting unceasingly against the Falange, as any truly democratic representative of the United States, like Claude G. Bowers, the ambassador in Chile, can testify.

That the Spanish Republicans were looked upon as "reds," Communists, undesirables, by many of the Allied authorities when they dared ask a consulate for a pass which would allow them to attend a meeting of Spanish Republicans in another country has neither dampened their feelings nor affected their dignity. They have not complained either in private or in public. I don't think that during these four years the New York *Times* has once found it necessary to decide whether or not to print a letter of complaint from a Spanish Republican. They have blinked at every kind of unfair , inaccurate, or tendencious report.

Even though they do not harbor any ill-feeling against the democracies which let the Spanish Republic down, it is easy to understand that the political émigrés have an especially warm regard for the Spanish-speaking American countries which have accepted them in great numbers. Particularly for Mexico. It is not only gratitude for material things. It is not only that in Mexico they have been able to live the life of dignified, free human beings once again. It is that in Mexico they have not heard a voice like Churchill's lauding the regime which was Hitler's ally until the imminent approach of his defeat. Nor an Archbishop Spellman, who found it possible to reconcile his Christian feelings with admiration for the dictator who has been a brutal Spanish disciple of Himmler. In Mexico, on the contrary, the highest dignitary of the state, President Avila Camacho, considered it his privilege to come before the greatest gathering of Spanish Republicans ever held in the Mexican capital and to say: "I have come here today to tell you that the Axis aggression began in Spain and that you are the only Spain that Mexico recognizes and loves."

II

From the beginning of the Spanish War it was perfectly clear to the Loyalists that they were battling for the survival of the democratic world. Therefore, after the war against the Axis in Spain became a world war, as it had to become if the Republic was defeated, Spanish refugees and anti-fascists inside Spain continued to be part of one fighting front.

All this is today not history but a matter of supreme political significance for the correct understanding of Spanish developments, present and future. The fact that the battle is still the same and that the people who have fought in exile and inside Spain were members of the same Republican army excludes any possibility of real conflict between Spanish Republicans in exile and the movement of resistance within the country. No exiled leader who is truly a leader of his people can believe that what anti-fascists inside Spain may do and think is of secondary importance. That would be patently ridiculous. On the other hand, no serious Republican fighter in Spain will pretend that he and his comrades are the only ones who can take leadership in the reconstruction, or that the exile parties and organizations of the Republic, to which they belong and from which they came, are merely refugee groups carrying no particular weight. It is the exact coincidence of the political structure and aims of the Spanish Republic in Exile and the internal movement of resistance that gives strength to the Republican cause.

If there have been political differences and disputes, they have been among the refugees themselves. The importance of these differences has been greatly exaggerated, to the distress of our friends and the joy of our enemies. But less has been heard or written about the considerable current of constructive thought and discussion which has occupied the Spanish emigration.

Out of that discussion has grown a clear image of the post-war Spain which the majority of the Spanish refugees envisage—a Spain which, by its national policy as well as by its position in international affairs, will justify the hopes which plain men everywhere placed in it during its epic struggle. Even among moderate Republican groups it would be difficult to find anyone who does not accept the inevitability of a new social structure in Spain. Most Spanish refugees believe that a radical and rapid transformation of the forms of land ownership is indispensable; they are against cartels; they are for labor; they are for collective control of basic services and resources. They believe, in one word, that politically, socially, and economically the republic of 1945 must be much more progressive than the republic of 1931.

In the domain of foreign affairs the majority of the Spanish refugees favor a world organization which will really secure a democratic peace. They are determined to speak for the rights of the peoples with the same frankness with which the Spanish Republic spoke at Geneva, when we incurred the displeasure of the great powers, whose policy of capitulation to the aggressors we considered fatal. The Spanish refugees would support any working system of world federation, but until such a project is realized, they see Spain, within the community of the United Nations, working closely with the other Latin countries—France, Italy, Portugal—and with the Ibero-American republics, which Republican Spain considers its natural allies. Here is a kind of Hispanic Americanism which is the exact antithesis to the pro-fascist *Hispanidad* of Franco and which flows naturally from the extraordinary feeling of kinship awakened by the Spanish War. Nowhere was the Loyalist cause more popular than among the peoples of Latin America. Nowhere is it more popular today; and the United Nations, particularly the United States, should keep that in mind, for the Spanish Republic will play an important role in the years to come in the democratic development of that part of the Western Hemisphere.

As far as Russia is concerned, the large majority of the refugees have resented bitterly the anti-Russian outbursts of a certain small minority. They are in full accord with Dr. Negrín's position that only one great state, with which Spain had not even normal diplomatic relations when the war started, knew how to honor its international engagements and to maintain intact the principle of collective security on which its foreign policy was based: the Soviet Union.

It is all very well, now that the war is nearly won, to claim that Republican refugees have exaggerated the danger to the Allies which was represented by the Franco regime. When the Axis version of the war is finally published, we shall learn whether or not, on at least two occasions, Madrid considered coming into the war on the side of Hitler. But in denouncing Franco's complicity with the Axis, first under the guise of "non-belligerency," then under the guise of neutrality, we have never given as much importance to the possibility that Spain might enter the war as to the greater services Franco was rendering Hitler in the field of sabotage, spying, deliveries of essential materials for German war industries, and especially by trying to win for the fascist idea the Spanish American republics. Even now, when the Allied armies are fighting on the German frontier, the Franco gang is still helping the Nazis. The Moscow radio was right in pointing out two weeks ago that Fascist Spain has welcomed as many fugitives from Vichy as possible and as many Germans as succeeded in slipping in before the Fighting French seized the frontier. No denial from the Franco embassy in Washington weighs a gram. As José Antonio de Aguirre, last president of the Basque government and Catholic leader, said in the New York *Herald Tribune* on September 6, nothing is more pitiable than to see the Franco embassy in Washington protesting a five-minutes-after-twelve love for the democracies.

III

I am not, in a spirit of childish patriotism, claiming special gifts of political intuition for the Spanish Republicans. But perhaps it will not be considered presumptuous if I point out that they have had considerable experience in the fight against reaction. Some of the older members of the Spanish emigration were active in the Spanish Socialist Party when it directed the general strike of 1917, a genuine revolutionary uprising. The Spanish Socialists were never bureaucrats; they were fighters from their earliest days. Later, they knew seven years of dictatorship under Primo de Rivera. In 1930 there was another unsuccessful revolutionary attempt to overthrow the monarchy. The following year we experienced the indescribable joy of establishing the republic. In 1934, only three years later, we were fighting fascism in the streets again, and in Asturias the Moorish troops, brought especially from Morocco, were hunting down the miners like wild beasts. But as Franco's prisoners in Madrid used to sing on the morning they were led to execution, "All our lives they have given us more beatings than a dirty rug, but the last beating will be by the people."

That is why appeasement has never flourished in the Spanish emigration, whether it was attempted by the right or the left. An inspiring proof of this was given last spring in connection with the dispute which arose between Dr. Negrín and the Spanish Communists, about which only very incomplete versions have been published in this country. In a few words, this is what happened. In response to Indalecio Prieto's creation in Mexico of the *Junta de Liberación,* distinctly anti-Communist and anti-Soviet in character, the Spanish Communists launched a great propaganda campaign for a *Junta Suprema de Liberación Nacional* in Madrid, to which they assigned the leadership and direction of the entire resistance movement. In London the *Hogar Español,* a Spanish refugee organization, planned a meeting in support of the Madrid Junta; in the invitation the name of Dr. Negrín was used in such a way as to create the impression that he was behind the new group. Dr. Negrín sent a very severe letter to the president of the *Hogar Español,* sharply criticizing the way the story of the Junta had been exploited. As a result, *España Popular,* the Spanish Communist weekly in Mexico, published an editorial which was considered by Negrín's followers, and even by refugees of other political groups, an outrageous attack on the head of the last Spanish Republican government. So much has been told in the American press. But more important than the recorded facts was the reaction of the Spanish refugees to the policy embodied in the "Pact of Alliance with the Catholics," signed by the new Junta in Madrid.

I arrived in Mexico in March when the controversy was at its peak. The opposition of the refugees to any alliance with the clerical elements in Spain was overwhelming. No one can pretend, in an attempt to dismiss the matter lightly, that criticism came only from political leaders who were afraid that a movement inside Spain might cost them future positions or influence. No. Most outspoken in opposition to the pact were workers with a long revolutionary tradition, men who had always favored unity of action with the Communists but who stood firmly against any political alliance with the church.

There was no dogmatic anti-religious feeling in this position. Thousands and thousands of excellent Catholics—to begin with, the entire Basque country—had fought together with other Spanish democrats against Axis aggression. What the Spanish refugees refused to do was to appease, to admit into the Republican ranks those Catholics who had been with Franco and had given their benediction to the terror which followed the war. This was not merely a national attitude. In the international field the Spanish Republicans are much alarmed to see the Vatican, with the encouragement of important elements in the Allied countries, becoming a leading factor in the political organization of Europe.

Unity, yes, but "no unity with fascists," as I said in my article in *The Nation* of June 3. Or, as Dr. Negrín pointed out in his letter to the president of the *Hogar Español*, "When I have spoken of unity for the reconquest of Spain, I have always and very clearly spoken about unity based upon the constitution and its institutions. . . . But unity without confusion and without collusion." And he urged that the ranks be held until the Republic should be restored and the people given an opportunity to choose the kind of government they want.

In spite of the opinion of some observers that the disunity among Republicans is too embittered and profound to be overcome, I am convinced that unity can be achieved. An important step in that direction may be taken not long after the publication of this article. Unity can only be built around Negrín. He is the man who holds the constitutional powers which were effective at the formal end of the war, and his government received a unanimous vote of confidence at the last meeting of the Cortes held on Spanish soil. We do not intend to make a fetish of constitutional legality. But the fact that there is at hand a person who embodies the continuity of the government, besides having other qualifications, provides the Spanish Republic in Exile with a solution of its immediate political problem. As long as the Prime Minister remains, the rest of the Cabinet can be changed to conform with the present balance of political forces.

Many things may happen in the weeks to come. I say again—the Spanish Republic in Exile is not a rhetorical conception. Very soon it may become an articulate, fully operating reality. When that moment comes, there will be no longer an excuse for the Allied chancelleries to try to prolong the existence of a fascist regime or for minority groups to improvise any last-minute substitute.

Civil Affairs Comme Il Faut

BY CAPTAIN COX AND LIEUTENANT BOX

Normandy, August, 5

OUR detachment left the organized chaos of the American Civil Affairs Center at double quick. We were the smallest type of Civil Affairs detachment—four officers, two British and two American, and six American enlisted men. Having been ground through the Sausage, an amazingly appropriate name for the marshaling area, we arrived at port to embark, our date for landing being D-14, the twentieth of June. We had not reckoned with the weather, however, which was extremely stormy, and after cruising about in the Channel for approximately a week, we finally landed on D-20. The approaches to the beach and the beach itself were strewn with the wreckage of ships of all types which had been pounded against each other and sunk. Even the big concrete breakwaters had been broken up. For all that, there were some hundreds of ships in sight, and a swarm of Ducks, LST's, and LSM's were tearing about all over the place. The Ducks were driven by colored soldiers who released at intervals loud hoots of joy. Aircraft were taking off and landing on the strips behind the beaches, their wheels blowing up clouds of dust.

Our first days ashore were spent in another Civil Affairs pool almost as well disorganized as the one we had left behind in England, with an equally irrelevant training schedule which we successfully ducked. Fortunately, in two days we were moving to corps headquarters, where we lived in a ditch and listened to the guns. The Germans were busy shelling the bridge which gave entry to the town from the north.

We, in our ditch, were waiting to go to a town assigned us some way to the south. But as this obviously would not be captured for about a fortnight, the SCAO at corps headquarters decided he would have us set up a refugee camp. Accordingly, we were instructed to take over a large farm which had a number of wooden huts in various stages of repair scattered about the grounds and had previously been used as a hospital by the Germans. The owner was the local mayor. We called upon him and took two glasses of Bordeaux apiece and half the house to live in. This rather surprised our Colonel, who didn't realize that we were going to be so comfortable while he still existed in his little foxhole. The Germans had left tables, chairs, and beds, all of the hospital variety, and we quickly made ourselves extraordinarily snug, with an office, a dining-room, a storeroom, three bedrooms, and no bath. Although the building is a really magnificent seventeenth-century farmhouse with a central staircase and high paneled rooms, the sanitation consists of an outside lavatory which would shock the hill-billies of West Virginia.

Our first refugees were an interesting group of ten Spanish Loyalists who had fled to France in 1939, been caught by the Germans in 1940, and set to work for the Todt organization. They had been in a camp run by the French in St. Sauveur, but as it appeared that they were not being properly cared for there, they were brought to our place. They were very willing to work for nothing more than food, shelter, and cigarettes, and soon had our offices and quarters, as well as their own barracks, in livable condition. Since they spoke no English and we spoke no Spanish, communication was at first difficult but was finally achieved through the medium of a bastard French containing elements of both the other languages. One of them had formerly been a captain in the International Brigade, and another described himself as third-best chess player in the world, having once been beaten by the man, whoever he was, who had been beaten by the champion, whoever he was. They are grand workers, and having elected their own boss, they are very well disciplined.

One day we went over to a big refugee camp north of Fontenay to see what conditions were like there. This camp has approximately a thousand refugees speaking thirteen languages, and the management is having a devil of a time. A number of Russian women who have married German soldiers don't know what they want except to get out of the camp and generally make trouble. There are also ten French prostitutes, registered or otherwise, who appear to be assisting the French community to return to normal under the familiar motto of "Business as usual." What with trying to feed its charges, prevent civil war, and stop people from leaving the camp at their will, the detachment at Fontenay has its hands full.

We had fond hopes of getting our place fitted out a bit better, and to that end organized daily scrounging expeditions. With the jeep and trailer we proceeded through darkest France from town to town and dump to dump, netting such valuables as several hundred square feet of tar paper, bundles of nails, stoves, beds (German), mattresses, food, mess equipment, blankets, towels, clothing, medical stores, and German notepaper, to say nothing of a case of cognac which we reserved for the staff and marked *"Pour militaire seulement."*

In two days we were ready for the first customers, and on the third day about 140 suddenly arrived in trucks, and all was pandemonium. Never in the course of human history have so many said so much in so little time. An interpreter being lacking, the arrivals were registered by such members of the detachment as felt they could muster enough French to inquire name, age, and occupation and understand the responses. The families seemed to breed in the very room; there was always one more child popping up from somewhere. Also, as each family prepared to leave the registration desk, it would be discovered that *la grand'mère* was still standing in the corner clutching her identity card, incapable of speech. By eleven o'clock, however, all were fed and put to bed.

The next day we received a stream of requests for passes to visit alleged relatives in all parts of the peninsula. Since we were expected to keep refugees off the roads in order to prevent their interfering with military traffic, we tried to sift the requests and only permitted visits to nearby villages.

After we had got the place thoroughly organized, the powers decided to send us four women French liaison officers to assist us. We were assured by the French liaison officers at headquarters that we should find them charming, at least half English, and altogether delightful companions. This, indeed, proved to be true; they were young, attractive, and intelligent. An excellent mess was organized, and as one of the girls was a superfine cook, we had a magnificent apple pie which brought tears to the eyes of all the Americans and started a furious argument as to who first thought of eating cheese with it, Yorkshire or America. We also had another most agreeable guest, Lieutenant Smith of the United States navy, a specialist in fine arts and monuments who was touring the peninsula checking up on the condition of all works of art mentioned in the special Civil Affairs list. Each day he consulted with official architects about what must be done to restore the relics of France's glorious past, and each morning before he set out he fried the bacon and eggs for our breakfast. If he was as good an art specialist as he was a cook, the cultural future of France is in safe hands.

The Spanish refugees were the backbone of our camp. We were shocked, however, to see with what hostility they were regarded by the Mayor and his wife and even by the French refugees. They were all classified as Communists, and as such were regarded with deep suspicion, despite the fact that they alone among all the people at our camp had been fighting the fascists since 1936. Our French liaison officers, those otherwise intelligent young women, also displayed prejudice against a Russian and a Polish refugee. The Russian, a soldier in the Red Army, had been captured by the Germans and forced to work for the Todt organization. The Pole, a civilian, had also been put to forced labor. Our gentle liaison officers were all for sending these two unfortunates to the Fontenay camp, where the conditions, we knew, were chaotic. It is to be feared that this attitude of the French, if it prevails throughout the country, is going to be a serious hindrance to the ultimate happiness of Europe.

Polls, Propaganda, Politics

The Polish American Vote

THE voting intentions of Polish Americans in the Presidential election are important not only for their influence on its outcome but also because this group is alleged to have a special interest in the Russian-Polish controversy. Voters of Polish birth or extraction number more than 100,000 in each of seven states—Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York, Michigan, Ohio, Massachusetts, and Connecticut—whose electoral votes total 179. The Gallup poll, in its preliminary survey, has given 4 of those states, with 119 electoral votes, to Dewey and 3, with 60, to Roosevelt.

The Bureau of Applied Social Research conducted a survey of 522 Polish Americans (Catholics) in the New York area to learn how they plan to vote, how they voted in 1940, and what are their reasons for their intentions. The results show that President Roosevelt has held his strength, with almost no loss, among the Polish Americans who had made up their minds. Almost nine of every ten who had picked their candidate planned to vote for him (F. D. R., 88 per cent; T. D., 12 per cent). This represents no change from 1940, when 89 per cent voted for Roosevelt and 11 per cent for Willkie.

That there is some hesitation, however, is clear from the fact that one of every five respondents said that he was still undecided about his November choice. Indecision was more frequent in the group that had voted for Roosevelt in 1940 than in the group that had voted for Willkie: 24 per cent of formerly Democratic voters were undecided; 16 per cent of the Republicans.

Two factors probably account for this greater hesitancy of 1940 Democrats to make up their minds. One is that the Democrats are more likely to come from low-income groups; other studies have showed that low-income people make up their minds later in the campaign. The second factor relates to the current political attitude of Polish Americans. Although their vote is traditionally Democratic, they feel apprehensive at this time about Roosevelt's stand in the Russian-Polish controversy. This apprehension seems to be of a rather complex psychological nature.

When the 96 subjects who had voted Democratic in 1940 but who did not yet know for whom they would vote this fall were questioned by English-speaking interviewers, only a very few showed any concern with Polish affairs. When a Polish-speaking analyst, however, making a more detailed study, discussed current affairs with several dozen people, the Eastern European issue loomed larger. Poland's situation seems, then, to be a matter of concern to American Poles rather than a definite factor in their voting decision. This explains why the bureau found a hesitancy among some respondents to commit themselves to voting Democratic as in 1940, rather than a shift to the Republican Party.

In general, the Poles seem to follow the political mood of the community in which they live, with the superimposed tendency to vote Democratic. Thus in one of the sample areas which usually goes Republican, Long Island, indecision about a candidate was strongest. More than half the Polish Americans there have not yet made up their minds. In lower Manhattan, an old Tammany stronghold, and in New Jersey, where the Hague machine is influential, indecision is less marked and committed Roosevelt votes are more numerous.

From the more detailed case studies it appears that a kind of national sensitivity is developing among Poles in the Democratic machine, which is often controlled by Irish and other groups whose immigration preceded the Polish. The Poles apparently feel that they do not have enough influence or political jobs. Some turn therefore to the Republican organization in the hope that they will have more weight there. And when a politically active or prominent Polish American makes this shift, he is likely to carry others with him.

The Polish vote, then, in the New York metropolitan area is still overwhelmingly available to the Democratic Party, but areas of uncertainty are developing which are worth the attention of party managers.

BUREAU OF APPLIED SOCIAL RESEARCH
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

REASON, WISDOM, INTELLIGENCE, forces of the mind and heart, whom I have always devoutly invoked, come to me, aid me, sustain my feeble voice; carry it, if that may be, to all the peoples of the world, and diffuse it everywhere where there are men of good-will to hear the beneficent truth! A new order of things is born. The powers of evil die, poisoned by their crime. The greedy and the cruel, the devourers of peoples, are bursting with an indigestion of blood. However sorely stricken by the sins of their blind or corrupt masters, mutilated, decimated, the proletarians remain erect; they will unite to form one universal proletariat, and we shall see fulfilled the great Socialist prophecy: "The union of the workers will be the peace of the world." —ANATOLE FRANCE, *September 6, 1919.*

THIS WEEK, SO THE PAPERS SAY, General Pershing will march up Fifth Avenue at the head of the famous First Division. . . . Probably this will be the last of the great parades in New York. The chapter is closed. The world has been made safe for—democracy-in-moderation, as Ibsen would say. Except for a few thousand Americans left on the Rhine, a few other thousands in Siberia, and a few others engaged in manifestations within the territory of our southern neighbors, we are at peace with the world.—JAMES RORTY, *September 13, 1919.*

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DESCRIBE the blank pessimism which is all but universal in Germany today. People are hopeless, without faith in God, themselves, their rulers, the Allies, or the neutrals; in capitalism or Bolshevism; in democracy, revolution, or monarchy. And they are too tired and half-starved to care. The casual visitor to Berlin, Frankfurt, or other German cities today finds little change—the streets a bit dirtier, the policing laxer; but the theaters full, the cafes crowded, the main streets gay. Behind this façade is a despair such as only a people with the intense self-consciousness of the Germans can know.—LEWIS S. GANNETT, *September 27, 1919.*

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Garibaldi's Return

BY MARIO BELLINI

IN THE fateful period when the Italian underground closed ranks to prepare for the downfall of Mussolini, a slogan appeared chalked on the many statues of Garibaldi: "Return, Giuseppe!" Garibaldi has returned to the Italian people. A Garibaldi division exists today in Yugoslavia, fourteen Garibaldi brigades are active in northern and central Italy, and one is fighting in Poland.

Strange as it may seem, the Allies have consistently rebuffed this great popular force. In the liberated cities and villages notices have been posted requiring all persons carrying arms to surrender them under penalty of death. In Florence, where the Partisans suffered particularly heavy losses while fighting German snipers and Fascist traitors, the Allied authorities requested them to stop their activities. The official explanation is that the guerrilla forces are useful only behind the lines. But this leaves out the political reasons. The guerrilla forces are on the whole leftist, anti-monarchist. The Allies in Italy are on the whole rightist and monarchist. The Allied authorities are disbanding the Partisans, not out of military considerations, as they pretend, but because they fear the spread of radical political ideas.

Nothing would be easier for the Allies than to organize the Partisan forces in liberated Italy into regular units. But the King does not want an army of volunteers which refuses to swear allegiance, as the regular army has sworn, to "the King and his royal successors for the indivisible good of King and country." Nor do the Allies want such an army. Italy must not acquire too many rights through its contribution to the war effort; especially it must not acquire the right to become an ally, since the terms of the 1943 armistice must be enforced in full. In the hope of holding his crown, the King accepted those terms, one of which it is said, limits the Italian army to 14,000 men.

Logically, to justify their policy, the Allies minimize the contribution the Partisans are making to the war. Lacking information, the newspapers here give little space to their activities, and the American public is constantly kept in the dark about the facts. The Italians know all this and resent it bitterly. They believe, justly, that the Allies want to convey the impression that Italians are unable to administer their own affairs, that they were not born for self-government, and that therefore a strong monarchy is essential.

But if the Allies reject the Partisans once the battle is won, they gladly make use of their courage and organization behind the German lines. General Sir Harold Alexander's statement that the Italian Partisans are forcing the Germans to keep six divisions in the occupied zones is a most authentic tribute to the strength of the patriotic Italian movement. In a message to the Partisans, General Alexander said: "The day will come when the whole world will learn the story of the sacrifices and the heroism of the Italian Partisans. All Italy will be grateful to them."

To obtain the greatest possible cooperation from these guerrilla forces, General Alexander has subdivided occupied Italy into six zones of operation, each of which receives special instructions at opportune moments. The instructions to the patriots are issued by a mixed Allied-Italian command and are transmitted by radio and by leaflets dropped from airplanes. This command has already sent men with receiving and transmitting radio sets into the zones occupied by the patriots.

General Kesselring himself, in a broadcast to the Italian people, found it necessary to complain that General Alexander's instructions were being carried out by the Partisans. Kesselring warned the Italians that he would not hesitate to use the most violent methods to suppress the guerrillas. But in spite of everything the Germans can do the Partisan armies carry on their fight. The importance of the guerrillas' contribution to the Allied cause was documented in a recent bulletin from the Allied command which announced that patriots had captured the city of Teramo and had turned it over to the Allies intact. The principal task assigned to the patriots by the Allied command is, however, to facilitate the Allied advance by preventing Germans from blowing up bridges and by interrupting their communications.

In the north, the entire region of Lake Como is under the control of the guerrillas, and their numbers are being rapidly reinforced in the region around Lake Maggiore. The fourteen Garibaldi brigades, the best of the Italian guerrillas, are among the most active units in the north. They are organized into military cadres, under the strictest discipline, and are generally commanded by officers of the Italian army. The patriots practically control traffic on the railway lines. Various Fascists, recognized as spies or informers for the Germans, have been sentenced to death by the military courts of the brigades and shot.

Separate units of Partisans operate in the cities. By continuous attacks and by organizing strikes, these "city-operations squads" force the enemy to maintain huge garrisons, thus diverting large contingents of troops from expeditions against the guerrillas and from joining the harassed forces of Kesselring. The list of Fascist leaders who have been killed is impressive. It includes Giovanni Gentile, the philosopher of fascism; the Fascist bosses of Milan and Bologna; and hundreds of officials of the secret police. The city in which the patriots are most active is Milan, although in Genoa, Turin, and various cities of Venetia—Padua and Verona above all—they are also well organized and very effective.

The Garibaldi Division in Yugoslavia, fighting under Tito's orders, comprises 40,000 men. For military reasons the exploits of this division have not been divulged fully, but Marshal Tito has praised it as one of his best units. Immediately following the armistice of Septemper 8, 1943, several Italian divisions in the Balkans revolted against preponderant German forces and tried to attack them. Among these were the Venezia and Alpina Taurinense divisions. The Taurinense Division suffered many losses after attacking German positions in the Cattaro and Niksic zones, in Montenegro. The Alpine troops of this division then retreated toward the positions of the Venezia Division, which, in the meantime, had succeeded in making contact by radio with the Italian Supreme Command and in obtaining the first reinforcements by air. Immediately afterward, the two divisions joined the fight at the side of Marshal Tito's Partisan forces in Montenegro. On November 15 the Italians reorganized their forces along the lines of Marshal Tito's, and reduced the two divisions to one, which was called the Garibaldi Division.

In the west, the Italian Partisan forces occupy almost the entire mountainous zone that marks the Italian-French frontier. These troops are in contact with the French Forces of the Interior across the Alps. During a recent conference the forces of the two countries coordinated their activity in the entire border area.

The existence of a Garibaldi brigade fighting in Poland has been officially announced by the Polish government in London. Not many details of the activity of this brigade are known, but it is believed to be composed of anti-Fascists who had been deported by the Germans to labor camps in Poland and there succeeded in escaping and joining the Polish guerrillas.

The best proof of the strength of the Partisan movement in Italy is given by the continuous appeals and demands of the Fascist newspapers and authorities for a cessation of the "war between brothers." In their relations with the Partisans the Fascists have always alternated strong methods with those of persuasion. But both have completely failed.

In an attempt to end, once and for all, the patriots' activities, the Fascists set March 25 last as the time limit for the Partisans to surrender to the local authorities. They announced that after that date the extermination of the guerrillas would proceed inexorably. The ultimatum produced just the opposite result, because only the timid presented themselves, while the ranks of the patriots were swelled by new recruits. The Fascists kept their word and launched repeated offensives against the Partisans; but after several weeks they had to give up the undertaking, not only because their opponents knew how to retreat, saving the greater part of their forces, but also because not a few of the Fascist units went over to the side of the Partisans.

With the advance of the Allied forces toward the north, the role of the Partisans will become even more important. Properly equipped, they can control the Alpine passes, thus facilitating the Allied march over the Alps to Berlin. More, they can constitute the nucleus of a free, democratic Italy—if the Allies will recognize them not only as temporary military aids but as the true spokesmen of the political will of their people.

[*Mr. Bellini's article gives the background for an analysis of the entire Italian political situation which Pietro Nenni, the Socialist leader, editor of the Roman* Avanti, *will contribute to this section next week.*]

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IT WOULD be an error to think that the Germans, soldiers or civilians, still cherish any illusions about the outcome of the war. The shattering course of the campaign in France has demonstrated to all of them—except, perhaps, an infinitesimal percentage of fools and idiots—the Reich's hopeless inferiority in men and equipment. They know that the loss of France and the Balkans and the blocking of communications with Spain and Portugal must have a calamitous effect on the supply of food and raw materials. They know what is in store for them with Allied aviation operating from bases on the very border of the most important German provinces. Public opinion has no longer the slightest doubt that collapse is unavoidable. Foreigners who are still in Germany and able to observe conditions are agreed on this point. A Swedish consul who had just come home was quoted by the Stockholm *Morgontidningen* of August 25 as saying: "Deep pessimism grips the German public. Everybody, even the military and political leaders in Berlin, is convinced that the situation is hopeless. The *Stimmung* has sunk far below zero." On the same day the *Arbeiterzeitung* of Schaffhausen, Switzerland, reported: "By now not only the common people but even the active Nazis consider ultimate German defeat inevitable." Such testimony could be multiplied indefinitely.

The great riddle—and the great experience—of this war is that when a whole people is convinced of the utter hopelessness of its struggle, it can still carry on the struggle. "There is no doubt," declared the Stockholm *Aftontidningen* on August 24, "that the Germans would like to surrender if they could." But why can't they? The threat of the S. S. and the Gestapo is not an adequate explanation. It may explain the attitude of civilians facing in isolation the weapons of the party machine. One may grant, though not with complete conviction, that for civilians there is nothing to do but obey. One may even grant that for the high-ranking military, commanders of armies and corps and divisions, there is nothing to do but obey. Every single one of them today is certainly surrounded by "commissars" who hear every word he says and read every word he writes. But who can prevent the lower ranks, the common soldiers and lower officers, from surrendering if they really want to? Apparently it is not force but their own impulse which makes little groups of hungry stragglers, completely cut off from their fellows, fight on for days, always at the risk of their lives, in the attempt to get back to their own troops. Clearly we have here a phenomenon like that of a machine which continues to run after its fuel is used up. The fuel of the Nazi machine, faith in victory, is now used up. Nevertheless, for a while men will go on as before. In this last phase of the war Germans are most correctly described as machines which run on automatically, according to the principle of inertia.

This is true of high as well as low. The Propaganda Ministry still turns out its stuff, but let no one think that Dr. Goebbels supposes he is actually impressing any great number of persons. His newest argument is concentrated in the little words "not yet." We are not yet at the point where the retreat can be stopped. We are not yet in position definitely to destroy the enemy. But we must hold out just a little while longer; then our moment will come. Then we shall have completed the *rasche Umrüstung* (quick change in our armament) now in progress and shall appear with incomparably destructive new weapons. In addition, we shall have obtained millions of new soldiers through "remobilization," and this "enormous reserve" will give us superiority on the battlefield. As one of countless examples an article printed in the *Westfälische Zeitung* of Essen on August 20 may be cited:

> We know that for the time being the enemy is stronger than we are and that therefore we must reckon with further retreats, even though the enemy approaches painfully close to our borders. But we know that the last word has not been spoken and that one day we shall master the situation. The main thing is to preserve our liberty of operation. That is what is behind today's events in France. The times are serious, but they should make us anything but faint-hearted. The enemy is in a hurry. He wants to force a decision before our new weapons are released. Every means and measure must be used to hold the enemy until we can resume the offensive with our new weapons.

But the people understand perfectly that it is not a matter of "not yet being strong enough"; and the dervishes of the Propaganda Ministry know very well that the people understand. They no longer turn their hand-organs in the hope that somebody or other will listen but out of pure automatism—the machine still runs though the motor has no fuel.

Similarly, the measures for the defense of the "sacred soil of the Fatherland," though publicized with all the old advertising technique, cannot fail to strike all concerned as hardly more than empty gestures. On the eastern border of the Reich, in Silesia, Gauleiter Hanke in the second week of August called for voluntary workers on intrenchments. He gave the undertaking a romantic name derived from a new novel, "Vogt Barthold," which describes how eight hundred years ago the German settlers in Silesia were victorious over the Mongols. At numerous meetings he extolled his "gigantic Barthold enterprise" and told how the volunteer trench-diggers flocked to the work—"thousands of enthusiastic government officials and workers, university professors and miners, factory owners and their employees," rallying overnight to the defense of the border. He promised that as the result of these superhuman efforts the enemy standing at the gates of the Reich would be repulsed. But in a war in which the most elaborate "walls," built with the labor of years, have accomplished nothing, the improvised Silesian trenches will certainly not turn the tide: and everyone knows it—the Gauleiter who orders the trenches dug and the people whom he tries thereby to hearten.

The whole "remobilization" is a project of such a nature that both those who give the orders and those who carry them out must be convinced of its utter senselessness. Travel permits for vacations are no longer given; the length of a journey that can be taken without a special permit has been reduced from 100 to 30 kilometers; the sixty-hour week formerly decreed only for manual workers is now the minimum for clerks as well; clerks and even managers must now punch a time-clock; truck drivers must work at other jobs in the time between trips; private telephone calls are being prohibited in province after province; mail is delivered only once a day in large cities and only three times a week in small towns. "We have not yet the necessary abundance of men or materials; we must still be very economical with both," runs the official explanation. But everyone knows that a lake which is flowing away in streams cannot be filled with a few miserable drops of water.

The machine which everyone now sees can produce only ruin and more ruin will run on its own momentum for a while—after the faith that was its fuel is gone.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Karl Shapiro and the Great Ordeal

V-LETTER AND OTHER POEMS. By Karl Shapiro. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.

BY NOW most readers are probably tired of war literature and would like to get back to literature. Not only is much of the writing inferior; but we are kept from saying so by reason of the censorship inflicted on us by our war-time piety. Yet in the case of Karl Shapiro, whose new poems were written during the more than two years that he has been on active duty in the Southwest Pacific, it seems impossible not to invoke the war. By what drama of adjustment has he continued writing? The question would be irrelevant, I admit, if his adjustment had resulted in a book which was continuous in thought and quality with his earlier one, "Person, Place, and Thing." But although "V-Letter" is a remarkable performance, it is still in many ways weaker than the former book—anxious and uneven where the other one was strong and consistent.

The notable thing about "Person, Place, and Thing" was a firmness of mood and singleness of purpose. Its well-written satires on industrial society were not great poetry or even on their way to being that; they were in the best sense "minor." And Shapiro was able to be a successful minor poet in our time because, while renouncing the larger myth-making pretensions of modern poetry, he nevertheless maintained the modernist defiance of middle-class civilization. This ground of self-assurance is now giving way, it is clear, under pressure of the war and prolonged soldiering. His old conviction of identity is gone, and he is experimenting with new roles.

This is apparent in the introduction to "V-Letter," where he tries to define his relation to the great ordeal. It must be admitted that his ideas seem contradictory. On the one hand he seems anxious to diminish the war to a mere visitation of nature and thus to conjure away its terrors considered as a political or human portent. So he says that "war is an affection of the human spirit, without any particular reference to 'values,'" and that its effect on oneself is to reduce one "in size but not in meaning, like a V-letter." But this relatively complacent view is belied by what Shapiro says of the "suffering" and "private psychological tragedy" of soldiers and even more by the drastic moral effects which he ascribes to war. It "can teach us humility," he says; and by virtue of it "contemporary man should feel divested of the stock attitudes of the last generation, the stance of the political intellectual, the proletarian, the expert, the salesman, the world-traveler, the pundit-poet [and] like the youngster in the crowd make the marvelous discovery that our majesty is naked." Those "stock attitudes," or many of them, were of course at the root of his earlier poems; and in trying to cut them away he is, knowingly, risking the extinction of his old powers. And what, one wonders, is really wrong with those attitudes? They were by-products of the same civilization that produced the war; and if, as seems more and more likely, the war fails to solve the problems that begot it, then why are not the old postures still viable? Where, moreover, are the sources of this Blake-like freshness of vision, this mystical simplicity, of which Shapiro speaks and to which he aspires? Are they to be found in battle, in the pursuit of what he calls in a poem "the rat-toothed enemy"? To accept this war as a hard political necessity is one thing; to completely de-politicalize it in the interests of a confused and supine metaphysics is to leave it a mere meaningless horror. Shapiro may be right in fleeing the old attitudes; but surely he is in danger of demonstrating that a bad civilization can finally compel acceptance of itself, or at least suspension of judgment, by the simple device of becoming worse.

These arguments apply primarily to Shapiro's introduction and not to his poetry. "V-Letter" is so various and so full of excellent verse that it would resist any attempt to sacrifice it to a thesis even if I wanted so to sacrifice it. The poet's peculiar negative-positive adjustment to the war has had the advantage, apparently, of leaving him relatively free to observe, read, reflect, and labor at his poetry as before. He retains his old wry pleasure in the sights of a country—in this case Australia, not America—and his characteristic interest in religion and history. Whether he is writing poetry or merely versifying—if the distinction is clear—he is as eloquent, as fertile in apt imagery, as wedded to the concrete, as he ever was. And his verse still has its clear metrical line, even though it tends toward excessive regularity and occasionally romps off into conventional dactylics.

Yet only a few of the poems in "V-Letter" seem to me equal to the average of his earlier work. The best single production in the book is probably The Synagogue, one of a series of satiric-prophetic pieces on Judaism. The subject is the spiritual limitations and historical guilts of the Jewish religion as Shapiro conceives them; and although his point of view is Christian, his temper is that of a Jewish prophet censuring the Jews. To readers not similarly concerned, Shapiro's ideas in these poems may seem atavistic; but they clearly exercised to the utmost his faculties as a poet. In The Synagogue passion and intellect converge to form one of the great contemporary poems. There is, however, seldom such concentration of forces in the rest of "V-Letter." For the most part the great ironies and paradoxes of the war escape the satiric comment which other and lesser aspects of modern society received in "Person, Place, and Thing." Shapiro now reserves his thunder for Judaists and intellectuals. When he writes of military life, as in Troop Train or Elegy for a Dead Soldier, he is easy, reportorial, readable; hardly any other poet today could have produced so colloquially-spirited, so tragically-gay a departure scene as he depicts in the first stanza of Birthday Poem. Nevertheless it is curious how often these poems drop into commonplace or even mere folksy sentiment. ("I see you woman-size And this looms larger and more goddess-like Than silver goddesses on screens"—I love you just the way you are, dear.) And it appears that Shapiro's former satirical defiance is being displaced by new and vaguely disturbing attitudes. There is in his work a

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THE WORKS OF LOVE, *translated by David F. Swenson and Lillian M. Swenson, (Spring, 1945)*

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growing contempt for conscious artistry and intellect, an eagerness to present himself as passionately immersed in the folk life of the soldier, a pride in his acquired toughness.

> I smoke and read my bible and chew gum . . .
> I'd rather be a barber and cut hair
> Than walk with you in gilt museum halls . . .
> And on through crummy continents and days,
> Deliberate, grimy, slightly drunk, we crawl,
> The good-bad boys of circumstance and chance . . .

Nor are these new feelings frankly examined in the poet's conscience in such a way that the conversion process becomes itself the subject of his poetry: they are merely taken for granted. It would certainly be an irony of the war if it turned a complex and specialized poet like Shapiro into only another exponent of hard-boiled sentimentality. F. W. DUPEE

Maurois on America

THE MIRACLE OF AMERICA. By André Maurois. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

THIS brief history of the United States, I presume, was intended primarily for the French public. It is a perfect introduction. Here, the familiar limitation of André Maurois serves him as well as his very great talent. The virtues of the textbook writer are not the same as those of the citizen. In these times that try men's souls, we have little use for the Laodicean, however delicate, kindly, and urbane. But to give in four hundred pages a lucid and well-balanced history of a great foreign nation is a task that requires gentle sympathy, measure, tolerance, and a sanity so sound and safe that it is not afraid of being timid.

For Maurois, America is neither Utopia nor the land of Cockaygne. Neither is it the somber and brutal world evoked by Georges Duhamel in "America the Menace," or, more vigorously, by Anatole France in the closing chapter of "Penguin Island." On the whole, Maurois holds his conservative bias well in check. He says that on August 4 the French nobility gave up their traditional privileges "in an excess of abnegation": there speaks the distant disciple of Burke. He is more in sympathy with Hamilton than with Jefferson; but, as a good pragmatist, he recognizes that the Jeffersonian spirit won out; and he comforts himself with the thought that "Hamilton was a doctrinaire, Jefferson a politician." It would have been a scandal if principles—even the right principles—had prevailed over expediency.

There are two elements of outstanding merit in this unassuming volume. Each of the six parts ends with a Conclusion which is a very able synthesis. And some of the biographical sketches are done with the skill we had the right to expect from the author of "Disraeli." Maurois's Coolidge is particularly convincing. I always felt that nature unaided could not produce anything so purely Coolidgean as Coolidge: it was a work of art. Coolidge, like Franklin in Paris, and Theodore Roosevelt at all times, played consciously and conscientiously the part he had been cast for. Maurois's portrait of Wilson lacks sympathy and verges on the malicious; but it offers a consistent and vivid picture.

So I wish all success to the French edition of this work: heaven knows that it is necessary that the French and our-

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selves should understand one another! But what is the usefulness of such a book for the American public? It is not sensational, but very real. A foreign observer may bring out facts so familiar that we are not conscious of them. It was Boutmy who emphasized the veritable revolution made by the Enclosure Acts in eighteenth-century England: yet it should have been patent at the time of "The Deserted Village." Oddly enough, I believe that the keenest interpretation of pre-war France came from three Germans, Cohen-Portheim, Curtius, and Sieburg. And André Siegfried made it plain that the vital element in our own political system was not that outworn idol, the party, but the lobby. There is no revelation of this kind in Maurois's book. Its total absence of doctrinaire commitments makes it informative rather than challenging. I missed, for instance, Maurois's own brilliant theory of the Three Ghosts—the Puritan, the Pioneer, and the Robber Baron, which, I am told, he had borrowed from Régis Michaud.

But if the book is not an epic, or an apocalypse, or a satire, or an ideological demonstration, it tells a good story very well indeed, and, with a few inevitable slips, it is as safe a primer as any on the market. We are occasionally rediscovering the sad fact that we do not know our own history: here is a chance to review the essentials with the most courteous and unobtrusive of guides. I greatly enjoyed the experience.

The translation contributed little to the enjoyment. It is adequate, but it has no style. Now the quality of Maurois's writing is elusive. Through his alertness, his lucidity, his wit, his perfect mastery of a delicate instrument, he keeps steadily just above the commonplace: a perfect recipe for narrative prose. The translators drag him down. We have the impression of a modest but perfect French dinner warmed over in a Greek restaurant. By *"la noble candeur du Président Wilson,"* Clemenceau meant not candor, but naivete. Clemenceau had his own brand of blunt candor, but there was no trace of *candeur* in him.

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A Votive Stone

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT: A BIOGRAPHY. By Mary Gray Peck. The H. W. Wilson Company. $3.

A BIOGRAPHY of Carrie Chapman Catt is necessarily in large part a history of the last thirty years of the fight for woman suffrage, a fight which ended in 1920 when the Nineteenth Amendment took the hurdle of the thirty-sixth state legislature. Out of the annals of organization routine, political lobbying, campaign strategy, and committee hearings, a few general ideas take shape. Unquestionably Miss Peck establishes her case that the political machine is so unwieldy as almost to defeat its purpose, and that the enfranchisement of women was delayed for years after the idea had become acceptable to the public.

Indeed, the book sometimes conveys the impression that the suffrage movement was demanding a *de jure* recognition of the *de facto* equality which American women already possessed. The professional opportunities open to women in the nineties, for instance, especially in the West, came as something of a revelation to this reviewer. They were no doubt enjoying the benefits of an expanding economy; there is a tang of the prairie and free lands and opportunity for all about the early part of the book which imparts to the reader some of the optimism which the suffragists felt about their cause at the turn of the century. Perhaps the legislatures were not altogether responsible for the unexpected lag; it was not merely that they were so slow, but also that a lately pioneer society was marching so fast.

A great deal of Miss Peck's material overlaps Ida Husted Harper's "History of Woman Suffrage" and Mrs. Catt's own "Woman Suffrage and Politics." But the account of Mrs. Catt's international work, beginning with the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and later embracing the peace movement, is an addition to the literature of the women's movement, and does much to enliven the pages of this substantial volume. The portraits of the European leaders are colorful; their gatherings have a quality of exhilaration; and Mrs. Catt herself comes to life in her relationships with the members of this cosmopolitan group, in her genuine concern for peace, which she did not confuse with appeasement, and in her horror of the loom of National Socialism. She was one of the earliest of influential Americans to recognize its dangers, and she deserves a good mark too for her protests against the Lusk committee's activities and her brush with the D. A. R. for its blacklisting of liberals.

This book is written by a votary for votaries, and it will be read chiefly by those who love to recall the old days and look at the old pictures which the publisher has furnished without stint. Miss Peck is as conscientious as the social

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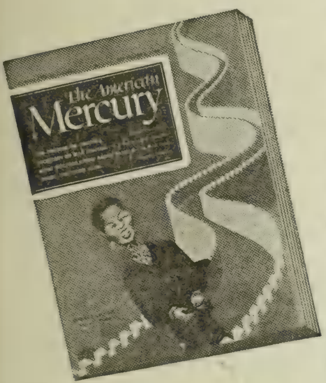

THE ROBOT PLANE IN WAR AND PEACE

Major Alexander P. de Seversky has again pin-pointed his target in a revealing and prophetic analysis of the flying bomb—its future as a horrible engine of destruction—the one defense against it—and the useful servant it will prove to be in peace.

THE CASE AGAINST BIG GOVERNMENT

The history of many corporations has been "Big, Bigger and Bust." The reason is often over-centralization. Today a deadly parallel exists with the over-centralized federal government in Washington. Read New Dealer Charles Edison make specific suggestions for its decentralization.

NEW YORK'S FABULOUS STORK CLUB

Here is a personally conducted tour of America's most famous night club. For an intimate look behind the fabulous façade, join Russell Whelan "Inside the Stork Club" in THE MERCURY for September.

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

Why I Don't Join the WACS
What Doctors Know About Fatigue
The First Submarine
Red Jacobsen
Secretary of War Stimson
Bubonic Plague in America
"Swapping Horses in Midstream"
Why Pick on China?
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THE AMERICAN MERCURY AND LIBEL

Future historians writing of America's struggle to remain a democracy, will find *The American Mercury* rich in material exposing Fascist and Communist activities. Long before "Under Cover" swept the nation, John Roy Carlson put the searchlight on American Fascists for *American Mercury* readers—named names, places and dates. At the same time Max Eastman, William Henry Chamberlin and Fred Woltman kept *Mercury* readers informed about the Communist front organizations. Hamilton Fish, Elizabeth Dilling, Gerald L. K. Smith, George Seldes, the League Against War and Fascism, "Peace Now", "In Fact" and a long list of other people and organizations were taken apart in *The Mercury* . . . more than one never ticked quite so well again.

For refusing to pull its punches *The American Mercury* is threatened often with libel suits; but has never been sued. The reason is plain. Truth is a winning defense against claims of libel, and *Mercury* articles are backed by carefully documented facts. The readiness of *The Mercury* to strike out boldly while many others remain discreetly silent may explain why *The Mercury* today is at its all-time high in circulation.

Lawrence E. Spivak
PUBLISHER

The American Mercury for September...

OUT NOW!

editor of a local newspaper in including all the names. Her treatment of the militant wing of the American movement is a model of judicious restraint—if restraint was required after a quarter of a century. But the Great Healer has likewise laid his cooling hand on the buoyancy of the girls who marched in gold; to all but the survivors this is a story of long, long ago.

BETSY HUTCHISON

Congress

YOU AND YOUR CONGRESS. By Volta Torrey. William Morrow and Company. $3.

WE WERE indicted as a people, as well as bombed, on December 7, 1941, in Mr. Torrey's opinion. The country, capably led by President Roosevelt, was being badly governed by a rebellious Congress which appeared to be only vaguely aware of the forces Adolf Hitler and his Oriental allies were unleashing over Main Street, U. S. A. There were Congressmen, such as Hamilton Fish, who said that no one in Japan wanted war with the United States; and Representative Knutson of Minnesota was in Germany trying to sell lard to Hermann Göring's war industries when the Wehrmacht struck Poland. Moreover, Congress was so dominated by the hoary seniority system that when war did come Senator Robert Reynolds, admirer of the Nazis, Anglophobe, and isolationist, became chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee and the isolationist Senator David I. Walsh head of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee. No other legislature in the world would have tolerated such a situation.

Mr. Torrey, who as a Washington correspondent watched Congress at its daily table-thumping, takes apart both houses and exposes their creaking machinery. His book, obviously written for the overalls trade, is frankly propaganda for the election this November of a liberal Congress and for the reform of the electoral system. Mr. Torrey has turned out an excellent handbook for the labor-politicos whom the C. I. O., through its Political Action Committee, and the A. F. of L., through its new "get-out-the-vote" apparatus, have put into the field. His analysis of minority rule and the poll tax, which practically give the Southerners perpetual control of Congressional committees, and his discussion of the political machines, the isolationists' records, and the manner in which the people permit the nationalists to take over by default will make excellent campaign material for liberal and labor spokesmen. For Mr. Torrey has packed evidence into this book which, if it is impressed on the millions of working people this fall, will do much to help drive from Congress the Hamilton Fishes, the Dewey Shorts, the Clare Hoffmans—in general, the men who have governed so badly and whose antics and ideologies have given comfort to the enemy.

VICTOR RIESEL

The Liberal Party

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Fiction in Review

"Tender Comrade"

I HAVE been rather surprised at the dearth of novels on a theme which would seem to be particularly appealing for war-time fiction—the predicament of wives whose husbands have gone off to war. Yet now that one has finally come my way, Hannah Lees's "Till the Boys Come Home" (Harper's, $2.50), I must admit even greater surprise at its content. Miss Lees's novel may not have any artistic importance, but I find it important as a study in what the middle-brow American reading public can take, or at least be offered, in the line of realism. In manner, "Till the Boys Come Home" could perfectly well have appeared in one of the large-circulation women's magazines: it has no literary overtones or references beyond itself, and it requires little creative cooperation from the reader. But if its matter, too, should be acceptable to a large-circulation audience, then this country has gone a longer way in recent years than we commonly suppose. For Miss Lees's novel is remarkably free of the expected sentimental and patriotic clichés. And in sexual matters it is very courageous without being self-conscious. In "Till the Boys Come Home" bravery without intelligence is the object only of scorn, and the good sportsmanship of an army wife is shown to cover a wide streak of bitterness. Also, female sexuality achieves the authenticity and stature of a nuisance. Even the name of the novel's heroine strikes a new note in popular realism: she is not Sandra or Michael, but Sophie.

Miss Lees angles her story boldly by making Sophie a victim of the male urge to adventure rather than a victim of the draft; she is the wife of a doctor who has gone to war pretty much by choice. She has a job as well as two small children to occupy her, she has no financial worries, and she has a close circle of women friends in the same boat as herself; in other words, here is a heroine who should be admirably equipped to meet the popular ideal of home-front sturdiness. But, instead, Sophie comes very near to going to pieces. A normally emotional human being, she wants to share her life with another adult human being whom she loves; a normally sexual woman, she finds her enforced celibacy unendurable. By the time her husband comes home Sophie is full of resentments, guilts, and confusions. But this is only the heroine of the story; the minor characters are in equally unorthodox bad shape. Except for Julia, Sophie's priggish sister who has been created by idealizations of the service wife and who is shown to be correspondingly stupid, even vicious, all Sophie's friends either have similar experiences or, like Kate, sustain the absence of their husbands so well simply because they never loved them in the first place. We gather that the boys who come home to Miss Lees's world will encounter emotional situations such as usually lie beyond the range of any but the very best fiction.

But it is not in this broad outline, heterodox as it is, so much as in the nature of its details that "Till the Boys Come Home" is especially interesting. For instance, neither Sophie nor any of her friends is under any illusion about the political future of this country; they recognize the possibility not only of another war but of American fascism, and Miss Lees is very clear about the incipient fascism of the most heroic of her war wives. Or, quite without any intention of sensationalism, Miss Lees describes with extraordinary frankness the sexual substitutes for a husband which are available to the women left behind. Or "Till the Boys Come Home" is illuminating on the subject of war babies: it tells us that women become pregnant, or want to become pregnant, before their husbands go overseas not because they wish to preserve the image of love but in order to keep themselves out of sexual mischief and because pregnancy is so absorbing.

According to its dust jacket, the author of "Till the Boys Come Home" was educated at Vassar and the University of Colorado and is the wife of a physician; and this would seem to me to be a fairer way to define the intellectual and emotional area of the novel—to describe it, that is, as the work of a mature young woman of decent education, married to a doctor—than to try to understand it in terms of its possible audience. For it is in Miss Lees's generation and class that certain political, social, and domestic attitudes which are good have begun to take firm root, perhaps eventually to disseminate throughout our culture; even Miss Lees's psychological insights bear the stamp of her training, age, and professional connection. And although this may be a section of society that is not notable for its humor—indeed, there is something almost grim in the fervor with which Miss Lees insists that a child sucks its thumb for its own good reasons—it is a section of society which, by serving as liaison between theory and practice, has the potentiality of performing an invaluable educative function. Recently there have been several instances in which the women's magazines have recognized their educative power and broken through the old sexual taboos to tell small but difficult truths. One can guess that these steps in progress are directly to be traced to the influence of young writers and editors of the same cultural cast as Miss Lees, with perhaps no special artistic gift, but with the same simple seriousness and conscience.

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IN EARLY ISSUES OF THE NATION

ELIZABETH HAWES is a fashion designer with a social conscience and a political writer with a sense of humor. Out of her experiences on Fifth Avenue came two books, "Fashion Is Spinach" and "Men Can Take It." When war came she gave up a prosperous salon and entered a war plant. Out of that experience came another book, "Why Women Cry, or Wenches with Wrenches." Now she is an international representative of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, and working in the UAW-CIO education department, chiefly on women's problems. She has written an article for us on the women's vote in the coming election.

*

G. A. BORGESE, author of "Goliath: The March of Fascism," is a veteran anti-Fascist fighter now teaching Italian literature at the University of Chicago. He will write an article on the peace plans of the Vatican.

*

PIETRO NENNI, editor of *Avanti* and a leader of the Italian Socialist Party, is back in Rome now, and has sent us an article on Italy's present struggle for democracy.

*

I. F. STONE, *The Nation's* Washington correspondent, is now traveling through Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and Indiana, and will write a series of articles on the political line-up in those key states.

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MOTION PICTURES

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FILMS

NUNNALLY JOHNSON has turned the old Floyd Dell–Thomas Mitchell farce "Little Accident" into "Casanova Brown," a large slice of brisket for Gary Cooper. Mr. Cooper's role breaks into four parts for which he is peculiarly well qualified—or perhaps typed is the word. For the first few reels, very much worried, he talks to Frank Morgan as he might if the Hays office would allow him to pretend to be a young man who, a few hours before his wedding, is informed that he is the father of an illegitimate child. Then in flashback, very much embarrassed, he calls on his parents-in-law with his bride, Teresa Wright, and, by accident, burns their house down. Next, he is so farcically manhandled in a lying-in hospital that he all but loses certainty which sex he is. Last, extremely Cooperish, he kidnaps his baby (and Miss Wright's) and earnestly, laboriously takes care of it. How these tableaux of masculinity at bay fit together and are motivated is not important enough to go into; neither, perhaps, is the film itself. But like most of Johnson's screen plays it is reasonably and at times more than reasonably amusing. It is also the first production of International Pictures, a new "independent" corporation for which both Cooper and Johnson will produce from now on. I put independent in quotes without vindictiveness or deep sorrow, merely to indicate that, judging by "Casanova Brown," nothing independent in any very interesting sense is likely to come from the new studio. It's just Hollywood with its stays a little loosened; but even that is better than nothing, and far better than the bad serious stuff which independent producers sometimes attempt.

That is more than one can say for "The Seventh Cross"; Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer has used it, with every good intention I am sure, to crucify the possibilities of a very fine movie. Spencer Tracy is a sincere actor and in many respects a good one, but he is hopelessly ill-qualified to suggest a German anti-fascist who has escaped from a concentration camp; very little else in the film helps out, either. In almost every respect, in fact, the picture is an ultra-typical M-G-M "major" production; it is perhaps unnecessary to add that that style is fatal to any sort of film except the purest low-ceilinged romance. Hume Cronyn, Steve Geray, and Agnes Moorhead do manage to cut a few glints of living acid through all the glossy lard, and one street shot of coarse legs in black cotton stockings, walking with casual peculiarity, has a suddenness, sadness, and individuality which should have taught those who made this film how to create and photograph a city. One has to wonder, instead, how on earth it got into so conventional a show.

"The Impatient Years" made me very impatient indeed. The difficulties of a discharged soldier and the wife whom he had known, before he went off to war, for only four days, could have become a first-rate film. So long as the script allows them to stay within hailing distance of that idea, Jean Arthur and Lee Bowman and Charles Coburn make a semi-bearable third-rate comedy of it.

"Hail the Conquering Hero," of course, is pretty nearly the only film of the year worth talking about. I hope to try, next week.

JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

MY YOUNG Boston correspondent, when the army sent him back to Fort Bragg, doubted that he would find anything musical there to report; but a couple of hours in barracks with someone's radio going, one Sunday afternoon, left him "aghast, bludgeoned, waterlogged by the torrent of bad music in worse arrangements that poured out of popular variety programs. . . . The worst single item is those fanfares that begin variety shows —each blatant, pompous, and stupid enough to sink a battleship. And once isn't enough: we have to have about four of them before the program can start. You know: FANFARE—'Rapid Hairgrow Incorporated presents'—FANFARE—'Tommy Bingle, his basset horn and his Kansas Kretins'—DOUBLE FANFARE—'Frankie Kopak, that sterile entertainer of stage, screen, and radio'—TRIPLE FANFARE—'with a great supporting company of faded favorites'—THEME UP, TUTTI, FORTISSIMO—'What Rapid Hairgrow Lotion will do for your head will astound . . .' " And so on.

More recently he asked whether I had "bothered to notice how lax the New York Philharmonic has been this summer, even under Reiner?" I had not bothered; and from what he said I gathered that the Sunday broadcasts this summer have been as insufficiently rehearsed as the ones last summer which I did hear and write about. The one time I listened was when Reiner conducted three excerpts from Mussorgsky's original version of "Boris Godunov" as revised by Shostakovitch; and I was too intent on the substance of the music to note much about the performance. The excerpts—Boris's two monologues and his farewell—do not lend themselves to the crude orchestral underlining that Shostakovitch was reported to have done elsewhere to bring out the latent proletarian character of the work; and most of the instrumental coloring sounded as though it were Mussorgsky's own (I had only a Bessel edition of Mussorgsky's 1875 arrangement for piano and voices of his own revised version of the work); but now and then there was a line of clarinet or bass-clarinet color, characteristic of Shostakovitch but not of Mussorgsky, and so out of key with everything else in these excerpts that I was sure it had been added by Shostakovitch. As for several phrases in the farewell that were not in my score, I presumed they were in Mussorgsky's first version of the work. What I noticed in the performance was Kipnis's singing: formerly he had used his beautiful voice with ease and taste; now, with constriction in production there were melodramatic mannerisms of style. Also, he followed Chaliapin's practice of speaking instead of singing the words in the hallucination monologue. But that is something only a Chaliapin might do; and certainly in a concert performance of the Mussorgsky original that we never hear Kipnis should have let us hear the vocal sounds that Mussorgsky wrote for the words.

Most recently, on the eve of being shipped overseas, my correspondent came up for a last visit, at which he heard for the first time the records of Debussy's "Gigues" and "Rondes de printemps." I had written in my review that the recording had left some of the inner strands of the orchestral polyphony inaudible; my visitor thought they probably had not been audible in the original performance. "For all the sounds in those scores to be heard," he said, "they have to be correctly balanced against each other, the way they are by Toscanini. And my guess is that they weren't by Monteux." Having once observed the process by which Toscanini worked out those correct balances in "La Mer," I found the guess credible.

Concerning the pieces themselves I remarked that a every moment one heard something completely new in sound, produced by a new use of the orchestra, a new combination of orchestral elements, and that one marveled at it and at the ear which had imagined not only the composite sound but its components; but that no less new and wonderful was the expressive effect for which the sound had been contrived, and what one had to marvel at was the artistic imagination which had conceived both this vision of the sights, the sounds, the atmosphere of spring, and this astounding succession of sounds in which it was realized. (One can say the orchestration is in the French tradition; one can say it is in Debussy's own rich, intricate style of "La Mer"; but there remains what is different, new, and unique in "Rondes de printemps," and what is all these things because it is especially contrived for the new and unique imaginative purposes of this piece.) My visitor and I agreed that Berlioz also offered examples of this sort of thing; and since he had not heard "Romeo and Juliet" when Toscanini had performed it I pointed out in the score the things which a few strings, a pair of flutes, and a single horn did to create the enchantment of the night in Capulet's garden, and the wonders of "Queen Mab," as only a few of the innumerable freshly imagined details that had overwhelmed me in the work.

The same thing, my visitor observed at this point, was also true of Mozart's use of the orchestra in his operas. He agreed with my estimate of some of the marvels in the purely formal works—like the restatement of the second subject in the finale of the G minor Symphony. But even more wonderful, he contended, were the things which dramatic and expressive purposes caused Mozart to do with the orchestra in his operas: here one heard constantly and astoundingly new invention like that of Debussy and Berlioz. And in the concertos too, we agreed, Mozart contrived fascinating things for the orchestra in its dramatic and humorous play with the piano.

That was why, said my visitor, he wanted to write a book about the orchestration in Mozart's operas. It is a book I hope will be written.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

LOUIS FISCHER has been a newspaper correspondent in Europe and Asia since 1921. His books include "Men and Politics," "Dawn of Victory," "Empire," "A Week with Gandhi," and "The Soviets in World Affairs."

CAPTAIN COX is a British officer, LIEUTENANT BOX an American officer, with the Civil Affairs Administration in liberated France.

MARIO BELLINI is the pseudonym of a former member of the Italian underground now in the United States.

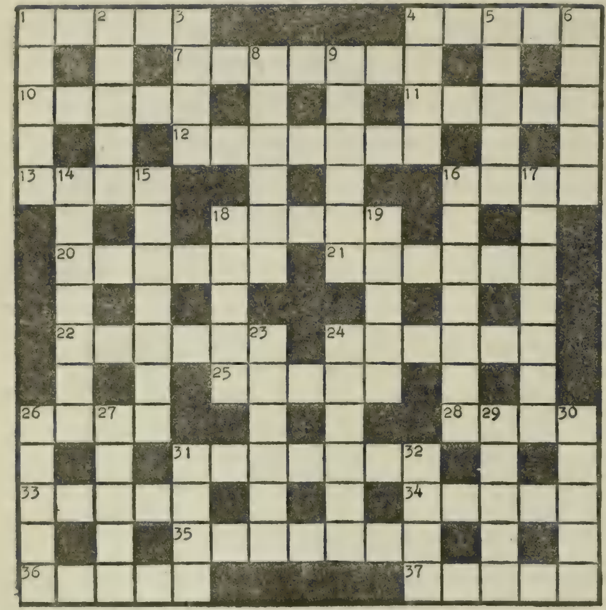
F. W. DUPEE, formerly a member of the English Department of Columbia University, is now teaching at Bard College. He will contribute a regular Verse Chronicle to *The Nation*.

ALBERT GUERARD, professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is the author of "Literature and Society."

VICTOR RIESEL is labor editor of the New York *Post*.

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 81

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 It gave us opera
4 There are a hundred in *The Decameron*
7 A diplomatic language since Versailles
10 Town of Nebraska
11 Pat on the chest with a shovel
12 Brings to mind
13 Always getting into picnic sandwiches
16 Stronghold
18 No, sir; you shouldn't have too many in the fire
20 Repose comes to a Bachelor of Arts
21 She wrote *Old Chester Tales*
22 Minstrel: the last of his line (two words, 3 and 3)
24 A trying person
25 God of revelry
26 I never set eyes on this MS, old boy (hidden)
28 Obliged for new wine
31 Cause of the *Titanic* disaster in 1912
33 Order of architecture
34 Hunter of star parts
35 Strait between the Mediterranean and Adriatic
36 Oldest member
37 A hated thing

DOWN

1 Graven images of solid composition
2 Slight advance repeated
3 "And passing rich with forty pounds a - - - -" (Goldsmith)
4 "But thousands die without or - - - - or that —
Die, and endow a college or a cat" (Pope)
5 Ethel emerges from the river somewhat discomposed
6 Something in a description of a pilgrim
8 Self-propelled vehicle?
9 There was one of Lanterns in the celebrated satire of Rabelais
14 Easy-going nags
15 A desired change
16 There's one stag anyway in this African town
17 Ensured (anag.)
18 Father of Rebecca, in *Ivanhoe*
19 The French say there are three—men, women and clergymen
23 The rash are supposed to have it, but it isn't likely (two words, 2 and 4)
24 Soup dish
26 The tale of the Siege of Troy
27 What economists call the "medium of exchange"
29 Town in Tunisia—and in New York
30 Very tenacious of life, this fish
31 Here an image I study
32 Often buried with bones, according to the Bard

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 80

ACROSS:—1 VERSAILLES; 6 GAMP; 10 SUSTAIN; 11 EJECTOR; 12 EFTSOONS; 13 ENNUI; 15 SALAD; 17 NAPOLEONS; 19 IRONSIDES; 21 ERATO; 23 ICHOR; 24 SLIPSHOD; 27 AILMENT; 28 INVOICE; 29 EBON; 30 ADAM AND EVE.

DOWN:—1 VEST; [illegible] RESTFUL; 3 ADAMS; 4 LAND OF NOD; 5 EVENS; 7 ANTONIO; 8 PERMISSION; 9 REVEILLE; 14 ASSIMILATE; 16 DESERTED; 18 PESSIMISM; 20 OTHELLO; 22 ACONITE; [illegible] SATED; 25 SEVEN; [illegible] CEDE.

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Notice to Readers

THE problems confronting Americans in this Presidential campaign so far transcend the ordinary political issues that The Nation Associates has called a special pre-election conference to be held at the Hotel Astor in New York on Saturday and Sunday, October 7 and 8. To this meeting are invited, first of all, members of The Nation Associates in the Eastern area, and as many from other parts of the country as can attend; second, delegations from civic organizations and liberal political groups; third, guests representing valuable points of view and areas of activity.

The conference will discuss the major issues under the broad title of "America's Opportunity to Create and Maintain Lasting Peace." In more specific terms, it will take up questions of foreign policy and world organization; economic security; social welfare—including housing, social security, and health insurance; equality of right and opportunity and the protection of democracy; education for the responsibilities of citizenship.

The full program of the meetings will be printed in next week's issue, but among the speeches and speakers so far arranged for are the following: Education for Citizenship, Archibald MacLeish; America's Foreign Policy and its Relation to World Peace, Reinhold Niebuhr; World Organization and Permanent Peace, Manley O. Hudson; Foreign Policy and World Organization, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam; How Full Employment May Be Secured, Alvin Hansen; The Role of Small Business in Providing Employment, David Podell; Fiscal Policy and Employment, Beardsley Ruml; Protection of Labor, Philip Murray; The Negro Question, Charles H. Houston; Subversive Movements, Frank Kingdon; Anti-Semitism as a Fascist Weapon, Norman M. Littell; Government Responsibility for Housing, Charles Abrams; Health Insurance, Michael M. Davis. Various editors of *The Nation* will also take part in the discussions.

This preliminary announcement will serve to remind members of The Nation Associates and representatives of interested organizations to send us notice of their intention to attend the conference so that we can accredit them as delegates. A limited number of guest tickets are available to Associates. We count most confidently on the full participation of our membership; it is their conference, the first major activity of The Nation Associates.

FREDA KIRCHWEY

The Shape of Things

THE QUEBEC CONFERENCE CLOSED ON mighty events. American troops of General Hodges's First Army after punching a ten-mile-wide hole in the Westwall were driving toward the Rhine. In England General Brereton's Allied airborne army was poised for its spectacular assault on the Netherlands. On the eastern front, Red Army forces poured steel into flaming Warsaw while to the south another Russian army fought its way through Transylvania toward the Hungarian border. In Italy, the Eighth Allied Army was engaged in heavy fighting in many sectors of the Gothic Line. Rumania had just concluded peace terms with the Allies. Finland was reported to be on the verge of a declaration of war agianst Germany. In London, the lights went on to end a five-year darkness. Clearly, the war in Europe was "now approaching its final stages" and President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill could plan with some confidence "the destruction of the barbarians of the Pacific." The vast distances in the Pacific theater pose logistical and tactical problems of enormous magnitude. How some of these problems are being met was demonstrated by the simultaneous assaults launched by General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz, from the south and the east, against Morotai and the Palau group, island bases near the Philippines. But beyond the intensification of the amphibious strategy so brilliantly carried out to date there is the problem of destroying the well-trained Japanese army of two millions, whose chief blows have so far been felt in China. This suggests a number of reasons why Moscow may next be consulted.

*

CHINA'S LONG-RANGE MILITARY PROSPECTS have brightened considerably as the result of the capture of the ancient walled city of Tengchung on the Yunnan front. This success has permitted the Chinese advancing from the east to make contact for the first time with General Stilwell's troops driving through Burma from India. While the Japanese still block the old Burma Road at Lungling, there seems to be an excellent chance that a connection can be established with the new Ledo Road in the interval between monsoon seasons. To the east, however, in the Kwangsi sector, the Chinese face a critical situation. The Japanese advancing south from Hengyang have the important American air bases at Kweilin and Liuchow almost within their grasp. There they may be joined by other columns driving up from Canton, thus completing their goal of cutting China in two. Fortunately, an enemy success in this sector does not carry the threat that it did a few months ago. The stubborn Chinese defense at Hengyang eliminated any possibility that the Japanese might be able to establish direct north-south railway communications this year in time to meet Admiral Nimitz's forces driving in from the Pacific.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ITALY HAS been given the look of an unassembled jigsaw puzzle by American correspondents in Rome; it acquires form and meaning in the remarkable article by Pietro Nenni appearing in this issue of *The Nation*. As chief spokesman for the Socialists in Italy, Nenni has become one of the most important leaders of the democratic coalition. According to a New York *Times* dispatch from Herbert L. Matthews on September 13, Nenni has announced that the Socialist Party will be willing to take power after Milan is freed. Whether that happens or not, it seems certain that with the liberation of the industrial north both Socialists and Communists, who have led the resistance and suffered the heaviest losses, will be in a position to dominate the government. As Nenni says, only through the continued collaboration of those two parties can any stability be achieved in a situation as productive of chaos as the present one. For hunger has multiplied the difficulties of the Bonomi government and threatens any group that accepts power. It has enormously increased the unpopularity of the Allied control, which is held directly responsible for the fact that the people are suffering greater hardships today than under Nazi occupation or Fascist dictatorship. The suggestion that the UNRRA conference in Montreal will decide to send supplies to Italy will be welcome news not only to the hungry people but to their leaders and rulers as well.

*

THE FULL TRUTH ABOUT THE WARSAW patriots' uprising will not be known until after the war. Reports emanating from Moscow, from Lublin, from London, and from beleaguered Warsaw itself simply do not jibe. The fate of the Warsaw fighters has been but dimly seen through thick clouds of political controversy. The Soviet interpretation of this bitter struggle was set forth in two recent articles cabled to *The Nation* from Moscow by Anna Louise Strong. In the current issue we print an article by W. R. Malinowski, a Polish Socialist, written from the standpoint of the moderates in the Mikolajczyk government in exile. The Red Army is now storming Warsaw, and the Committee of National Liberation at Lublin has been recognized by Russia as the Polish provisional government. Meanwhile, in London it appears that differences in the Polish Cabinet over the lack of Russian aid to Warsaw and the proposed resignation of General Sosnkowski as commander-in-chief have become so acute that a break-up of the government is considered near. Before this appears in print it is quite possible that Warsaw itself will have fallen. The city's liberation will close a tragic chapter of Poland's history and also, it is to be hoped, end the political tension which, if prolonged, will almost certainly lead to disastrous civil war. We see no place for reactionary anti-Soviet elements in a Polish government which will command the respect of the Polish people. But it is equally clear to us that an agreement between the moderates in the Mikolajczyk government, representing the main democratic Polish parties, and the Lublin committee is the first step toward a free election and toward a united and independent Polish nation.

✶

LAST WEEK J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO TOLD *Nation* readers that the Spanish Republic in Exile would "soon become an articulate, fully operating reality" and hinted that important steps to bring about unity of the Republican groups behind the government of Dr. Juan Negrín might be expected presently. Already a first move in that direction is indicated in dispatches from Mexico City announcing the early arrival from London of Dr. Negrín. This news will arouse great interest wherever Spanish Loyalists are congregated. For Republican Spain's last Prime Minister has held aloof from political affairs ever since the end of the Spanish war, refusing to take any part in the controversies that have divided the emigration. He has never asked for recognition of his government but has kept in close personal touch with important British officials and with leading members of the governments in exile. Clearly he was waiting until events themselves should produce a change in Spain and present an opportune moment for the last elected government to step forward and claim its rights. News from France indicates that the moment for action may be near. It is known that many thousands, perhaps as many as forty thousand, Spanish Loyalists formerly interned in France have been fighting with the *Maquis.* Armed and backed by their French comrades, these Republicans, most of them veterans of the war in Spain, offer a formidable threat to the Franco regime, now cut off from all hope of Nazi support. Events in Spain will bear close watching.

✶

THE ISOLATIONIST ATTACK ON THE PEACE plans being drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks has begun even before the plans themselves are completed. Opponents insist, as opponents of the League insisted in 1919, that they are not opposed to international cooperation as such, but are concerned with imperfections in the program and threats to the constitutional powers of Congress. Senator Robert La Follette, son of the "Fighting Bob" who led the fight on the League, followed faithfully in his father's footsteps by denouncing the "frenzied haste" with which the Roosevelt Administration is striving for an international organization "to permit the great powers to govern the world." Another pre-Pearl Harbor isolationist leader, Senator Vandenberg, has expressed strong opposition to giving the world organization authority to use American armed forces to enforce peace without specific action by Congress on each occasion when the peace is threatened. Since it would be impossible for a world organization to function effectively under such conditions, this kind of objection, if maintained by a third of the Senate, would wreck all hope of a workable post-war peace organization. The seriousness of this threat is reflected in Mr. Willkie's recent article in *Collier's* which showed that the Senate, through the two-thirds rule, has defeated every important measure for international cooperation submitted to it in the past fifty years.

✶

THE TRIUMPH OF ROOSEVELT'S SUPPORTERS in the Texas Democratic convention draws a final curtain on the Great Electoral College Conspiracy. Aroused by a callous attempt to frustrate the will of the people, rank-and-file Democrats regained control of the party in the recent Texas primary and proceeded to oust all electors who refused to pledge their support to the regular party nominees. The South Carolina revolt also collapsed after a Roosevelt victory in the state primary election, and the Mississippi electors have announced that they will support the Democratic ticket.

✶

A BELATED BUT GENERAL WAGE INCREASE in industry seems assured by the report of two panels of the National War Labor Board indicating that the cost of living for workers' families has risen somewhat more than the 24 per cent estimated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The panels did not uphold the C. I. O.'s contention that living costs had risen 43 per cent from January, 1941, to December, 1943, but they conceded that there had been "involuntary changes in living habits" which made living costs somewhat higher than shown in the BLS index. While it seems certain that the "Little Steel" formula will be adjusted in the near future to compensate workers for the shrunken value of the dollar, there is still no indication of the nature of the adjustment. Presumably the steel workers will be granted a retroactive increase in wages somewhat under their demand. This suggests that the new wage formula may permit an increase of from 5 to 10 per cent above the "Little Steel" formula. Republicans have been quick to charge that the proposed increase will be granted just before the election for political reasons. Actually, the pressure on the Administration for immediate action on the long-delayed wage increase seems to be more closely related to the belief that the European war is approaching its end. The strong move for an abrogation of the no-strike pledge at the United Automobile Workers' convention—which was headed off temporarily by Philip Murray's promise of a wage increase—grew out of fear that wage rates would remain frozen at their present level, with much shorter hours during the reconversion period. If the President is to be criticized, it is for permitting the NWLB to delay its report for so long.

History and Mr. Dewey

HISTORY is the arch interloper at Mr. Dewey's feast. All the good things from the fields and vineyards and orchards of Republican free enterprise weigh down the tables, all Mr. Hoover's delicacies—except the apples. History's name is on the black list—hasn't the date of the "Roosevelt" depression been set at 1933 and wasn't the Roosevelt Administration and not the Republican opposition responsible for the delay in war preparedness?—but history, the ugly customer, has shouldered his way past the politicos and bouncers and is sitting expectantly waiting to be served.

Now, it seems that the young man from Owosso has always had a dislike for history. It was not necessary to a successful career. It is difficult to read and understand. Its conclusions sometimes conflict with political aims. It is cramping to the style of a conventional Republican politician well-versed in the folklore of the hinterland and the equally unhistorical legends of the club car. Most of all, Mr. Dewey is chagrined that he has not been called upon to assist in its making, that the boy with the bayonet at the Westwall, the marine on the beach at Peleliu, the peace planners at Dumbarton Oaks, and the strategy makers at Quebec all play a role denied to him. It is an awkward position for a young man who aspires to be President.

Normally we would have great sympathy for a man in Mr. Dewey's position, and it is not to his discredit that he must play the role of spectator in great events. Moreover, it is too bad that at a critical time for American democracy world events distract men's minds from the issues of the election. For the people's choice in November will have much to do with whether we win a new world order or merely win the latest and most devastating of wars. Mr. Dewey has a great opportunity, in his capacity as Republican candidate, to set forth the issues of the election in their historical context. Mr. Willkie attempted as much in his six-point program at the time of the Republican convention. For Mr. Willkie is not a frivolous politician, and at the risk of his whole political future he was true to his reading of history, to his conception of America's destiny in a world that has become one.

Quite otherwise is the case with Mr. Dewey. He shows the chagrin of a small-time performer who resents the fact that the big spot is shining somewhere else. Why should Dumbarton Oaks be called at the time of the Republican governors' conference? Why should Quebec be planned to coincide with his campaign tour? Why should the smashing blows at the Siegfried Line come at the very moment when he makes the claim that "Roosevelt did absolutely nothing to prepare the American people for war"? There is something pathetic about the rage of the little man cold-shouldered by history. There is something indecent about his fantastic attempts to establish himself as history's escort ("now that General MacArthur is no longer a political threat to Mr. Roosevelt it would seem appropriate that his magnificent talents be given greater scope and recognition"). But it is most revealing of all to see him turn his back on history and return with obvious relief to folklore—to the Washington wasters, the WPA for the world, the Roosevelt defeatism, the bureaucratic amateurs. History does not bother him there, and the political advisers seem to approve. For them the time-tried themes are best. They have worked before; they will work again. Americans are not much concerned with history, not much aware of history. Their memories are short. Remember 1940 and 1941 and the Republican fight against the Administration's preparedness measures? Remember the mid-thirties and the Administration's war against want and insecurity? Remember Hoover, the days of the apple? Remember 1920 and the loss of the peace? No, we don't remember, brother. History? To hell with history!

China at Dumbarton Oaks and Quebec

BY LOUIS FISCHER

IN THE second phase of the Dumbarton Oaks peace conference the Russian delegates depart and China's representatives take their seats. The question naturally arises why the four powers could not sit down together. For the Dumbarton Oaks meeting was convened in fulfilment of the Joint Declaration signed in Moscow on October 30, 1943, by the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China. The reason most frequently given for Russia's refusal to attend the sessions simultaneously with China is that Russia is not at war with Japan. This reason, however, does not bear examination. The United States is fighting Japan. England is fighting Japan. Russia discusses the peace settlement with them. China is fighting Japan. But Russia refuses to discuss the peace with the Chinese.

At Teheran Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill dealt with military questions as well as post-war arrangements, and there was therefore some excuse for a separate Cairo conference with Chiang Kai-shek. But Stettinius, Cadogan, and Gromyko are not mapping war strategy. Neither are they drafting armistice terms for Germany. They are devising a world organization to maintain peace. That is admittedly China's affair, else it would not be at Dumbarton Oaks at all. Then why did the Russians reject the idea of a four-power conference?

Why is Japan not represented at Dumbarton Oaks? This is a fantastic question, but it highlights the Soviet government's readiness to deliberate upon the form of a post-war body for maintaining peace from which Japan is excluded. Clearly, then, the Russians assume the defeat of Japan and its elimination as a great power with a voice in international diplomacy. In view of this assumption, the Russians should be willing to confer on peace planning with China, which is fighting to achieve Japan's defeat.

Obviously, there would be not the slightest chance at this late hour of Japan's invading Siberia in retaliation. The Japanese have their hands full elsewhere and have not the strength for an assault upon the Soviet Union. The latest date for such action was when the Nazis were advancing in the Volga region and the Caucasus.

What, then, explains the strange device of two successive three-power panels at Dumbarton Oaks? Did Stalin bar Chungking representatives from contact with his plenipotentiaries because he dislikes doing business with weak states and does not consider China a great power? Or does Stalin hesitate to lend China the prestige of membership in the Big Four until his intentions toward the Chinese Republic are fully formulated? At the moment relations between Moscow and Chungking are cool. The Soviet press has occasionally published criticisms of Chiang Kai-shek's administration, and the Chinese Communists have fiercely attacked the Generalissimo personally and condemned his acts and policies. At Moscow, in the autumn of 1943, it was only after considerable pressure, and then only at the last minute, that Secretary Hull succeeded in persuading Stalin to allow China to sign the Four-Power Joint Declaration.

As the fall of Germany draws nearer, the Pacific war will become more intense. Churchill and Roosevelt at Quebec have been confronting this task. It is not merely a military task. To facilitate our siege of the bloated Japanese empire it will be necessary to solve tremendous political problems in the Far East, problems which if left in their present state of tension may not only prolong the war but frustrate a stable post-war settlement as well. Russo-Chinese relations are one of these problems, the most urgent. China's relations with England and America are another. The whole colonial issue is involved.

The situation inside China is bad; that is no secret. The Chinese government needs immediate aid in materials. It likewise needs the lift in morale which would result from an adjustment of its difficulties with the Chinese soviets and with Soviet Russia. A clarification of our war aims in Asia would also help. China's absence from Quebec will only make the Chinese situation worse. Marshal Stalin was invited to Quebec and replied that military events made it impossible for him to attend. The Canadian, New Zealand, and Australian governments did not like being kept away from Quebec, and they were invited. But China was not represented at Quebec. Why this cold-shouldering of China at Dumbarton Oaks and Quebec? It does not help to solidify conditions inside China, and it does not contribute to victory over Japan. Moreover, it creates a backlog of resentment against England and America which will not make the Far Eastern picture rosier after the war.

In his letter to President Roosevelt dated May 14, 1943, Ambassador William Phillips, White House envoy to India, advised a "generous British gesture to India." He mentioned the possible effect upon China of such a gesture. "China," he wrote, "which regards the Anglo-American bloc with misgivings and mistrust, might then be assured that we are in truth fighting for a better world. And," added Mr. Phillips, a conservative career diplomat with an eye to reality, "the colonial peoples might hopefully feel that they have something better to look forward to than simply their return to their old masters."

Mr. Phillips sees his proposed "generous British gesture to India" as part of the entire Asiatic complex. "Such a gesture, Mr. President," his letter continues, "would produce not only a tremendous psychological stimulus to flagging morale throughout Asia and facilitate our military operations in that theater, but it will be proof positive to all peoples—our own and the British included—that this is not a war of power politics but a war for all we say it is."

Thus a high State Department official, fresh from Asia, advocates political warfare on a grand scale to transform the "flagging morale" of China, India, and other parts of Asia into enthusiasm for the Four Freedoms and the United Nations' cause.

If Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill could see their way clear to implementing the Four Freedoms in Asia and to banishing foreign domination it would be worth a dozen Dumbarton Oaks conferences.

That Dog in the White House

Washington, September 15 (Not AP)—Republicans in Congress blew up today when it was revealed that the navy had *not* sent a plane from Seattle to the Aleutians to pick up President Roosevelt's Scotty, Fala, reported left in the islands by mistake.

"The dog," declared Representative Tootson, "has often been referred to, and with reason, as man's best friend. No good American, no good President, no good Commander-in-Chief would have flinched at sending a plane to rescue his dog even though he ran the risk of adverse criticism. Without hesitation the President sent not one but thousands of our planes and our boys to save the British Empire and Russian communism. He could not spare one plane to rescue his best friend."

Representative Tootson said that he would demand an inquiry into the "Fala affair."

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

MAY I remind my readers that there is still a British army fighting in Western Europe, and that it has been fighting very well for a very long time?

It is difficult to remember that these days, with the Americans doing great things and occupying great headlines. This is perfectly natural: home-town news sells newspapers, and American papers and press associations have a normal tendency to send their correspondents to cover the doings of American troops. It is also true that there are now more American troops in Western Europe than there are British, and that Americans have lately had more spectacular missions. But it is unfortunate that the coverage has been so lopsided: it may lead to the development of another "we won the war" attitude, and already it has led, in my hearing, to muttered remarks about the British not doing very much. All this adds weight to the still widespread feeling in America that Albion somehow remains perfidious—a feeling which expresses itself, for example, in the repeated vocal suspicions that Britain will leave us to fight the Japanese without help. Purely aside from the logic of the situation—Britain obviously has more vital interests in the Far East than we have—this causes Mr. Churchill to spend valuable time making speeches which reaffirm Britain's determination to bear its full share of the Far Eastern war.

Logic and accurate reporting do little to dispel irrational suspicions, especially those of the peculiarly virulent national character; but a fuller account of the part played by British and Canadian armies in the Western European fighting would at least present the evidence for such minds as remain orderly. Actually it is now clear that the Battle of Germany was decided at Caen and Falaise, where British and Canadian troops tied up the bulk of the German divisions on the beachhead front and formed the all-important pivot of maneuver around which the Americans wheeled. The seven weeks of dogged warfare on this sector which preceded the St. Lo breakthrough saw the piecemeal committing and piecemeal destruction of a great part of the German strength west of the Seine. This same dogged fighting after the breakthrough held the Germans tight while Bradley's columns swept around and back up through Argentan; and the narrowing of the pocket, the terrible slaughter visited upon the Germans as they tried to escape, and the final snapping shut of the trap cost the enemy so many divisions that he has not been, and will not be, able to offer a protracted defense.

Released from the essentially grim and bitter nature of this kind of in-fighting by the German flight to the Seine, these same British troops advanced from Paris to Brussels in something like one-fifth the time the Germans needed to cover the stretch going in the opposite direction four years ago.

Both these phases—the slow, bitter going and the sudden, bold dash—were obviously dictated by the commander-in-chief's plan. The battle experience and guaranteed steadiness of the British troops made them the logical choice for the onerous holding task, in France as in Sicily; the comparative inexperience and highly mobile equipment of the Americans made them the logical choice for the wheeling task in both theaters. But the amount of ground covered is not the necessary index of a force's contribution to victory; the real index is the destruction wrought upon the enemy's armed forces, and by that index the British contribution ranks very high.

The British Seventh Armored Division has been reported among those present in the west; I remember it well, and heard of its presence there with something like nostalgia—the natural, childlike, and foolish nostalgia of a man two years away from fighting, which gets stronger as time passes and probably contributes to further wars, because men like wars so well in their memories. The attachment to a good division is quite apart from the revulsion against the blood and boredom of war, and is stronger than the attachment to a good college, say. I was only in the Seventh for one day—after that my brigade moved to another and lesser division—but everyone in my regiment considered himself a part of the Seventh, which is the original "Desert Rat" division of the Army of the Nile (later the Eighth Army); battalions of the Sixtieth have been in the Seventh since the beginning, when it was nowhere near strength but still managed to hold the Egyptian frontier against all the Italians in Libya.

In those days one of our battalions used to hold sixty miles of front, and not merely hold it but raid the Italian camps continually; so that the enemy was convinced there was a whole British army against him. The Seventh fought with Wavell, Ritchie, Auchinleck, and Montgomery in the Western Desert, swinging back and forth across Libya five times in two years, going through a tremendous turnover in men and vehicles, producing great commanders like Jock Campbell, V.C., and Strafer Gott, the best of all desert soldiers. It was the most casual, scruffy, gay, anti-baloney, and efficient division of an army which had all those characteristics; and when it had fought its way out of the desert and into Tunis (first into Tunis as first into Tobruk, Benghasi, and Tripoli) one of its officers wrote that the victory "left us professionally, so to speak, with many doubts as to the future." It felt the desert was its habitat, despite flies, sand, sun, and very many casualties. But it went on, into Sicily and Italy, and then home—after four years of continuous fighting—for a few months, after which it went into Normandy. It is probably pushing into Germany today, and I am betting that it will be first into Berlin. It may even go to Tokyo, confounding the critics of an army which "doesn't go far enough or fast enough."

Senator Norris and the TVA

BY DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

[*In the preface to his recent book, "TVA—Democracy on the March," David Lilienthal, the TVA's chairman and an original member of its directing board, used these words about Senator George W. Norris: "What the TVA owes to Senator George W. Norris the country well knows; indeed, without him there would be no TVA; his statesmanship and integrity are deeply engraved upon every chapter of TVA's legislative history. And in the years since TVA was created, its administrators have been privileged to draw deeply from those wellsprings of wisdom and sagacity that mark Senator Norris as one of the great men of America's history." Upon word of the death of Senator Norris,* The Nation *asked Chairman Lilienthal to write briefly and in personal vein of the Senator's relations with the TVA since its establishment in 1933.*]

ONE of the most gratifying experiences of my life was to witness the deep satisfaction Senator Norris derived from watching the TVA develop. In May, 1933, the TVA was merely something written in a law for every word of which he had been forced to fight hard and long. As the months and years went by, it unfolded into a reality, a thing he could see, something that actually was part of the lives of several million people. Not many progressives have had that experience—living to see their ideas carried out and their battle for the public welfare recognized. Norris did—and he enjoyed it enormously. It is good to recall the joy it gave him.

When the Senator made a visit to the TVA, it was a picnic for the whole Valley. He never seemed to tire of talking with everyone and seeing everything. He would shove his hat to the back of his head and with his coat on his arm and his vest unbuttoned would stand for a half-hour at a time solemnly watching a huge rock-crusher crunching giant boulders, preparing them for the concrete. An explosion in a quarry, ripping the whole side off a mountain, would set him into the raptures of a youngster. He would shake his head, quietly murmuring his wonder, as an eager young engineer would "brag" about how on this job *his* crew licked all TVA's previous records on costs of concrete forms. The Senator's appearance of fascinated interest in everything wasn't put on; it was as genuine as Norris himself was about everything he did, on the floor of the Senate or off.

No wonder the people of the Valley loved him. After one of his visits the men and women working on the TVA would go around in a daze because this great figure, almost a legend, had shown such an absorbed and boyish pleasure in what they were doing. It made the work we were doing really important if Senator Norris was so interested in every little detail. In fact, after that it was no longer a detail. George Norris, from my point of view as an administrator, was the greatest morale builder—to use the stock phrase—the TVA job ever had. And the memory, the spirit, of this completely devoted man is still over this enterprise. I hope it always will be. There could be no better guaranty that the TVA will be honest, non-political, and completely devoted to the welfare of the people of this Valley.

Senator Norris, as those who worked with him closely know so well, was often sad, gloomy, and depressed. But when he visited with the people around the drugstores in the little towns of the Valley, or read to you from letters of appreciation and understanding he had received from folks down here—he got them by the scores and the hundreds—his face would light up and he would be supremely happy.

Senator Norris was as wise and shrewd a fighter as American public life has produced. But he did have a streak of naivete, and it was one of the most charming of his traits. For example, he never could understand that he was a famous and influential man, and it always surprised him that the TVA, which had absorbed him for so many years when there were few who stood with him, had become the center of world-wide interest.

One incident, as he related it to me, will illustrate how completely simple—a genuine countryman—he remained right to the end. He said he had just returned from a trip to Boston, where he had been honored with a banquet—this was shortly after he was defeated for reelection to the Senate. The banquet was to be in the evening; that noon he was invited to have luncheon at the Harvard Club in Cambridge. "I went over to the lunch," he told me, "and there were assembled fifty, perhaps a hundred, college professors. After lunch we adjourned to a room in the club, and they called on me for remarks. I was taken by surprise and said that I hardly knew what they wanted me to talk about. I was then interrupted by the chairman. He said that he knew what they wanted to hear from me. They wanted me to talk about the TVA. This greatly surprised me. To think that these highly educated men had in some way become interested in the TVA idea! So I talked to them about it extemporaneously for about an hour. This audience of learned men, professors at Harvard University, was as interested as children in what I said. They took it all in, and they asked intelligent questions about it. It was one of the most satisfactory meetings I ever held in my life."

Just a day or so before he was fatally stricken, Senator Norris received word that must have meant a great deal to him. That word was that the TVA had just closed the great steel gates on the Kentucky Dam, and had begun to impound water behind this, the last and largest dam to be built on the main stem of the river. Thus for the first time in history man had placed a great river completely in his control and forced it to work in the interest of humankind, a memorial, for the centuries, to the insight and love of his fellow-man of a wise, simple, and courageous American.

What Women Vote For

BY ELIZABETH HAWES

THE question about the so-called "women's vote" is generally phrased: *How* will the women vote? The answer to that is too easy. Women vote just as men vote. Either they are thinking women who draw their own conclusions as to what vote is best for them and the economic group to which they and their masculine counterparts belong by right of inclination, or they are thoughtless women who vote as their husbands tell them to vote.

The question is not so much *how* women will vote as *how many* women will vote.

In 1940 the total population of the United States over twenty-one years of age was 79,863,452. Of that number of potential voters, an estimated ten million were disenfranchised by the poll tax. The total vote cast was 49,815,312. About twenty million, or about 30 per cent of those who might have voted, did not vote.

In 1944, with a population over twenty-one of about eighty-eight and a half million, with an estimated 70 per cent of soldiers disenfranchised in addition to the millions in the poll-tax states, if we assume that 30 per cent of those who can will not vote, we have about twenty-two million wilful non-voters. About half the votes in 1940 were cast by women. By a slight sleight-of-hand movement, one may logically determine that there are eleven million female votes to be picked up, and that this eleven million could swing an election—in a close year.

It is generally agreed that if everyone in the United States who could vote did vote, Mr. Roosevelt would unquestionably be elected by an overwhelming majority. On September 6 Gallup said that if the total vote were as low as 37,500,000 Dewey would be elected. He pointed out that when it goes above the 37,500,00 mark approximately 60 per cent of the doubtful votes would be for Roosevelt against 35 per cent for Dewey. We are justified in assuming, therefore, that the majority of the eleven million new female voters would be for Roosevelt.

Is there any special appeal which can get women to the polls? Are women's interests different from men's?

I'll say there are special appeals to be made to women, and that women's interests are different from men's. I'll say it on the basis of having talked personally with hundreds of women industrial workers, from Maine to California; on the basis of having corresponded with hundreds more who are housewives. Of course this is a personal opinion, and Mr. Gallup can go out and disprove it if he pleases.

The majority of women in the United States, whether working inside or outside their homes, are the most self-sacrificing creatures living. They are 100 per cent Christian in the main, turning the other cheek if slapped, making miracles out of loaves and fishes; and to partake of the loaves and fishes is not their primary concern.

Surely, most housewives are afraid that they will lose their jobs as wives if they express opinions contrary to those of their husbands on any major issue. They do not even expect their husbands to talk politics to them. They expect to give all for the children. They fuss, yes, but about small things; they are adamant in protecting their right to choose the food and the curtains, to bring up the children. "It would be fine," said one of them, "to have an outside job and a little independence. But don't you think we might lose our husbands?" And so they go on doing their jobs—their hateful, confining jobs.

As for the women who work outside their homes, there were eighteen million of them in the peak month of July, 1944. Even if we were not at war, there would be fourteen million, if we can judge by the steady flow of women into gainful employment since 1870. These women are as self-sacrificing, on the whole, as the average housewife. Perhaps more so.

"What right have women to seniority rights?" one of them will say. "Of course the men come first." This with about 85 per cent of the women now employed knowing full well that they want jobs after the war. "Equal pay for equal work?" The women laugh if you ask them whether they get it. They laugh, but they don't fight for it.

I am not speaking of the leaders, the women who are struggling in the many fields where discrimination against women is obvious. I'm speaking of what is called the rank and file of women workers. They, like the rank and file of housewives, don't feel that anyone gives a damn about what happens to them. They were born into this world; they are trying to carry their responsibilities as best they can. It's a man's world, and as long as men don't feel that progress is important, that's that. As long as men don't feel that allowing unequal pay to exist, allowing seniority rights to be broken down, allowing their wives to remain almost illiterate—certainly ignorant of things outside their narrow ken—is holding back a better world, so long will most of these women accept their fate. They may complain to one another, to any other woman if there are no men present, but they will continue to take it on the chin.

As a group, Negroes have made far more progress toward breaking down the discriminations against them than women have in the last years. Negroes have worked together and enlisted help not only from their government but from many white progressives. Women, despite the many discriminations against their sex, have thus far failed to form a united front which would cut across economic lines. They have failed to stand up for their rights, and no powerful outside agency or group of individuals has ever offered them a helping hand.

Of course no one wants to split the women off from the men. And heaven prevent a new rise of feminism, a middle-class and impotent form of uprising at best. But the women of the United States are no more dolts than are the men. Were I. Q. measured against I. Q. we'd probably come out even. The women will come out of their despondency, out of their silence, come out to the polls, only if they are offered an intelligent program of action.

It is not important to the mass of women to have the Republican or the Democratic Party openly indorse an equal-rights amendment (which actually would nullify good labor laws). The majority of women are much too smart to be fooled by good or bad sops to their feelings. It is not important to most women to have political parties put women on their committees, or even to have women hoisted into leadership in unions. Those things are important only to a few women who seek personal prestige and to a few others who want to get into high places in order to present a case for their sisters.

What is important to housewives is that the conditions of their work be eased, that they obtain the assistance they need to carry out their responsibilities fully. They want nursery schools for their young children and recreational programs for their older children. They want mechanical housekeeping aids at prices they can afford. They want decent, modern houses in which they can easily clean and cook. Their government should help provide them with such things. Women cannot and will not be interested in generalities or vague promises.

The many thousands of New York State women who prodded Dewey into allocating over a million dollars for the care of children of working mothers, and who watched him save the state most of that money by enmeshing it in red tape, those women will never believe in Dewey or in a party that sponsors him. But is any party offering a program, or any part of a program, which specifically promises help to the housewives of America?

And what do the women in industry want today? A very great number of workingwomen for years have wanted a place to sit down when their work did not require them to stand. They have wanted a ten-minute rest period for every four-hour work period. That has been recommended by many experts as a spur to production; yet it is required by only four states. Women want clean rest rooms and enough time to eat decent food in adequate cafeterias. In comparatively few plants are all these things provided.

Women can and should fight for and obtain these benefits. But they don't, because that is not the way they have been brought up. They are doing their best with life as it comes. Eighty-five per cent of workingwomen want jobs at decent wages after this war. But they know that if there aren't enough jobs for everyone, they will, as always, be the first to go. They know that if a pay cut is necessary, they, as always, will bear the brunt. They know that most men think such a system perfectly fine. Heaven knows, these women don't want any special privileges. And heaven knows they don't expect anyone to give them a thought. I am certain that many more millions of women would embark upon the arduous road to a better life, would join unions, join in group action for improved housing and improved education, yes, I am sure that many more women would register and vote if they felt that they really had a chance of attaining their desires.

But suppose this is a close election, and suppose the votes of the eleven million women who normally do not vote can swing the election? Is the Democratic Party really going after the doubtful votes? Is either party promising to make an honest effort to bring to women, a suppressed portion of the electorate, the things about which they really care? This potential women's vote can be won only by a party which honestly believes not only in equality of race, creed, color, and nationality, but in equality of sex. That, in 1944, is asking a great deal.

When some party, or the leader of some party, gives proof that steps will be taken to solve "women's problems," that party will win over not only the previously non-voting women but many from every party. When women have cause to feel that there are in fact to be no special women's problems, that men and women will really have an equal chance at jobs, that they will actually share the burdens of housing, feeding, clothing, child care—and government—then only will the mass of women of the United States arouse themselves to their full responsibilities as citizens. For then they will be living in a country where they are not treated as idiots or whores or goddesses or "little women," or "Moms."

The Republican Party isn't even considerate of the majority of men, whereas the Democratic Party under the leadership of Franklin Roosevelt has gone a long way to iron out some of the common man's problems. Why doesn't it finish the job by giving real thought to the women?

To Henry David Thoreau

(After reading a tribute to him in Fortune*)*

Thoreau, you've come into your own
  Along with all the streamlined sages,
Your sentences acquire tone
  On *Fortune's* heavy coated pages.

Henry, you've won your accolade,
  Fortune agrees your thoughts are useful;
You rate even now, shrewd Yankee sage,
  With thinkers practical and Luce-ful.

Henry, you fled to Walden Pond;
  Your flight became a textbook fable;
Your influence now soars beyond
  The schoolroom to the tycoon's table.

"The mass of men," I think you wrote,
  "Lead lives of quiet desperation";
They die. Their words live on to quote
  With costly colored illustration.

You fled, I know, the market-place,
  Your townsmen's lives, cheap and external,
But you've come back at last to grace
  The great world in its suavest journal.

Now Walden Pond is far away,
  And you long dead, shrewd Yankee mentor;
But every seer must have his day,
  And right in Rockefeller Center.

IRWIN EDMAN

In the Wind

WE HAVE IT from one who is in a position to know that several Republican bigwigs went to Darryl Zanuck during the filming of "Wilson" and offered to make difficulties unless it were suppressed. Zanuck told them he was perfectly willing to suppress it, because he had a better idea for a movie anyhow—the life and times of Warren G. Harding. That ended the argument.

IN THE MIDST of a war against Nazism, Clifton D. Gray, president of Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, has sent to educational agencies throughout the country a letter advising them of a vacancy in his faculty, containing this sentence: "The situation makes it necessary for us to consider only those candidates who have affiliation with some branch of the Protestant church." That seems to be the chief qualification. Some teaching experience is "desirable," but apparently not essential.

A RELIABLE SOURCE in the book-publishing field informs us that an effort was made to have Carl Carmer write the official biography of Thomas E. Dewey, which has just appeared under the McGraw-Hill imprint, the idea being that then it could be presented as "a great piece of Americana" rather than as a campaign document. Carmer, who knows his Americana, wasn't interested.

THE FORTNIGHTLY *News Comment* of Canada's Cooperative Commonwealth Federation sums up the past session of the Canadian Parliament as follows: "A small group of C. C. F., about one-fifteenth of the Liberal membership, but backed by an ever-growing popular opinion, was able to force the government to adopt social legislation, some of which has been in the Liberal platform for a quarter-century. . . . The evidence is incontrovertible that it has reached the statute book because the Liberals felt that it offered their only means of stemming the rising tide of C. C. F. support. . . . History may well record that no party . . . ever accomplished so much before actually assuming power."

TOM Y. CHAN, a leader of the Chinese community in Chicago and a member of the committee that sold more than $4,000,000 in war bonds during the Fifth War Loan drive in Chinatown, died recently. He expressed a wish to be buried in Rosehill Cemetery near his first wife, who was buried there twenty-four years ago. Cemetery officials said no. For the past twenty years they have catered to a restricted clientele.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Slovakian Nazi paper *Gardista* warns that an Allied victory would mean "that the country would return to senseless equal suffrage and to the unnatural dogma of equality." . . . This want ad slipped past the censor into a Copenhagen newspaper: "Apartment of three rooms and bath wanted at end of war, no later than October 1."

[The prize for the best item received in August goes to Lieutenant F. J. S., somewhere in South Carolina, for the story of the Republican advertisement stressing how hard it is for soldiers to vote. It was published August 26.]

Uprising in Warsaw

BY W. R. MALINOWSKI

THE uprising in Warsaw is at the end of its seventh week. The citizens have battled against the Germans for almost fifty days with magnificent courage and heroism. In Warsaw proper the battle is being waged by the entire population; men, women, and children have joined the fight in support of the underground army and the fighting detachments of all political groups, including the battalions of the Communist Polish Workers' Party.

For the third time since the beginning of this war Warsaw is the symbol of a people's struggle. Five years after the defense of the capital in 1939, a year and a half after the Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto in 1943, the citizens of Warsaw are again paying a high price for their country's right to freedom and independence. The democratic and progressive character of this struggle is testimony to the spirit prevailing in Poland today. For the backbone of the underground and of the underground army is the peasant and labor movements, which are steeped in the traditions of democracy.

The present Battle of Warsaw is one of the greatest tragedies of our time. For many long days the people of Warsaw have been prevented from receiving sufficient help from their allies largely by the still unresolved difficulty of obtaining Russian cooperation in facilitating British and American aid. The U. S. S. R., according to a Tass statement of August 10, "disclaimed all responsibility for the insurrection in Warsaw." What is more, the plight of the Polish fighters and the significance of their struggle have been almost completely ignored by the liberal press of England and America. It is especially important, therefore, that we examine the conditions which precipitated this struggle.

According to plans agreed upon by the Polish government and the leaders of the underground, the uprising was to coincide with the German retreat from Warsaw. On July 30, through the medium of the Kosciusko Broadcasting Station in Moscow, the Polish groups in the U. S. S. R., which for more than two years have accused the Polish government of delaying the uprising, again appealed to the people of Warsaw to revolt against their German oppressors (reported in the Manchester *Guardian* on August 22). Apparently, all Polish groups were now in agreement that the moment had come when Warsaw was to rise and engage the enemy in open war. As the Germans began their evacuation of the city, they indulged in their usual mass executions and ordered the transfer of factories, together with their workers—the flesh and blood of the Polish underground army—to the Reich. The German plans, which were about to negate five years of preparation by the underground for this day, plus the revolutionary tradition of the people of Warsaw, a tradition dating back to 1794, made the opening of the Battle of Warsaw imperative. Everyone waited for Allied victories as the signal to begin. The uprising of a whole people could not of course be timed as precisely as, for instance, the invasion of the European Continent by the Allied armies. It was dependent on many circumstances.

During the first period of the fighting the Poles concentrated upon seizing the bridges across the Vistula in order to prevent the Germans from reinforcing their troops and to enable the Red Army to cross the river into the city proper. When this attempt proved premature, they changed to guerrilla warfare within the city, aiming to tie up major enemy forces until the Red Army should arrive. In the present, third stage the uprising has become a struggle to survive until the Red Army takes Warsaw.

The prolongation of the fight in Warsaw makes necessary large stocks of ammunition, arms, food, and medical supplies. In response to constant appeals for help, the Western Allies, according to the New York *Times* of September 13, have finally sent planes over Warsaw and dropped one hundred tons of supplies, which were acknowledged by the patriots. According to Premier Mikolajczyk, however, the help that was promised Poland when he was in Moscow has not been forthcoming, despite the fact that a liaison officer of the Red Army has been in Warsaw since August 7. It has also been revealed by Mikolajczyk that the United States and Great Britain failed to get permission to use air bases on Soviet territory which would have facilitated the delivery of substantial aid. Subjected to intensive bombardment by the Luftwaffe, in constant need of more supplies (the underground has estimated that five tons of food and ammunition are needed daily), and facing the German threat to execute hundreds of thousands of civilians now held in Pzuszkow Camp in reprisal for the insurrection, the fighters of Warsaw have nevertheless not given up.

After the Red Army's seizure of Praga, a suburb of Warsaw, on September 14, Polish patriots could see the attacking Russians. On September 15, according to a Moscow communiqué, Poles were still fighting to secure a hold on the west bank of the Vistula so as to facilitate the Red Army's entrance into the city. On September 17, General Bor, commander of the patriots, reported that Soviet planes were dropping supplies to his forces.

In the meantime the Polish government, after Mikolajczyk's negotiations with Stalin and with the Polish Committee of National Liberation, sent a conciliatory memorandum to Moscow. It was agreed by the Polish government in London and the Polish underground parliament that a new Polish government was to be formed in liberated Warsaw by Prime Minister Mikolajczyk, who is also acceptable to the Polish Committee of National Liberation as the future Polish Premier. However, instead of renewed concentration on the problem of getting help to the embattled capital of Poland, a useless discussion was entered into with regard to the timing of the uprising and the culpability of the leaders, a discussion which merely served to veil the real issue.

The uprising in Warsaw has shown that the anti-fascist forces in Poland now play an important role. The sacrifices of these people must not be in vain. The words of Premier Mikolajczyk, quoted in the New York *Times* on September 1, are a fitting expression of the Polish spirit. He declared that Poland would not cease fighting "as long as Germans stand on our soil" and that Poland could not be denied its "natural right" to kill Germans. We may also recall the question posed by the labor leader now President-designate of the Polish Republic, Tomasz Arciszewski, who recently arrived in London after five years of work in the Polish underground: "Should the Allies leave Poland unaided in the present situation, the defeat will not be ours alone. For what will then be the thoughts and feelings of common, decent men all over the world who . . . took up arms in the sacred fight for democracy and justice in international relations?"

Polls, Propaganda, Politics

Front-Page Bias in Newspapers

CONTRARY to the press's theory that it reports the news "straight, without reference to editorial opinions," a study conducted by this bureau shows that Roosevelt and Dewey papers differ sharply in the content of their front pages. They devote almost exactly the same proportion of their front pages to the campaign, but they choose somewhat different subjects and often "angle" the news.

More than half the stories in the Roosevelt papers were pro-Roosevelt; almost half of those in the Dewey papers favored the Republicans. In each group the content of about one in every five stories was favorable to the opposition. Three of every ten campaign stories on the front pages of the Roosevelt papers were neutral in content; between three and four of every ten were neutral in the Dewey papers. Both groups were even more partisan in terms of space than in terms of number of stories. Thus 56 per cent of the 2,089 column inches given to the campaign in the Roosevelt papers was pro-Roosevelt or anti-Dewey material; 51 per cent of the 2,289 campaign inches in papers for Dewey favored him. About one-fourth of the space in Roosevelt papers was neutral; 16 per cent was unfavorable to the Administration. Dewey papers gave a little more space to neutral and 18 per cent to pro-Administration items.

If both groups of papers used the same material, they frequently showed their editorial preferences in their headlines and in the sections they cut or kept. Thus the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* (pro-Dewey) headlined an A. P. story "Peace 'Say' Seen for Smaller Fry," while the pro-Administration Richmond *Times-Dispatch* captioned it "Dewey's Fear Is Groundless Hull Asserts." The two papers ran precisely the same story until, at the very end, the *Plain Dealer*, after quoting Senator Connally (Dem.), added a pro-Dewey quotation from Senator Vandenberg (Rep.); the *Times-Dispatch* quoted only Connally and closed with a favorable reference to Hull's press conference omitted by the *Plain Dealer*.

Our study was based on an analysis of seven Roosevelt and seven Dewey papers. Since differences in news coverage might be due to differences in the news available to the two groups, the papers chosen were matched in terms of their circulation, the regions in which they were published, and the time of appearance. As typical pro-Roosevelt papers the Chicago *Sun*, the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, the Philadelphia *Record*, the Atlanta *Constitution*, the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, the New York *Post*, and the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* were used. Matched with these were the pro-Dewey Chicago *Tribune*, the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, the Philadelphia *Enquirer*, the Washington *Times Herald*, the Baltimore *Sun*, the Washington *Daily News*, and the Kansas City *Star*. All fourteen papers were read from August 16 through August 26, excluding Sunday, August 20, when the full sample was not available. Only the front pages were analyzed, since these presumably contain the material which editors and publishers want to call to the attention of their readers.

Of a total of 969 stories in the Dewey papers, 119 were devoted to the campaign. In the Roosevelt papers 105 of 865 stories dealt with the candidates and their activities or other political news. Thus in each group about 12 per cent of the front-page material was on the coming election. In terms of inches Dewey papers gave slightly more space to the campaign than did Roosevelt papers (9.4 as against 8.7 per cent).

The major news breaks in the ten-day period covered were Republican and Democratic reactions to the Dumbarton Oaks conference, the controversy in the War Production Board over Nelson's assignment to China and Wilson's resignation, and stories about Pearl Harbor, army censorship, labor's role in the campaign, and reconversion. The development of Republican foreign policy received very different emphasis in the two groups of papers. Dewey papers devoted four times as much space to the Dulles-Hull conference as the Roosevelt supporters (447 to 124 column inches). But the conference between Willkie and Dulles was given almost twice as much space in pro-Administration as in pro-Republican papers (101 to 61 column inches)—because Willkie's agreement to meet with Dulles was accompanied by a rebuff to Dewey.

In general, then, the study shows clearly that editorial preferences influence the selection and treatment of campaign news. And since a large majority of papers are anti-Administration, the greater part of the news to which the public is exposed has that slant.

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Europe's Children

BY GEROLD FRANK

Jerusalem, August 25 (by cable)

ONE can only sit humbly before the refugee children of Europe. Their stories are incredible. It is difficult to believe that the average adult could stand what they have undergone. To this city come hundreds of such children: the orphans and the dispossessed, the battered and beaten and starved Jewish children of the massacred populations of Germany, France, Austria, Rumania, Poland, the Ukraine—of virtually all Europe. I have talked with many of them in the collective agricultural settlements where the Jewish Agency for Palestine, which negotiates their rescue, brought them.

Among the many big rehabilitation problems the overwhelming ones are: How are you going to implant a sense of security in a thirteen-year-old child who has seen both of his parents bludgeoned to death? How are you going to restore faith in humanity in a fourteen-year-old girl who tells you she has seen human blood seep out of the earth, indeed, who imagines she has seen the very earth heave with the struggles of persons buried while still living, who remembers having been pursued by shouting Nazis and yelping sheepdogs?

In the gentlest of ways, in the kindest of voices, with skill, patience, and understanding, young instructors, themselves refugees from the horror of Europe, work with these children, live with them, labor to make them realize that here at last they have reached a haven and are among friends.

Their wanderings for the past five years eclipse those of the children of Israel—harried and scourged from one concentration camp to another, across borders, over rivers, through countries. What their experiences have done to them can be imagined. Only the resilience of youth and the extraordinarily intelligent care they are receiving accounts for the fact that they can be interviewed so soon after their ordeals. They are still inclined to keep to themselves; they are not ready to trust adults; they still suspect that tomorrow or perhaps the day after the order will come to go—and again the nightmare will begin.

Here is thirteen-year-old Joseph Roman. He is black-haired, with a thin aquiline nose, and terror still showing in his dark eyes. His nostrils quiver as he speaks. His mouth remains open at the end of every sentence. His watching eyes never leave your own. If you were to rise up suddenly and lash him with a whip, he would not be surprised.

Joseph's Rumanian father was a timber merchant in Bucovina. The family fled on July 16, 1941. They were arrested and held for a week in a concentration camp at Trozuitza. They were then ordered to Winnica on the Bug River. After three weeks Joseph and his parents and hundreds of others were herded together and driven on foot by armed soldiers for more than 150 miles to the banks of the Dniester. Those who could not keep up were shot. The only food they had was what they carried with them. The refugees arrived at the river starving and semi-naked. There they were told that two nights before 300 Jews had been driven into the water and drowned. For some reason they were spared that fate. Next, they were forced to march twenty miles to the town of Secureni, then thirty miles to the concentration camp of Tosn Yedentiza, where they remained a month. Then those who were still alive were driven on foot for scores of miles to another concentration camp in Trans-Istria. Among those who died were Joseph's mother and father. Finally immigration certificates came bearing Joseph's name, and he went to Palestine.

Here is Ada Fianonu, fourteen, from Katinetz Podolsky on the Rumanian-Polish-Ukraine border. She is short and blond. Her Russian features explain why she is alive today. Who would guess that she is a Jew? She has lived through five pogroms. With her father she fled from the Nazis to Winnica. Hiding in a neighbor's back room, she had seen her mother and baby sister dragged from their kitchen by the Nazis. It was she who saw blood in the forest where the Jews had been massacred, and ran screaming that she had seen the earth shake as the dead tried to rise. Later her father fled with her to Abdal, Rumania. He was kept behind barbed wire but helped her to escape to the Ukraine, then to Berlod, Bucharest, Constanta, Istanbul—and finally to Palestine, thanks to an immigration certificate.

Now into the room come Hanna Ehrenreich, fifteen, and her brother Simcha, sixteen, both slim and blond. They are Polish, born in Görlitz near Krakow. At the outbreak of the war the family fled to Stanislova, remaining there for a year until the Russians came, and then going to Siberia. After fourteen months a general amnesty was declared and the family went to Buhara in southern Russia. The parents were sick for nine months. Simcha shined shoes on the street to get money for food, and Hanna stood all day long in queues waiting to buy it, but they were all slowly starving. Finally in desperation the parents sent the children to Teheran with the Polish armies. After two months they were sent from

Teheran to a Polish orphan camp in Uganda, Africa, where they were interned for fifteen months. Then a Palestinian uncle sent them immigration certificates with which they went to Palestine via the Sudan.

Hanna and Simcha rise and go out, and Shulamith Mizrachi, fourteen, a dark girl with thick, black hair and brows, takes a seat. She is a Greek from Larisa. In August, 1942, her father, mother, six brothers, and two sisters fled to Athens before the advancing Germans. When the news of the Jewish massacres in Salonika reached them, the father, brothers, and eldest sister went to the hills to join the partisans. Shulamith and the other sister stayed with friends in Athens until it became too dangerous. Then the two girls fled. They walked day and night to the town of Evia on the sea and boarded a ship for Samos in the Aegean. The day they arrived in Samos, the island was conquered by the Nazis. The girls waited for darkness and then fled again. The captain of a freighter took pity on them and transported them to the Turkish shore, whence they made their way into the hills. They slept for two nights and then walked, they do not know how many days, till they got to Istanbul. There they were given immigration certificates for Palestine.

Now we see George Hermann, seventeen, slim, dark-eyed, with a thin mustache. He is German-born, from Berlin. At the age of four he was taken by his parents to Belgium. At the outbreak of the war the family fled into France. From Paris they were shunted to Toulouse, which was crowded with refugees. From Toulouse they went to Bordeaux, where the same conditions prevailed. Finally they arrived in Montpellier. After the fall of Paris they were arrested and sent south to a concentration camp on the Golfe du Lion. In July, 1942, the Nazis began the depopulation of the camp, sending out trainloads of women and children in box cars for extermination. George saw his mother herded into a box car, then his father. A French camp nurse declared that George was sick, put him in an ambulance, gave him a Boy Scout uniform and a thousand francs, and sent him to a Scout camp at Perpignan, thirty miles to the south. He crossed the Spanish border at night, walked for three days to Barcelona, was arrested for illegal entry and taken to a concentration camp at Miranda via one prison after another. He spent a half-year at Miranda, where conditions were appalling. Finally he too received a certificate for Palestine.

So the stories go. You listen to them. The children are polite yet speak only when spoken to. A few weeks ago, when they first arrived, they refused to relinquish the pathetic cardboard boxes in which they were carrying a few rags of clothes. The other children surrounded them and said, "Don't be afraid—you'll get better clothes. Everything is very safe here." One day, like magic, understanding comes and a first sense of well-being. Those here for three months already show a big difference.

Now they are tilling the soil, making the earth produce, doing things with their hands. You cannot help wondering what they think of their experiences, to what conclusions they have come. Old before their time, their eyes somber, steady, accusing, they make you feel your philosophical questions are stupid; you are confused before them. The questions are not easy for them. George Hermann says, "It's bad to hate people—people in concentration camps become animals. And those who beat them, the jailers, are even worse." Black-browed Shulamith shakes her head: "It's necessary to remember," she says. "It's not good to forget. We will remember."

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

BY JOINING THE INTERNATIONAL Labor Organization, the United States has aligned itself with fifty-eight other nations in the common task of improving working conditions throughout the world. . . . With the prospect that Soviet Russia will join the I. L. O. as well as the League in September, but one important country will remain outside the fold—Hitler's Third Reich.—*September 5, 1934.*

THE GOOD IN THE NRA, as we see it, is the protection it promises labor. It contains both a recognition of the right of collective bargaining and the implication that no industry is entitled to survive which cannot support certain minimum standards of wages and hours. The minimum-wage and hours provisions, in particular the abolition—in theory if not in fact—of child labor, are now on the way to becoming a part of the changed American system.—*September 5, 1934.*

UPTON SINCLAIR'S VICTORY is astounding. . . . If he sweeps the state in November, he will speak for the people with such force that even a California legislature will have to take some heed. We do not say that all of Mr. Sinclair's program is either wise or enforceable; we do not venture to prophesy how successful he who has never held an executive position would be as Chief Executive of California. That is for the future to show if and when he is elected. But we do give profound thanks that one man has had the courage to stand up and announce his candidacy without consulting any boss, or any newspaper proprietor, or any financier or capitalist, and he has gained the first round.—*September 12, 1934.*

FRIENDS OF MINE WITH A LONG experience of Germany think that the Hitler regime will not survive next winter. I wish that I could agree with them and I hope that they will prove to be right, but I cannot see any reason for so optimistic a forecast. . . . I am convinced that it is an illusion to count on the overthrow of Hitler by the Reichswehr, and a mistake to suppose that he is under the domination of the military command. . . . Hitler is really, not nominally, the complete master of Germany and is still the demi-god of the great majority of the German people. He could still, I am inclined to think, kill Blomberg or Göring or Goebbels or all three of them without impairing his own authority.—ROBERT DELL, *September 19, 1934.*

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

The Rebirth of Italy

BY PIETRO NENNI

Rome, August 20

FOR years people had anticipated that the fall of Italian fascism would be a terrible thing, but when it happened in July, 1943, there was no struggle. It was no harder to crush Mussolini than to arrest a thief for petty larceny. No one in Italy rose to defend a regime which, both within and without the country, was still thought of as having great and mysterious strength.

The initiative of a few men was enough. In the highest ranks of the Fascist Party and of the army, and in the Court, a plot against Mussolini had been brewing ever since the defeats in Africa. It became an irresistible movement when the Allies landed in Sicily and bombed Rome. In the heart of the country fascism had died long before.

I remember my feelings when I returned to Italy some months ago after seventeen years of exile. I had been arrested in February, 1943, in France, in a village in the department of Cantal. After a short stay in German prisons I had been taken by the Gestapo to the Brenner Pass and handed back to the Italian police. That was in April, 1943, and already every person I met—policemen, gendarmes, jailers, railroad men—talked freely against fascism and the war. On the night of Easter Sunday, when I was traveling handcuffed from Bologna to Rome, word went through the train that I was the ex-editor of *Avanti*, and the passengers crowded into my compartment, each one eager to give me something. When I arrived in Rome, the driver of the car which was to take me to the prison of Regina Coeli learned my identity and showed me around the city, which I had not seen for eighteen years. The atmosphere in the prison was very different from that of the French prison at Fresne or the German prisons at Stuttgart and Munich. Everyone made jokes. The "politicals" and the men convicted of black-market operations, after being sentenced to ten, fifteen, or twenty years of imprisonment, would say laughingly, "A year for me and the rest for Mussolini."

Why, then, didn't the insurrection start earlier? Because twenty years of fascism had destroyed the opposition leadership. Anti-fascism was universal in Italy, but it was more a state of mind than a movement. That is why on July 25 the initiative, unfortunately, came from above and not from below. The coup d'état of the King, the generals, and the Fascist brass hats headed by Grandi and Ciano was against Mussolini and not against fascism. But soon the popular will overwhelmed these men, and it became clear that the people wanted a completely anti-fascist policy and an end to the war.

The people interpreted Badoglio's famous words, "The war goes on," as meant to trick the Germans, and perhaps they were so intended. But if Badoglio thought of fooling Hitler, it was Hitler who fooled Badoglio. Had the government immediately denounced Italy's alliance with Germany, even before starting to negotiate with the Allies, Italy's moral and political position today would be much stronger. The monarchy and its reactionary supporters had no courage. They believed that they could gain their ends by intrigue alone. And so from July 25 until September 8 the King and Badoglio worked hard to deceive everyone—the Allies, the Germans, the Italian people—and made no preparations to change sides in the war. Then on September 8 the Italian armies were shattered by the German attack, and the King and Badoglio had to flee from Rome. Rome capitulated after a token resistance; Milan, Turin, Florence, Genoa gave up without a fight. The Germans occupied Italy from the Alps to Salerno. The King and Badoglio had lost us a unique opportunity to join the Allied camp with the weight of our army, however modest that might be, and with some military honor.

In the year that followed—the Germans held Rome for nine months, and the country north of Florence is still in their hands—the real sentiments of the Italian people and their will to fight were demonstrated. The resistance of the partisans demands exceptional qualities of endurance and self-sacrifice. It has been a hard fight. All classes have contributed to it—the workers of Milan and Turin by their strikes, the peasants by hiding cattle and helping the partisans, the army by forming armed bands, intellectuals by providing direction to the partisans, the bourgeoisie by giving money (in most cases, however, not out of patriotism but to buy forgiveness for their compromise with fascism).

The partisan fighting against the Germans has naturally affected the political struggle, which has become less anti-Fascist and more anti-German. That fact enabled the King and Badoglio, who were completely discredited after the flight from Rome, to regain some of their influence. It explains why Badoglio was able to stay in power until the liberation of Rome, and why the coalition Cabinet proposed by the Communist leader Togliatti was built around Badoglio. But southern Italy had not lived through the Nazi invasion, and its resentment was still directed against the regime which had subjected it to twenty-two years of dictatorial rule. After the liberation of Rome, when the Committee of National Liberation was invited to form a new government, I laid down the conditions of Socialist support: namely, first, that the government be completely anti-Fascist; second, that Badoglio be ousted; and, third, that the government take no oath of allegiance to the monarchy. The committee accepted the three conditions without discussion, recognizing them as the minimum requirements of the popular will.

The formation of the Bonomi government was a notable step in Italy's return to a democratic system. Its program is an expression of popular desires, even though its structure is not what it should be. It is designed according to old patterns with too many ministers and undersecretaries, so many that they form almost a small parliament. Its immediate goals are, briefly, these:

1. *The reorganization of civil and administrative life.* This is a difficult task since the state is in pieces; the lack of adequate communication and transportation facilities has tended to concentrate Italian life around the village or town. It is not easy to govern effectively when goods cannot be moved and administrative personnel cannot be trusted.

2. *Elimination from posts of authority of all persons who have collaborated with or represented the Mussolini dictatorship.* The purge has entered a concrete phase with the implementation of Sforza's law of sanctions against Fascists. The law is not designed to punish the three or four million Italians who were members of the party, generally only as "extras," but to hit the leaders and, above all, the Fascist interests. We hope that it will reach not only the clamorous mob manifestations of fascism but its causes.

3. *The alleviation of famine, which threatens to become serious, particularly in large urban communities like Rome.* This is essentially a problem of transportation and of oil, the two things Italy needs most after the systematic pillaging of the Germans. There is a lack of everything in Italy except paper money. The presence of the Allied troops has put an enormous amount of that in circulation, and its value diminishes every day. The German soldiers stole everything; the Allied soldiers buy everything. The moral difference is obvious, but the end result is the same.

4. *Provision of employment.* Thousands of workers are idle and industry is at a standstill, plants having been looted by the Germans or destroyed by bombings. The farther north the war moves the more acute the problem becomes. The Germans solved it by forcing the Italians to work on their projects and by requisitioning manpower for Germany. The Allies, happily, do not use these methods. A vast amount of reconstruction is necessary, but it cannot be started until the Allies can furnish the raw materials.

5. *Democratization of the country.* This is dependent on the solution of the other problems before the new government—reorganization of the state, administrative purge, provision of food and work. On what forces can this or any other Italian government rely in the struggle to set up a democracy? Chiefly upon the anti-Fascist parties and the masses in the rural and urban areas. That is why we initiated the policy of coalition and formed a pact of unity of action between the Socialist and Communist parties. If this pact should be broken or thwarted, the struggle for democracy would fail. Either a red terror or a black terror would precipitate Italy into civil war. The Committee of National Liberation, on which six parties are represented, would go to pieces if the Socialists and Communists failed to agree. The masses would like to see us go even farther in our union. Wherever Togliatti or I speak to the workers, we hear one cry: *"Fusione! Fusione!"*

Fusion, however, is not a matter to be considered at the moment, since it is more an international than an internal problem. Fusion will depend upon how Moscow and the international Communist and Socialist parties approach post-war organization. It is always a mistake to try to take a step longer than one's leg, and the Italian labor movement has not yet a long enough leg to step over the many problems which fusion would create. Our job now is to increase our strength and to reinforce unity of action.

We envisage three phases in the political struggle. How quickly they will develop depends on how soon the war ends. The first phase, the one inaugurated by the liberation of Rome, has been dominated by two urgent needs—to increase the Italian contribution to an Allied victory and to cleanse the administration of fascism. The six parties represented by the Committee of National Liberation absolutely agree on these aims. The second we call the pre-Constituent Assembly phase. In a sense we have already entered this phase, for the principle of a Constituent Assembly has been sanctioned by law. But the real struggle for it will not begin until the end of the war. After it has been set up, the present coalition of six parties will give place to a coalition of parties fighting, within the Constituent Assembly, for a republic.

The new coalition will consist of the Socialist, Communist, Action, Republican, and Democratic Labor parties. The Christian Democratic Party has not yet officially announced its position on the question of the reorganization of the state, nor has its leader, A. de Gasperi, publicly expressed his views. That means that resistance to a republic is still strong among the reactionary elements of the Catholic Party and high ecclesiastics. But there is no doubt that the Catholic masses are republican. Theoretically, then, the problem is solved, since the majority of the people are republican—or at least anti-monarchist; they cannot forget the responsibility of the Crown during the twenty years of adventuring with Mussolini.

While the republic should be easily accepted, we are not so naive as to believe that the popular will cannot be outmaneuvered. Institutions, even if condemned, do not willingly step into the grave. They must be pushed in. Italian fascism died amid blood, mud, and loathing, but the interests and men who worked with fascism for twenty years are not dead. And today they identify themselves with the monarchy, the screen and banner of all reactionary forces.

The third phase will be that of the actual Constituent Assembly, which will give Italy a real republican government and a new social and economic organization based on the socialization of a large part of the economy. We Socialists would like to transform the Constituent Assembly into a Supreme Court to judge Mussolini and Victor Emmanuel for their monstrous abuse of power.

Fascism loved revolutionary displays. Today all Italy is an authentic exhibition of revolution: towns destroyed, almost a million soldiers prisoners of war and as many civilians prisoners in Germany, hundreds of thousands of dead, uselessly sacrificed in Africa, Russia, and the Balkans. Italy needs help to regain life. That is the primary consideration in our relations with the United Nations, with the free peoples of the world.

Italy's juridical position in relation to the United Nations was established by the declaration of co-belligerency, which did not, however, invalidate the armistice of September, 1943. The conditions of the armistice are very hard. The Anglo-American administration has been humane and liberal, but it has not taken into account the fact that the Italy responsible for the war was not the Italy of today, that our country was not the accomplice of fascism but the victim, that the men now leading Italy fought fascism for twenty years at a time when all the conservatives of the world, and many liberals and democrats as well, were paying tribute to Mussolini and his regime. The Allied command seems unable to see the difference between Fascist and anti-Fascist Italy. It treats the country as if it were only a battlefield and a stepping-stone to Germany.

All its actions reveal distrust—distrust of the left parties, particularly the Socialists and Communists; distrust of the partisans, who are asked to fight in German-occupied territory but are disarmed as soon as the area is liberated; distrust of the C. I. L. (Italian Corps of Liberation), whose numbers have been kept within the strict limits set by the armistice; general distrust of the population. In some quarters this distrust of the popular forces has evolved into sympathy for the monarchy, the General Staff, the landowners, the aristocracy, for all those forces which served fascism and which still want it to dominate. If this tendency is not checked by public opinion in the United States and Great Britain, a sharp division may arise between Italian democracy and the British and American democracies—a division which will be of service neither to Italy nor to Europe nor to America.

Italy's economic difficulties increase the tension. The Bonomi government has asked that Italy be given lend-lease aid. If this is not granted, tragedy will engulf Italy next winter. Every day the problem of feeding Rome and other liberated cities becomes more difficult because of the lack of transportation. It may sound ridiculous, but a few thousand trucks could save Italy from starvation. If something is not done immediately, the world will have to stop its ears in order not to hear the cries of starving people in our cities.

Critical as are some of the aspects of our situation, my conclusions are not necessarily pessimistic. The war has almost run its course, and Italians are full of hope and eager to rebuild. Ahead of us looms a hard struggle. I do not know whether we shall be able to avoid temporary unhappiness, even temporary defeats. But I do know that the new leadership now developing is determined to build a democratic socialist Italy, which will be a factor for world peace and progress. With the help of Europe and America we shall be able to do it in a few years. The task will take longer if we have to do it by ourselves. But it shall be done.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IT HAS often been said that the Nazis will try to make the last act of their war a Wagnerian climax—*Götterdämmerung*, death in a sea of flames, total downfall. More exactly, one might say that they are preparing to give their last act a Jacobin or Bolshevist setting—*levée en masse*, partisan fighting, a people's war. An official account of this projected last-ditch people's war has now appeared in an article by Herr Helmut Sündermann, deputy Reich press chief, published in the September 3 issue of the *Nationalsocialistische Korrespondenz* and reprinted by the entire German press. Herr Sündermann said:

> If everything is at stake, everybody must fight. East Prussia and other frontier regions are already demonstrating the method and its results. There the slogan is, "Rather dig than quit." We must win this war if we want to continue to be free individuals. We will therefore insure the victory by unusual strategic and tactical means—namely, by calling up all Germans. The German

> nation is watching the struggle at the gates of the Reich. It recognizes the determined effort of our army, which is fighting with the greater tenacity the closer the fronts approach the homeland. But more than the army may be needed, and readiness is everything. We must prepare ourselves, all of us, to answer the call wherever and whenever it is made. Not a blade of German grass shall fall into the enemy's hands. No German will give him help. Every path into the Reich will be destroyed, every gate closed. He shall meet nothing but death, destruction, and hate. He shall be made to bleed in a terrible way for every yard of German soil which he tries to steal from us.

Four days before this official statement the "unusual" device "of calling up all Germans" planned by the Nazi authorities was described in a "private report" to the Stockholm *Morgontidningen:*

> Goebbels intends to proclaim a general "people's war." Plans are already prepared, and in case the Allies enter Germany from the west, the entire nation will be called up. Well-informed quarters are convinced that Hitler will use the people's war to set up a third great army, a people's and workers' army, in addition to the regular army and the S. S. He will do this in spite of the danger involved in giving arms to men who are opposed to Hitler and thus increasing the possibilities of revolt. At a secret meeting Goebbels is alleged to have told the Gauleiters that every town, village, and house would be defended. If Germany should lose the war, he is said to have added, it would go down like a battleship still firing its batteries as it is engulfed. It would give an example of how a nation should perish, and this example would be a model and an inspiration for centuries to come.

The plan may well be illusory, doomed like so many others to collapse. It is wholly unlikely that the German people could be whipped up to the Jacobinic fanaticism required for such a people's war: they are weary, disgusted with the war, completely pessimistic, and their predominant desire is summed up in the words "Let it end!" But that does not alter the fact that psychological, political, military, and economic preparations are being made.

One of the psychological devices is an ever more zealous waving of the red flag, a strong "plebeian" slant to words and acts. This phenomenon was brought to the attention of *Nation* readers in an earlier column, and it is now attested by new witnesses. The *Svenska Dagbladet* of September 3 says: "All information coming out of Germany agrees that a reign of terror grips the country. It is directed mainly against the upper classes—the officer corps, the higher civil servants, industrial leaders, and intellectuals." The *Tagblatt* of St. Gall in Switzerland reported on August 31 that in the three small towns of Singen, Constanz, and Radolfzell in neighboring Baden 250 persons had recently been arrested, some of them former leftists but the majority members of the conservative or Catholic bourgeoisie. Another sign of the trend is seen in the communication with which the Gauleiter of Upper Austria, Herr August Eigruber, tried to cheer up a mass-meeting held on August 27. He declared that all private villas and country houses in the numerous summer resorts of the province had been taken over and would be "used as recreation homes for workers or as military hospitals."

With regard to the political preparations for a Jacobinic "people's war," it is obvious that the dangerous arming of the masses must be accompanied with multiple precautions against the emergence of any kind of political rallying point. Every possible occurrence around which the aspirations of the masses might crystallize must be forestalled. This necessity explains a news item published in *Die Tat* of Zurich on September 6: "Well-informed sources report that in the middle of last week all members of former Reichstags except those who had joined the National Socialist Party were arrested and taken to unknown destinations."

Military and economic preparations for the people's war are largely identical with the so-called remobilization measures. In the outskirts of Berlin postmen have been done away with and the mail is delivered by the morning milk wagons. According to an announcement by the German radio on September 3, only 20 free-lance writers in all Germany are still allowed to pursue their calling; the rest—about 4,000 story writers and essayists, men and women—have been drafted into war industries. Measures more immediately dedicated to the organization of a people's war are typified by this decree issued by the Gauleiter of northern Westphalia, Dr. Alfred Meyer, on August 26:

> 1. All school children in northern Westphalia from fourteen years up must be available for special assignments.
>
> 2. In all high schools, secondary schools, and elementary schools classes from the fifth grade up must be ready for immediate mobilization for special war tasks. Instruction will continue until the mobilization order arrives.
>
> 3. Teachers, except those of the lower grades, must also be at the disposal of the Gauleiter.

In some provinces classes of school children are already being used on a large scale—for the present in transportation, digging trenches, and the like. Many places have gone even farther. In Stettin, the provincial capital of Pomerania, the following decree was promulgated on August 29:

> The entire population of Stettin is summoned to appear next Sunday at eight o'clock at the City Aid Center and to work until four o'clock. Tools and food for the day should be brought. This applies to all able-bodied men and women up to sixty years of age. Those who take their Sunday walk instead will be ruthlessly noted.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Children of Abraham

THE JEW IN OUR DAY. By Waldo Frank. With an Introduction by Reinhold Niebuhr. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.50.

THIS book is an address by a Jew to Jews; so that a reviewer who is a Gentile, and an Episcopalian to boot, feels himself in the embarrassing position of an eavesdropper. With great sincerity and a passion which sometimes overheats his prose Mr. Frank appeals to the Jews to regard themselves as a spiritual not a temporal entity, as a church not a secular community, whether that take the form of dispersed ghettos or a centralized national home. Quoting Albert Cohen's statement, "The Jews are an Idea made flesh," he argues that "if the Synagogue permanently fails, the Jewish race is doomed," that "to be a Jew *merely* because I was born one is shameful," that God to the Jew has always meant "the dynamic immanence, in the world of matter and of man, of what the person most deeply recognized as his own truth and worth . . . the principle of order, the will to unity, in an otherwise chaotic multiverse . . . *Value in Being*. The Jews, as a people, were the first to understand that this value-in-being could not be abstract, not impersonal, although it transcended individuals; that it was myriadly focused and fleshed in human lives. They did not, like the Platonizing Greeks, believe in God; they knew first of all the nature of man, and this knowing meant to love and to strive; and the substance of these human deeds was to know God," and that democracy is weak today "because it has grown remote from its own religious roots. These roots are Jewish."

To the non-religious Jew and to the Zionist who gives a religious seriousness to national statehood this will probably seem treachery and failure of nerve. To take Zionism first: Dr. Niebuhr very properly points out in his introduction that as long as there are nation states in which Jews are, overtly or covertly, discriminated against, let alone murdered *en masse*, the demand for a Jewish homeland is politically justified. One may believe, as I do, that to regard national statehood as anything more than a technical convenience of social organization—and few do not—is idolatry, but so long as one enjoys the full advantages of statehood one cannot congratulate those who do not on being spared its temptations. Writers are usually in the unfortunate predicament of having to speak the truth without having the authority to speak it. Thus, though I believe Mr. Frank is right in rejecting Zionism, I wish it could have been a Polish Jew who rejected it. For the Gentile, the immediate duty of saving as many lives as possible by whatever possible means must take precedence over any other considerations, and his only question can be: "Is a Palestinian state the most politically possible method *now* of saving the Jews of Europe from destruction?"

The long-run question with which Mr. Frank is mainly concerned, "What does it mean to be a Jew?" is not, at the moment, a Gentile problem, but it will become one, and it should not be too early to start discussing it.

Anti-Semitism stands apart from the other racial hatreds in that the usual pattern of a people with superior technology conquering "backward" peoples, exploiting them, and justifying the inequity on the ground that the latter are children who cannot be trusted with power and are happier without it, is absent. The anti-Semitic male does not say, "The Jews are too dumb"; he says, "The Jews are too smart!" The anti-Semitic female does not have nightmares of being pursued by a huge buck Yid; she imagines a plump little man in spectacles who is the secret czar of the white-slave traffic. No white wishes to destroy the black and yellow races, he wants to keep them in their place; but the anti-Semite wishes to annihilate, not enslave. Even Hitler, who spent so much time and money trying to persuade the public that the Jews are an "inferior race," never dreamed of reducing them, like the Poles, to a colonial status as hewers of wood and drawers of water. In cremating them he at least paid them the compliment of regarding them as dangerous equals.

Similarly, the intensity which the Jew brings to the same activities, business, art, intellectual inquiry, family life, politics, etc., as the Gentile engages in, and which sometimes embarrasses, shames, and irritates the latter—it isn't fair, he feels, to take anything so seriously (nor is it necessarily more successful)—is quite different from the ambitious determination of, say, the Scot, who coming from a poor country knows he must work harder than others if he is to succeed.

I am very glad, therefore, that Mr. Frank has taken the line he has, because I do not think anti-Semitism can be understood or cured until it is realized that there are today two divisions, the first between paganism on the one side and Judaism and Christianity on the other, and the second between Judaism and Christianity.

The first Mr. Frank sees very clearly; the second not so well, or else he is soft-pedaling it for fear of hurting our feelings. The Christian who reads what I have quoted from Mr. Frank will say, "Those are the Christian values too," but then he reads, "It certainly does not mean that they *alone* can express universal values in a particular way of life—but only that they have *their* way of expressing the universal, a way which is Jewish," and at that he will say, "But that's just what *it does* mean. The Christian way of life is not *a* way, nor *my* way, but *the* way. All the others are false." And in that disagreement lies, I think, the essence of our differences

A Gentile who becomes a Christian is a stone which God has raised up to be a child of Abraham; that is, he is a pagan who has to make a complete break with his natural way of thinking, which is a dualistic seesaw between a surrender to sensual immediacy and a worship of timeless abstractions like the State, the Church, the Divine Ideas, to adopt a faith which until the coming of Christ was held only by Jews. If he loses his faith he slips back into an easygoing worldliness or fanatical mysticism.

But if a Jew accepts Jesus as the Messiah and becomes a Christian, he has to make no change in his thinking but one, which is to stop calling it Jewish, to cease regarding himself as having the peculiar role of *guarding* the truth, and share instead the common task of spreading it. If he loses his own faith he does not and cannot, however hard he try, become a pagan; he becomes a negative missionary whose role is to unmask pagan pretensions, for which reason he is very rightly feared by acknowledged pagans and "inertial" Christians, whose fear has and will continue to increase as scientific and technical progress makes paganism simultaneously more powerful and harder to believe. There is an old Christian tradition that the last event of history before the Second Coming will be the conversion of the Jews; that is, as long as paganism, under whatever disguises, exists on earth, the Jew cannot believe the Christian claim to be the fulfilment of the Law and the Prophets, but must regard himself as their God-chosen guardian and remain the scapegoat, because the bad conscience, of the Gentile world.

W. H. AUDEN

The Negro American

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO. Edited by Otto Klineberg. Harper and Brothers. $4.

THIS is the fourth and last of the volumes growing out of A Study of the Negro in America, which was financed by the Carnegie Corporation and directed by Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, whose report has recently appeared under the title "An American Dilemma." The present volume contains four monographs and two articles dealing with the personal characteristics of the Negro and white attitudes toward him. The first part consists of a single chapter in which Dr. Guy Johnson shows that traits usually attributed to the Negro by white writers are similar to those attributed to Negroes by Negro writers. He concludes that since both Negroes and whites have assigned certain characteristics to the Negro, there must be an essence of truth in the stereotypes. He undertakes to distil it and to make his own catalogue of Negro personality and culture traits. Klineberg points out in a footnote that the mere existence of stereotypes does not prove there are facts corresponding to them. And Dr. Johnson's catalogue contains the same fallacies as those he analyzes. For example, his list contains such "traits" as gregariousness, a lack of strong race-wide leadership, and a love of subtlety and indirection.

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In the second part Professor Klineberg presents a thoroughgoing analysis and interpretation of the tests of Negro intelligence and gives an account of the character and results of the various comparative studies which have been made of Negro and white intelligence. It is in the two chapters dealing with the interpretation of the tests, which have usually shown the Negro and the American Indian to be inferior, that Professor Klineberg makes a real contribution to our knowledge of the validity of testing procedures. He concludes that "it is doubtful whether the mental testing technique will ever lend itself to any comparison of native differences independent of the background factors involved." In the third part of the volume, where he has brought together and analyzed the experimental studies of Negro personality, he reaches a similar conclusion. According to the various tests the differences in personality between Negroes and whites are not only less marked than differences in mental traits but also inconsistent. The fourth part of the book contains a monograph on race attitudes. In the eight chapters composing this section Dr. Horowitz makes a critique of the assumptions, methods, and conclusions of the numerous studies of the attitudes of whites toward Negroes. Of special interest are his conclusions concerning sectional and class differences and the relation of intelligence to racial attitudes. At the end of his study he suggests a number of valuable hypotheses for further research.

The monograph in this volume which will perhaps have the widest interest is The Hybrid and the Problem of Miscegenation, by Professor Louis Wirth and Dr. Herbert Goldhamer. In eight chapters the authors present the most comprehensive and thorough study of Negro-white mixtures that has ever been made in this country. They deal with practically every phase of the subject and supplement the data of existing studies with material from Boston for the years 1914 to 1938 and from New York State, exclusive of New York City, for the years 1917 to 1937. Consequently one will find here more authoritative information on the intermarriage of Negroes and whites than is contained in any other single study or group of studies in existence. There is also a critical analysis of the extent to which Negroes of fair complexion "pass" for white and of the incentives and motivations responsible for this phenomenon in American life. Two chapters deal in a realistic manner with the physical and personal characteristics of Negroes of mixed blood. In a

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It would be difficult to name another single volume that contains as much fundamental scientific information on the phases of the Negro problem in which folk beliefs play an important role. This book is recommended to those who would base opinions about the personality of Negroes on scientific data rather than on folklore and romantic notions.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Points East

PEOPLE ON OUR SIDE. By Edgar Snow. Random House. $3.50.

STILL TIME TO DIE. By Jack Belden. Harper and Brothers. $3.

AFTER his dozen years in China Edgar Snow became a war correspondent for the *Saturday Evening Post,* covering India and Russia and revisiting China. His new book is his able and provocative report on those three countries. As readers of his previous books will know, Mr. Snow is an indefatigable seeker after facts—not the superficial ones but the inner facts of how the wheels go round; and he is a scrupulously honest reporter whose work is colored only by his deep conviction that human beings should not be exploited. Therefore what he has to say is worth hearing.

Two-thirds of this book is devoted to Russia, where Mr. Snow stayed seven months in the winter of 1942-43. His long experience in China stood him in good stead here, for he was able to look at Russia as part of Asia—as well as part of Europe—and study the interplay of Asiatic forces. For example, he could not rest until he had outwitted the stupid Russian press officialdom and interviewed a delegation which had come to Moscow from the Mongolian People's Republic, homeland of Genghis Khan, which has been virtually cut off from the outside world for a generation.

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Although technically part of China, the Mongolian Republic grew up under Soviet tutelage, and thus might be considered a sample of Russia's own particular brand of imperialism, or good-neighbor policy, whichever you want to call it. What had been going on there? Mr. Snow discovered, in the first place, that the Mongols did not consider their state to be Communist but a "bourgeois-democratic state of a new type, not socialist and not capitalist." In the second place, the Mongols considered their state to be an independent one, unfettered by the association with Russia. In one generation Mongolia had shaken off the ignorant and corrupt domination of the Lamas; previously those priests of superstition had been the only persons who could read and write, but now three-fifths of the population had become literate. In short, Mongolia had been reborn.

So far so good. Will Russia behave equally well toward its neighbors in Europe and the Balkans after the war? Mr. Snow believes that its actual power position inevitably will make it the main influence among the countries of Eastern Europe. If no workable international structure is achieved, he envisions the possibility of little nations such as Rumania and Bulgaria merging voluntarily into the U. S. S. R. Likewise there may be new alignments on Russia's Asiatic borders. But Mr. Snow believes Russia is actuated by a desire for safety, not expansion, and that it will not use coercion against its neighbors unless driven to it by hostile moves on the part of England and the United States.

In India Mr. Snow found almost no ray of hope. The exploitation of the Indian masses by the Indian upper classes seemed to him almost more appalling than the British exploitation. As for China, he found that "the country's economy had become chaotic, its political life more reactionary than at any time since 1936, and its military efficiency was at the lowest level since the war began." He thinks the United States may be making a grave error in bolstering up the Chiang Kai-shek regime, and that we may yet discover the so-called Communist partisans of the northwest to be the real saviors of China, militarily as well as politically.

Jack Belden, another veteran of China, apparently is none too fond of the Chiang Kai-sheks, either. In "Still Time to Die" he is particularly contemptuous of Madame Chiang Kai-shek's New Life movement and the "pratings of the eunuchs" surrounding her. He presents the fullest and most appalling picture yet drawn of the chaotic Chinese military organization, if indeed it can be called such. He saw one fleeing Chinese division trample over the men of another division who were standing their ground. He saw a general weep when his battalions were surrounded and slashed to pieces.

Mr. Belden's book is a series of vignettes of the battles he has been in throughout the world—in China, in North Africa, in Sicily, and finally at Salerno, where he was wounded. They are extraordinarily vivid pictures, for he has a gift of picking out the details that make scenes come alive; one gets the feel and the smell of battle; one shares the terror in the hearts of the men. Some readers may wince at his frequent references to bodily functions and his use of four-letter words; some may be perturbed by the overtone of bitterness that runs through the book. But war is ugly, and Mr. Belden is writing a realistic and at times powerful portrait of it. MARCUS DUFFIELD

Fiction in Review

FOR all the virtues of the shorter pieces in Katherine Anne Porter's new collection of stories, "The Leaning Tower and Other Stories" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50)—and I shall speak of them presently—it is the long title piece of the book which claims our enthusiasm and confirms Miss Porter's high literary reputation. Miss Porter's new novelette is not only the best thing she has ever written but by any measure one of the finest of modern stories. Perhaps, indeed, it was an error to combine in one volume this novelette, which is such a large achievement, with the rather fugitive sketches which precede it. The large work so overshadows the small that we tend to forget that even at its most fragmentary Miss Porter's writing is full of things to give pleasure.

The Leaning Tower is a remarkable literary-political document, not unrelated in method to Thomas Mann's story of the German inflation, Disorder and Early Sorrow. It is a story about Hitler which never mentions Hitler except as the unnamed subject of a photograph in a barber shop; it is an analysis of political forces without political analyses; it is a chapter of history which still manages, as literature, to stand outside and above history. Miss Porter is telling us about Germany in 1931, about the emotions that prepare national violence. Her narrative device is to follow an impressionable young Texan, who in the first freedom of maturity carries out the romantic resolution to visit the Berlin he had heard about from a childhood friend, as he becomes more and more frightened by the creeping awfulness of pre-Nazi German life. Nothing much happens to this Charles: he checks out of his hotel, he has his hair cut, he looks for lodgings, he becomes acquainted with the other tenants of his boarding-house and celebrates New Year's Eve with them; but the eyes of Charles become the eyes of an ideal documentary camera. Miss Porter's story has neither action nor drama, in the usual sense, but slowly it borrows all the brooding drama of its time and place; in Miss Porter's Berlin of 1931 every house, every room, every piece of furniture or crockery, is a portent of a dreadful consummation. I think the underwritten climax of The Leaning Tower is its sole mistake in literary judgment: impression has mounted on fierce impression until the sense of a necessary explosion is almost unbearable; even as readers we require some of the ranting and roaring that climaxed this German story in actuality.

If space were available, a score of details could be dwelt on in praise of Miss Porter's novelette—the proportioning and pace of the story as a whole, its genius of visuality, the elegant use Miss Porter can make of colloquial language, the use to which she puts Charles's childhood attraction to the little German boy, the choice of a Pole as one of Charles's Berlin circle, the focus upon the Heidelberg scar of another of the lodgers, the endless avenue of horror which Miss Porter can open up by a dozen sentences of description of a hotel keeper and his wife, the instinct that led her to create the half-world cafe which is the scene of a Berlin New

The Piddling *Nation*

¶ Writes H. C. Jackson of Pensacola (voicing the sentiments of most readers of S. Greiner's PRELUDE TO SANITY): "Why should *The Nation* give serious consideration to Ilka Chase's cream-puffs, yet not bestow one word of comment on a book so stupendous in its implications as to reduce most books to peepsqueaks about nothing?"

¶ Well, H. C., a journal of opinion naturally shies from an author who contends that all politico-economic issues are hallucinatory and their solution on the wrong side of the verities. There is no answering in terms of pro and con the demonstration that all differences of opinion are chimeras that reflect organic disturbances within the disputants. It is so much easier to ignore than to refute a writer who breathes harshly upon our paper castles.

¶ But there are signs of awakening. United Press concedes that the book's implications "blast the fabric of our culture and civilization like a block-buster landing in a block of tenements" and that in support of his thesis Greiner "submits a closely packed, well-knit argument" that "provides a potent mental cocktail."

¶ And in an unsolicited letter Clare Boothe Luce states: "Its effect on me was happy. Paradoxically, its paradoxes clarified so much for me! It confirmed my worst doubts about the hopelessness of *The Human Situation*—and yet it left great hope for an ultimate and *divine* solution. It destroyed my already battered belief in the efficacy of thought to organize society, and left me free to enjoy for the first time the phenomenon of thinking. It made tragic mock of Homo Sap, yet it treated Homo Naturalis, son of God, most reverently. And while denying the temporal efficacy of the *Christian moralities*, it pled beautifully for man's instinctive belief in oneness, and in brotherhood. Above all, it made our monstrous historical yesterdays and our hideous historical tomorrows endurable to both cynic and believer simply by transferring their bases from the moral and intellectual and *psychological* casualties to biological ones. And thus it avoids man's emotional descent into the last pit of hell dug for him—by Siegmund Freud."

¶ Yes, H. C., we share your conviction that the book will be read for many generations after *The Nation* will have ceased to be even a memory.

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Year's party. In view of its achievements, it becomes unimportant that The Leaning Tower has one weakness in conception—the character of its protagonist. Much in the picture of Charles is beautifully handled, especially the litmus-paper quality which he has because he is a stranger in Germany, disconnected from the familiar even in language; but as an artist Charles is obscure and disconcerting. Granted that Charles is less an artist than he is young and American, the question is allowed to intrude upon us, whether he is a good artist or an artist as Hitler was once an artist. There seems to be a suggestion of the latter; but then, if she intends the parallel, Miss Porter would be introducing a chauvinism which, highly as she values the American spirit, is miraculously lacking from the rest of her story; for she would be saying, in effect, that the American temperament responds to frustration very differently from the German—a racial generalization whose truth is only devoutly to be wished.

As for the shorter pieces in "The Leaning Tower," although there is always the danger in writing as conscious as Miss Porter's, and particularly in very brief fiction, that carefulness will move over into preciousness, Miss Porter still manages to avoid this pitfall of the too wary; taste is her instrument rather than her nemesis. There is as much vigor as precision in her language, and this in itself distinguishes Miss Porter among present-day women writers, most of whom are so desperately given to breathy effects and soft figures of speech. In The Source, for instance, Miss Porter writes the following sentence in description of cleaning-up day on a Southern farm: "Every mattress cover was emptied of its corn husks and boiled, every little Negro on the place was set to work picking a fresh supply of husks, every hut was thickly whitewashed, bins and cupboards were scrubbed, every chair and bedstead was varnished, every filthy quilt was brought to light, boiled in a great iron wash-pot, and stretched in the sun; and the uproar had all the special character of any annual occasion." Prose like this is not only in the best American tradition, from Mark Twain to Hemingway, but typical of Miss Porter's constant effort to keep her eye on the object.

Yet a faint perfume of sensibility does linger around Miss Porter's shorter stories, despite their vigorous objectivity, and I am puzzled to know whether this is because of their very abbreviated length or because of their subject matter. I have often written about the limitations of short fiction: it is an unsatisfactory medium, allowing not enough room for the play of the imaginative intellect and rather too much room for the display of personality; and even in Miss Porter the little gem of a piece reflects more of the light of its author than of the light of the world. But on the other hand this subtle self-extension may not be a result only of the small compass of Miss Porter's sketches; it may be a result of their common theme. With one exception all the shorter stories in "The Leaning Tower" are re-creations of what we can take to be Miss Porter's own childhood; and there seems to be a peculiar difficulty, these days, in writing about children or from the memory of childhood without making the author-child emerge, herself, too sensitive and cherished, too special a case. Perhaps even an attitude to fiction which is as sturdy and as educated as Miss Porter's is not proof against the prevailing attitude to childhood in our present culture.

DIANA TRILLING

FILMS

"HAIL the Conquering Hero" is the story of a pitiful discard from the Marines (Eddie Bracken) who, helped and forced by a group of marines just back from Guadalcanal, returns as a false hero to his mother and his girl and his home town just before a local election, is put up for mayor against his guilty will, endures a day of comic-satiric hell which includes three extraordinary civic speeches, and at length, in an awful public confession, makes a genuine hero of himself. It is a bewilderingly skilful picture, and the skill is used no more brilliantly to tell the story than to cover up the story's weaknesses and those of its author, Preston Sturges.

If the story is to tell itself at all, and keep going to feature length, everything depends on the marines who befriend and bully Mr. Bracken into it. But Sturges never lets you know why they are forcing their victim through the show. What Sturges does instead, though, is both interesting and highly characteristic of him. Getting Bracken home in the first place forces him to invent one of his most arresting characters, a psychopathic marine, embodied by the ex-boxer Freddie Steele with a legendary, almost supernatural quality of serene, unfathomable, frightening energy. This marine happens to feel a maniacal reverence toward mothers, and shocked into fury by the hero's neglect of his own mother, he sets everything moving. Once they are all in the small town and the young man is desperately eager to clear up the misunderstanding, Sturges shifts the weight to a marine sergeant played by William Demarest, whose great skill in registering a kind of daft innocence and brutal sentimentality, helped by Sturges, can make you believe anything.

Here, however, you hardly know what to believe, for Sturges takes care never to give Demarest time for more than a hint and a laugh. Unless we are to believe that the sergeant is simply so maddened by all the homely excitement that he refuses to let either himself or Bracken jump off the merry-go-round, his motives would have to be of Dostoevskian cruelty and mysteriousness to hold water at all; but of this possibility the hints are so vague that I suspect myself of supplying them. The long and the short of it is that the more you think of the evidence supplied you the less you understand why the marines are there, and why you ever believed it at all. The trick here, a favorite one with Sturges, is to keep everything so jotted, so shrewdly and ambiguously shaded, so rapid, and so briskly full of irrelevant pleasures, that you neither think nor care to, at all. Flickers of motive, most of them faked or questionable, succeed each other so restively that like the successive frames of a strip of film they create an illusory flowing image of motive which one is liable to swallow whole at the time. But in thoroughly good pieces of work there is an aesthetic and moral discipline which, however richly it indulges in certain kinds of illusion, strictly forbids itself others. It never fakes or dodges a motive, a character, an emotion, or an idea. And it never uses its power to entertain as an ace-in-the-hole against one's objection to that sort of faking.

I'd like not to be so owlish about a picture which gave me so much more delight than displeasure, but now that Sturges is being compared, I am told, with people like Voltaire—there are semi-defensible reasons to compare him with Shakespeare, for that matter—I think there is some point in putting on the brakes. Most certainly Sturges has fine comic and satiric gifts, and knows how to tell more truth than that when he thinks it expedient; but he seldom does. This film has enough themes for half a dozen first-rate American satires—the crippling myth of the dead heroic father, the gentle tyranny of the widowed mother, the predicament of the only child, the questionable nature of most heroism, the political function of returning soldiers, these are just a few; I suppose in a sense the whole story is a sort of "Coriolanus" on all fours. But not one of these themes is honored by more attention than you get from an incontinent barber in a railway terminal, and the main theme, which I take to be a study of honor, is dishonored by every nightingale in Sturges's belfry. When Bracken makes his strongly written, beautifully spoken confession, his fellow-townsmen, persuaded by the sergeant and their own best citizen, promptly make him mayor. This is doubtless supposed to pass as irony, since the townspeople and by implication the general audience, not to say the American voting public, are represented as incurable jackasses. But jackasses or not, people in small towns don't reward virtue in any such way; so I'm sorry to see them rewarding Mr. Sturges.

The small-town types themselves, by the way, smartly cast and dressed and detailed and edited as they are, are very little nearer genuine small-town than Broadway is. The Mayor is so well played by Raymond Walburn that it is impossible to take him simply as a meaningful figure of satire. The hero's girl (Ella Raines), after some well and cruelly drawn phases of mixed motive, comes through solid gold when he is at his nadir. The two bits which best survive all of Sturges's deviousness are a paralyzingly high-charged, many-sided moment in which Bracken hits the psychopath, and Franklin Pangborn's unemphasized, terribly sad, and revealing shifts of face as he reflects Bracken's confession in the depths of the character he plays. Sturges is by far the smartest man for casting in Hollywood; this use of Pangborn, an extremely fine actor, is the one thing that improves on his role in "The Bank Dick."

Any adequate review of this remarkable movie would devote at least as much space to its unqualified praise as I have to qualifying the praise; it would have to spend more space than that, I think, getting at even a tentative explanation

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of why Sturges functions as he does. "Hollywood" is no explanation, surely; "Hollywood" was made for Sturges and he in turn is its apotheosis; but why? It seems to me that Sturges had reason, through his mother, to develop, as they caromed around high-Bohemian Europe during his childhood, from opera to opera and gallery to gallery, not only his singular mercurialism and resourcefulness, which come especially natural to some miserably unhappy children, but also a retching, permanently incurable loathing for everything that stank of "culture," of "art." I gather further that through his stepfather, a stable and charming Chicago sportsman and business man, he developed an all but desperate respect and hunger for success, enhanced by a sickening string of failures as a business man and inventor up to the age of about thirty; and that this again assumed the dimensions of a complex. I believe that in his curious career as a never-quite-artist of not-quite-genius he has managed to release and guide the energies of these influences in the only way open to him.

I hesitate to write this sort of thing, drawn only from such superficialities as have appeared in print and from some remarkable photographs of Sturges as a child and young man which appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post;* but I risk the worse than questionable taste because I see no other way to understand what Sturges's films are about. They are wonderful as comedies and they are wonderfully complex and ingenious; they seem to me also wonderfully, uncontrollably, almost proudly corrupt, vengeful, fearful of intactness and self-commitment; most essentially, they are paradoxical marvels of self-perpetuation and self-destruction; their mastering object, aside from success, seems to be to sail as steep into the wind as possible without for an instant incurring the disaster of becoming seriously, wholly acceptable as art. They seem to me, indeed, in much of their twisting, the elaborately counterpointed image of a neurosis. It is an especially interesting neurosis, not only because Sturges is a man of such talent and not only because it expresses itself in such fecund and in themselves suggestive images, but also because, in relation to art, it seems the definitive expression of this country at present—the stranglehold wedlock of the American female tradition of "culture," the male tradition of "success."

For East is East, and West is West, and Maggie and I are out.

JAMES AGEE

DANCE

BEFORE a rehearsal of "Danses Concertantes," the first of Balanchine's two new ballets for the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe, I was watching the practice of groups of dancers who were going to take over in "Song of Norway," when suddenly I noticed a girl going through Danilova's *pas de deux* of the last scene, and being stopped at each movement by criticism, explanation, exhortation, and demonstration from Danilova herself. I was too far away to hear anything; but it was fascinating to see the girl do something, and then to see Danilova repeat it, and enrich it with her regal presence, with the fluent grace, the subtle inflection of legs, arms, hands, and in this way with matured emotion, so that each pose became a dazzling revelation of splendor, each movement an exciting communication of poetic feeling, of dramatic intensity. And I was made aware not only of these qualities but of the human personality or spirit or imagination that was—or that gave the impression of being—their source. Every great dancer, by the particular qualities of his or her movements, impresses us as such a source; what, on the other hand, makes all the technical virtuosity of a dancer like Slavenska completely uninteresting is its utter vacuity.

As with dancers so with choreographers. At the Stadium last summer it was interesting to observe how that vacuity carried over into Slavenska's choreography for Franck's Symphonic Variations, which provided perfect material for the people who complain that the movements of classical ballets don't mean anything. Those movements, like any other plastic materials—for example the materials of formal music—certainly can be made to mean nothing. But they also can be made to have the "eloquence of pure form" that Aldous Huxley talks about in his essay "Music at Night." And some of the most exciting experiences of this eloquence that I have had have been those offered by the classical ballets which Balanchine has created in recent years. In them he has used the traditional ballet movements, which he has altered, elaborated, and combined with others of his own imagining into a personal vocabulary and language that he has used in ever new and wonderful choreographic forms. These have fascinated and delighted me in the same way as Mozart's musical forms—by the play of a keen mind and wit that has been evident in the manipulation of the formal elements, and by the unending invention of an extraordinary imagination. It was difficult to think of his going beyond what he had contrived in "Concerto Baroco" to Bach's D minor Concerto for two violins; but "Danses Concertantes" does after all turn out to be a next step, with new developments in the plastic elements and in the orchestration of these elements in stage space. Balanchine thinks of it as all very simple; actually there is the most intricate of contrapuntal textures, with its rich detail so compactly integrated as to be perfectly clear. The important thing, however, is that it is another marvelously beautiful achievement by one of the great creative minds of our time.

I am writing, before the opening performance of the Monte Carlo company at New York's City Center, on the basis of several run-throughs of Balanchine's work that I saw in a rehearsal room—without Berman's scenery and costumes, and with Stravinsky's music hammered out on the piano. There was an advantage in seeing the movements by themselves so clearly outlined by the bodies in practice tights. But Balanchine contended that the music was at a great disadvantage, and that one could get no idea of it without its orchestration. As it came out of the piano it was hideous, but useful as a sound-track providing motor-impulses for the movements; but Balanchine assured me that when played by the small orchestra, mostly strings, it was "soft . . . very soft . . . very beautiful . . . like birds." Wonderful, if true.

What I went to see at the Stadium was not Slavenska, but Massine, Youskevitch, and Lazovsky who appeared with her. Lazovsky was given smaller billing on the program than the two others; but his performances were, as they always are, in their own way, as brilliant as any. I am not thinking of the leaping and whirling and tumbling that caused his "Hopak" to stop the show; I am thinking of subtler things which most of the people in the Stadium were too far away to be able to see (why they go to the Stadium for ballet is a mystery to me), and would not have appreciated (the public is more impressed by Slavenska's innumerable *fouettés* than by Danilova's poetry and splendor). The subtleties were evident in the slower, less ostentatious Yugoslav peasant dances: Lazovsky's every movement, every configuration was part of a rhythmic flow that sharpened into style—his brilliant technique giving it the security, assurance, and precision that made rhythm and style possible.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Our Apologies to Georgia

Dear Sirs: In your issue of September 2, a letter to the editors signed "Private M. S." states that Georgia requires "the service man to pay the state poll tax." This statement is inaccurate.

The Georgia Soldiers' Voting Act specifically waives all poll taxes for those in service. Georgia voters between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one are not required to pay any poll tax whether in service or not. The federal ballot may be used in Georgia. The Georgia law is the most liberal on the statute books. Any relative or friend of an individual in service may have a ballot sent to a soldier, and if the soldier is not a registered voter, a registration card accompanies the ballot.

In a very uneventful Democratic primary, in which there was no statewide contest except for the entry of a wholly unknown candidate in the Senate race, approximately 10 per cent of the votes were cast by service men. We anticipate 50,000 or more service votes in the general election.

J. SID WILLIAMS, Executive Director,
Young Democratic Clubs of Georgia
Atlanta, Ga., September 6

Canard by Cannell

Dear Sirs: I have just sent the following letter to the *Reader's Digest*. Signing it with me were Janet Flanner, Elsa Maxwell, Mary Reynolds, and Solita Solano. Inasmuch as Miss Cannell's piece in the *Digest* has probably been read by five million or so readers, and has also been dramatized for the radio, we want to give as much publicity as possible to the real quality of Miss Cannell's attitude toward France.

KAY BOYLE
New York, September 1

TO THE EDITORS OF *Reader's Digest*

Sirs: It is in indignation and protest that we write you concerning the article by Kathleen Cannell entitled France Without Law, published in the current issue of the *Reader's Digest*. We believe that such irresponsible and sensational misrepresentation of fact and such wilful misinterpretation of the spirit of revolt of a great and suffering people must not go unchallenged. Miss Cannell's polluting of the very essence of France's protest against enemy occupation is a dangerous thing when given as authentic *reportage* to millions of readers who are not in a position to know from what an unstable and unreliable source Miss Cannell's statements spring.

We have lived for many years in France, and we have, since returning to our own country, continued unbroken (despite all the difficulties of communication and of official restrictions) our contact with France and its children. We have continued to talk with, to receive letters from, to be kept continuously informed by the French, and by others who have returned from France in recent months. In no instance have Miss Cannell's statements been corroborated. Through others we learn of the countless unrecorded acts which are conclusive evidence of the integrity of that youth of which Miss Cannell writes so disparagingly. We know through others of the spirit, the temper, and the quality of contemporary Frenchmen, and therefore we are not afraid, as is Miss Cannell, of what the liberators will have to contend with when they walk down the streets of France's cities.

It is not our intention to attempt in this letter a point-by-point refutation of Miss Cannell's unfortunate article. But as one typical example of Miss Cannell's unreliability concerning the actual state of things in France, let us examine her reference to the Avenue Foch. An acquaintance of Miss Cannell's was stripped one January evening on the Avenue Foch. During the occupation of Paris the Avenue Foch was known to every inhabitant of Paris to be as German as Unter den Linden, with the main Gestapo offices situated in it. Only Germans or collaborationists were seen on its sidewalks, for every self-respecting French citizen boycotted it both by night and day. And yet a friend of Miss Cannell's was walking quite as a matter of course along the Avenue Foch one January evening. Therefore we can but conclude that if Miss Cannell's acquaintance was not German, she had at any rate collaborated with the Germans enough to be protected by a German pass.

In the instance given above, as in every line of Miss Cannell's article, it is apparent that Miss Cannell was a very badly frightened woman. She was afraid to leave Paris, and likewise afraid to walk on the streets of Paris. She was afraid of children, of "baby gangsters"; she was afraid to go out, afraid to stay home for fear the doorbell would ring. When she did occasionally venture out, she was afraid to come home unless "following close upon the clink of German spurs." She was afraid of "false parachutists," of saying the right thing to the wrong people; she was afraid of "being arrested by the Nazis within the hour," and afraid of being called a collaborationist, which she evidently was called from time to time. All this Miss Cannell divulges in her article. What she does not divulge is that she did summon up sufficient courage to speak on more than one occasion on the Vichy radio, and that she had no scruples whatsoever about continuing to write her Paris fashion articles for the New York *Times* even with Paris, and all that emanated from Paris, under German rule. These are matters of public record. They serve to prove Miss Cannell's own statement that one felt safe in Paris if one followed "close on the clink of German spurs."

In this article Miss Cannell is presumptuous enough to give the warning to those who liberate France not to "expect too much." This warning, in the face of current events, has obviously been given the lie. Miss Cannell also states, against all other available evidence, that "the moral fiber of the French people has crumbled." There is no doubt in our minds that the moral fabric of Miss Cannell has crumbled.

12 BOOKLETS BY
WILL DURANT
AND 1 ABOUT HIM

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VOLTAIRE AND THE FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT
SPINOZA'S PHILOSOPHY
KANT'S PHILOSOPHY
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CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN PHILOSOPHERS
TODAY'S AMERICAN PHILOSOPHERS
ANATOLE FRANCE: LAUGHING CYNIC

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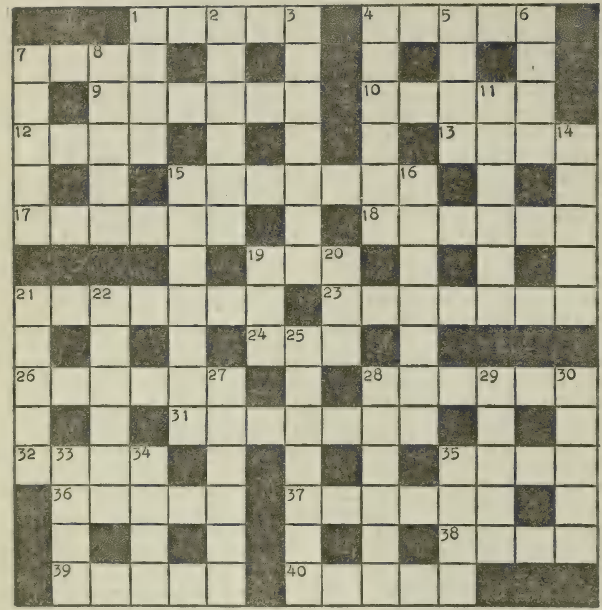
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 82

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 The last of the Mohicans
4 Alias for a knave, at euchre
7 Where nobody wants to go
9 Name that may often come to Mr. Churchill's lips
10 Passe parts of churches
12 A change would make her hale
13 Temporary dwellings which may be shut
15 Simplest form of sea site
17 Take into one's service
18 Mistakes in a Shakespeare comedy
19 A century
21 Wore the lion's skin, in the fable
23 Hold fast
24 "Bluff King - - -"
26 Suit for gardeners?
28 Greek name for Mercury (the god, not the metal)
31 No good newspaperman relishes being this by a rival
32 Henpecks
35 Battle the Mater follows closely (of the old school, of course!)
36 Beating does not affect its affectionate nature
37 I slave in London's "Tailors' Row"
38 The fox is not so regarded by the rider to hounds
39 He wears a feather scarf for tea
40 Makes only a slight impression

DOWN

1 State of the U.S.A.
2 Necktie and chest-protector in one
3 All of a tremble
4 Saber I cook with
5 Where even royal linen wasn't safe, according to history
[illegible] Iron will
7 His *Picture of Dorian Gray* was quite a portrait!
8 Halls of the future
11 Her name is Continentally famous
14 Girl who has America at heart
15 Usually made with no thought of return
16 Might be dark, etc.
19 Wood oars are made of
20 Ribbon-shaped fish
21 He sowed dragons' teeth and reaped soldiers
22 A rattling good thing to have in your pocket
25 There is use in a rod—as applied to sleepers
27 Plenty of old Scotch here
28 "We are as ------ made us, and sometimes a good deal worse"
29 A fish turns on me and shows fight!
30 Doesn't seem quite the right place to make a beginning
33 Biblical king, spouse of Jezebel
34 Formerly worn by color-sergeants
35 They're coming down the mountains

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. [illegible]

ACROSS:—1 ITALY; 4 TALES; 7 ENGLISH; 10 OMAHA; 11 INTER; 12 RECALLS; 13 SAND; 16 KEEP; 18 IRONS; 20 BAREST; 21 DELAND; 22 END MAN; 24 TESTER; 25 COMUS; 26 ISMS; 28 MUST; 31 ICEBERG; 33 IONIC; 34 ORION; 35 OTRANTO; 36 DOYEN; 37 DEATH.

DOWN:—1 IDOLS; 2 AGAIN; 3 YEAR; 4 THIS; 5 LETHE; 6 SCRIP; 8 GOCART; 9 ISLAND; 14 AMBLERS; 15 DERIDES; 16 KHARTUM; 17 ENDURES; 18 ISAAC; 19 SEXES; 23 NO FEAR; 24 TUREEN; 26 ILIAD; 27 MONEY; 29 UTICA; 30 TENCH; 31 ICON; 32 GOOD.

She is writing about a France which she has created, as nightmare figures are created, out of the intensity of fear. She is writing of a France that is the invention first of Dr. Goebbels's propaganda, which has continuously played up "terrorism" in France by "foreign anarchists" (we quote both Miss Cannell and Dr. Goebbels) so that the Germans might assume their favorite role of "protector"; and, secondly, of a France that is the invention of a frightened, nerve-shocked woman, a woman who was ready "for a tactless word, to lunge at the heart of her dearest friend." . . .

We are confident that in the settlement of scores after the war the exact measure of justice will be meted out to those who have sinned against the spirit of a fallen but undaunted country. If so, it is certain that Miss Cannell will not be permitted to set foot again upon the soil of a country whose people she never knew and whose martyrdom she, through her own shortcomings, was never privileged to share.

KAY BOYLE
JANET FLANNER
ELSA MAXWELL
SOLITA SOLANO
MARY REYNOLDS

New York, August 26

CONTRIBUTORS

ELIZABETH HAWES was formerly a fashion designer. Out of that experience came two books: "Fashion Is Spinach" and "Men Can Take It." When war came she left Fifth Avenue and went to work in a war plant. That experience went into another book, "Why Women Cry, or Wenches With Wrenches." She is now international representative of the educational department of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, dealing chiefly with women's problems.

PIETRO NENNI is today head of the Italian Socialist Party and editor of its newspaper, *Avanti,* as he was before Mussolini forced him into exile in France. When civil war broke out in Spain he became one of the stalwart defenders of the Spanish Republicans. He remained in France even after the German occupation and refused a visa which would have permitted his escape to the United States. Since the liberation of Rome, which released him from a Fascist prison, he has become the outstanding leader of the left in Italy.

GEROLD FRANK is war correspondent in the Near East for the Overseas Press.

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

ONE THING ABOUT MR. ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH: we couldn't possibly imagine Mr. Dewey making it. It was not merely the dextrous skill of the old campaigner over against the synthetic play-acting of the tyro. It was not just the humor, earthy and colloquial—Lincoln would have chuckled over the "lugubrious adage" about mentioning rope in the house of one who has been hanged and the Republicans shying away from the word "depression." It was not just the hammer blows nailing down the big falsehoods in the Republican campaign. The impressive thing about Mr. Roosevelt's speech was that he spoke of issues the average American recognized as simple and basic. When the President said, "You remember the closed banks and the bread lines and the starvation wages; the foreclosure of homes and farms and the bankruptcies of business; the 'Hoovervilles' and the young men and women of the nation facing a hopeless, jobless future," the average listener said to himself, "Yes, you bet I remember!" When he spoke about the "peace-building tasks" that were "botched by a Republican Administration" after the last war, the average listener thought of the isolationists before—and after—Pearl Harbor and echoed the President's words: "That must not happen this time." In all of those carefully-coached speeches, not once had Mr. Dewey come close to these realities. When Mr. Roosevelt said, "We must set targets and objectives for the future which will seem impossible to those who live in and are weighed down by the dead past," Mr. Dewey must have reflected sadly that destiny had placed him among the camp followers and not in the vanguard.

*

FOR GERMANY TO CONTINUE WAGING A lost war would make little sense if the time so dearly expended were dedicated only to making a Wagnerian exit. Actually, the Germans are using the time in two ways: (1) in trying to complete the transformation of the Nazi movement into a world underground, as Joseph Driscoll pointed out in his fascinating report in the *Herald Tribune* of September 20; (2) in attempting to liquidate the opposition, as revealed by recent events. On September 10 Karl Gördeler, the former Mayor of Leipzig, was hanged along with six others, among them William Leuschner, former Socialist minister from Essen and an anti-Nazi German labor leader from the beginning. A few days later the Berlin radio announced the death by British bombing of Ernst Thälmann and the Socialist Rudolf Breitscheidt. Swiss reports revealed the arrest of several former members of the Reichstag and the Prussian parliament. It is more than likely that the last phase of the war will see a mass murder of all elements from which might come the leaders of a movement to rebuild German democracy. This is the moment for the United Nations to issue a vigorous warning to the Nazis that they will be held responsible for all future atrocities against anti-Nazi Germans no less than for those committed against non-Germans. Himmler and his chief officers cannot by themselves kill the entire German anti-Nazi movement. An Allied bombardment by broadcast and leaflet might have a restraining influence on Nazis, even in the army and the police force, if they become convinced that acts of terror against their own countrymen would result in swift and ruthless retribution.

*

HARSH THOUGH THE FINNISH PEACE TERMS were in comparison to those offered earlier in the year, they should at least allay the fear that Russia intends to impose communism on Eastern Europe. The most severe demand, from Finland's standpoint, was for the cession of Petsamo, Finland's sole outlet to the Arctic, together with the neighboring nickel mines. Russia also obtained a fifty-year lease on the Porkkala Peninsula, near Helsinki. In addition, the Finns will be compelled to pay reparation—in goods rather than in currency—to the value of $300,000,000 for damages caused by Finnish military operations on Soviet territory. The remaining clauses in the armistice are mainly of a military character, imposed to facilitate Allied moves against Germany. Although the Russian terms require that all pro-Nazi, anti-Allied, or anti-Soviet political organizations be dissolved, they do not dictate to Finland with regard to its economic system or interfere with its essentially democratic constitution. Marshal Mannerheim, long a bitter opponent of Russia, apparently remains as President. For the Finnish people the years ahead will undoubtedly be hard ones, but in the long run they will not be as hopeless as if Finland—and Hitler—had triumphed.

*

AGAIN, AS IF BY DELIBERATE DESIGN, THE President has offended the French government and people—first, by designating an American "representative" to France without consulting or even notifying the French Foreign Office, and, second, by pointedly assigning him to the "de facto authority" instead of the Provisional Government. With a refreshing lack of diplomacy the new Foreign Minister, George Bidault, said he first heard of the appointment of Jefferson Caffery when he saw it in the newspapers. And he added, "There is no alternative government in France. There is today the Provisional Government of the French Republic. No differences exist between this government and the people of France. . . . For future amity it is important that the existence of the Provisional Government should be recognized." These are plain words. It is a shame that they had to be said at a time when the French people, their fighting forces, and their government not only have helped magnificently in clearing the land of Germans but form a solid, trustworthy protection for the rear of the advancing armies. But if the manner of Mr. Caffery's appointment was unfortunate, the appointment itself added insult to injury. From his earliest diplomatic assignment to his latest, Caffery has consistently served the most reactionary interests in his own country and in the country to which he was accredited. Some week soon *The Nation* will print a resume of his record. Meanwhile we say flatly, no man in the foreign service, with the questionable exception of Robert Murphy, could be less fitted to represent America in France.

*

FOLLOWING THE LEAD OF BRITAIN AND Russia, the United States has recognized the independence of Syria and Lebanon—an interesting manner of amending the previous French mandate—and has raised our diplomatic agent in Beirut, Mr. George Wadsworth, to the rank of minister. Ever since his arrival in the Levant in 1942, Mr. Wadsworth has conducted himself in a way that is unbecoming, partisan, and detrimental to our interests. His extreme pan-Arab sentiments have left him unsympathetic to the problems of minority groups, particularly those of the Jews in Palestine and the Christians in Lebanon. From the day he arrived he has been General Spear's most zealous lieutenant in every move to oust the French and to weaken the Christian Lebanon. During the trouble in Beirut last November Mr. Wadsworth gave official credence to manifestly absurd stories of French atrocities reported to him by dubious Lebanese informers. Later, along with M. Delcoigne, the Belgian Minister, he took the initiative in stirring up public opinion against the appointment of General Beynet as the new French Delegate General on the patently invalid pretext that he was planning to reestablish French military dominance. Much more could be said of the record of Mr. Wadsworth, but perhaps this is enough to indicate that he is not the man to represent the United States in a region as politically ticklish as the Levant.

*

A DARK PICTURE OF THE PROSPECTS FOR liberated Europe has emerged from the UNRRA conference now under way in Montreal. In his report to the UNRRA Council, former Governor Lehman revealed that despite all its efforts the agency has been able to collect but a small part of the supplies needed for long-range rehabilitation work. Supplies of clothing are so short that a national campaign to collect second-hand clothes is in prospect; the agency has been able to buy only about one-sixth of the meat and fish required and one-sixth of the badly needed supplies of fats, and has no stores of milk or milk products. The policy committee of the UNRRA council has recommended "limited" help to Italy of $50,000,000. This is important in establishing UNRRA's right in Italy. Other resolutions of the committee provide aid for Allied nationals, Jews, and others found in enemy territory and a unified standard of relief throughout liberated Europe. With regard to the liberated areas as a whole, conflict has developed between UNRRA and the military authorities over the length of the military control period. Experience has shown that the army authorities, placing military considerations above all others, have been unable—either in Italy or in France—to do much toward the restoration of normal economic activities. It is to be hoped that a compromise can be reached to permit UNRRA, working in close cooperation with the army, to assume immediate charge of relief operations.

*

CONGRESS HAS SCURRIED FOR HOME AFTER hitting a new low in irresponsibility. Called into special session in August to provide legislation to enable the country to withstand the drastic shocks of demobilization and reconversion, Congress responded with a feeble bill covering the disposal of surplus materials, but did nothing whatsoever for the millions of war workers who will be released after Germany's capitulation. Campaign orators of both parties are shouting from the house tops about jobs, but their representatives in Congress have not made a single move to create jobs or to facilitate the provision of jobs by private industry. The so-called reconversion bill, passed last week by both houses, consisted simply of a reaffirmation of the right of the states to pay differing rates of unemployment compensation for those already covered by insurance. The millions of workers in the federal shipyards and arsenals, who face a peculiarly difficult problem in the transition to civilian employment, are ignored completely.

*

EVERY DECENT WORKER AND EVERY FRIEND of labor should blush at the refusal of the New York State Federation of Labor to indorse Robert F. Wagner for reelection to the United States Senate. Labor has had no better friend in public life than the grand old senior Senator from New York. From his youthful days as an Assemblyman in Albany, Wagner has consistently championed the interests of the workingman. The A. F. of L. indorses Dies and it indorses Stephen A. Day of Illinois, but it cannot make up its mind to indorse the father of the National Labor Relations Act, "the Wagner Act." This is a strange way to carry out the policy of rewarding one's friends and punishing one's enemies. Fortunately, in this as in so many similar cases, the A. F. of L. rank and file may be counted on to ignore the die-hard clique that rules in its name.

*

RAILROADS ADVERTISE, AND NEWSPAPERS do not look too closely into the causes of railroad wrecks. An exception is the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, which calls attention editorially to a little-noticed aspect of the recent collision of a Miami express and a mail train near Terre Haute, Indiana. More than a score of persons were killed in the accident, many of them wounded young men coming home on furlough from the Italian campaign. The crash occurred after the engineer on the Miami express ran past a red stop signal in the fog. The accident would never have occurred had the railroad been equipped with an available device which automatically stops or slows down a train that has run through a stop signal. "In the past eleven years," the *Post-Dispatch* points out, "416 persons have lost their lives on American railroads because railroad men missed block signals," and because 15,000 miles of railroad track in America are still unprotected by the automatic-obedience device. Railroads should be required by law to instal these and similar safety devices.

Hunger Does Not Wait

AS THE first Axis country extricated from the clutch of fascism, Italy offered the Allies a testing-ground for their ability, to aid in the restoration of European democracy. The results could hardly have been more discouraging. If anyone in this country is too complacent to recognize that fact, let him read the passionate outcry published in the Socialist *Avanti* in Rome, demanding that the Allied Control Commission leave Italy and allow the Italians to "administer our misery alone."

A few months ago the editor of the Political War Section of *The Nation*, J. Alvarez del Vayo, concluded his article, Goodby to Revolution, with these words: "The mistake of not seeing the meaning of the war may be paid for by another war. But before that we may be confronted with a tragic and ironic situation—the liberated countries of Europe struggling to free themselves from their liberators." That situation has arisen —even sooner than we expected.

The editorial in *Avanti* reflects the opinion not only of a radical group. "The Socialists," says a dispatch from Rome published in the New York *Times* on the same day, "are not alone in their criticism of the ACC. Italy, without exaggeration, is in an alarming state of misery and popular ferment, with a degree of consequent lawlessness that can only be understood by piling on top of one another dozens and dozens of known instances throughout the whole liberated zone."

We admit we had not expected that the Allies would fail even in providing the necessities of life to the liberated countries. Our chief anxiety was centered in the political field—on the tragic results, in terms of democracy, which must be the inevitable outgrowth of a war waged for years without clear democratic direction. Now we are forced to realize that there is little democracy and less bread in the Allied program.

Every recent report from Italy, including the official report of Brigadier General William O'Dwyer, has painted the same picture of hunger and of Allied inability to alleviate it. Rome's 1,400,000 holders of ration cards receive a daily food allowance of 650 to 750 calories, according to Russell Hill of the New York *Herald Tribune*. General O'Dwyer, who gave Hill this information, put the minimum requirement for subsistence at 1,500 calories a day, and for a healthful diet, 3,000. The General acknowledged that many working-class families have been forced to sell their blankets, clothing, and furniture to buy food.

"Hunger does not wait," said *Avanti*. And hunger and despair provide the background for what is happening and may happen in Italy. It is against this background that even the most unpleasant events must be judged. It was easily ignored in Herbert L. Matthews's long report to the New York *Times* of the killing by a mob of angry Roman citizens of Donnato Carreta, the former vice director of the Regina Coeli prison. The story may have established Mr. Matthews as a writer of Grand Guignol horrors but it did little for his reputation as an interpreter of post-war Europe. Imagine the emotions of anti-Fascist Italians who heard an American "telling the crowd"—we quote Mr. Matthews's own words—"that this is worse than fascism." Caruso, the Fascist chief of police on trial for his life, might have used these words unchanged in his own defense next day in court.

What is particularly disquieting is to find even intelligent American observers failing so completely to understand what is going on in Europe, and by their failure encouraging reactionary fears in this country of a radical and uncontrolled Europe. No sane person would suggest that the way in which Donnato Carreta was killed should be adopted as a pattern for the punishment of fascists and collaborators. But anybody who has ever read even a brief history of revolution and civil war in any country, including our own, should know that such things always happen and that if there is anything surprising in Europe today it is that so few incidents of this kind have occurred.

It is not only the passionate reaction of widows and relatives of martyred anti-Fascists that is responsible for excesses like the killing of Carreta. It is desperation, hunger, and, above all, the failure of the Allies to support democracy in Italy and to create the conditions for the rise of a strong Italian popular government. On one side we see the British interested in keeping Italy as weak as possible, and in preserving a monarchy which, owing its survival to Britain, would become an instrument to counteract the growing influence of Russia. On the other, we have American diplomacy trying to build up the strength of the Vatican and to promote an Italy dominated by the Church and the old nobility. Not even in their reactionary aims have the two Western Allies been able to agree and combine their efforts.

The solution, therefore, does not lie in a further tightening of Allied control in Italy, but in making possible the constitution of a popular government provided with the means and the power, financial and administrative, of working for the rebirth of a democratic Italian nation.

The Choice Before Chiang

THE collapse of the Chinese armies on the Kwangsi front, following similar severe setbacks in Hunan and Honan, appears to have precipitated a long overdue political crisis in Chungking. This was first apparent in a somewhat mysterious relaxation of censorship. For the first time since the outbreak of the war correspondents are permitted to speak of shocking conditions of corruption, inefficiency, and disorganization within the army—conditions which are discussed elsewhere in this issue by Betty Graham. With Nelson's visit to Chungking, correspondents have also been allowed to describe the appalling breakdown in Chinese war production. There have even been hints of an impending governmental shake-up. Although Chiang Kai-shek is not directly implicated in the military setbacks, his prestige has undoubtedly suffered. And with the defeats administered to the Central Government forces, the prestige of the Communist opposition has undoubtedly risen.

It is generally agreed that the chief prop of the present regime at Chungking has long been the American and British governments. But it has been an open secret for some time that the American government, at least, is dissatisfied with the slackness with which some Chungking generals and civilian authorities have prosecuted the war. Vice-President Wallace's visit to Chungking in June was undoubtedly a reflection of America's concern. General Hurley and Mr. Nelson took with them a more specific program for helping China to revitalize its entire war effort. Since such a revitalization cannot be carried out through the reactionary and defeatist officials who have long held key posts in the Chinese government, both Chungking and Washington dispatches hint at the possibility of a coalition government under Chiang Kai-shek that would include the Communists and the not unimportant liberal groups, which have recently become more articulate than at any time for years. If a genuine war government were set up, the first man to be marked for elimination would presumably be Ho Ying-chin, the War Minister, who is chiefly responsible for the present chaos in China's military establishment. Close behind him would be the Chen brothers, leaders of the notorious C. C. clique which dominates Kuomintang politics.

Such a reorganization of the Chinese government can only occur under present conditions if the United States and Great Britain are prepared to pay a price in greatly increased military and economic aid for a more vigorous prosecution of the war on the part of the Chinese. The alternative, as suggested in Miss Graham's article, is a complete change in Allied Pacific strategy, involving an unpredictable lengthening of the war.

Campaign Notes

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

MR. ROOSEVELT obviously enjoyed abandoning the roles of President and Commander-in-Chief to assume for a few moments his old star part as political campaigner. His very voice revealed the satisfaction he felt in the give and take of open political fight. Nor has his tongue lost its cunning. He can still turn an opponent's best dramatic effects into claptrap. The "Democratic candidate for reelection as President," as he was carefully described by the station announcer on Saturday night, removed from Mr. Dewey both the mantle of the New Deal, with which he has tried to cover his and his party's nakedness, and the cheap pretense that the depression was a Roosevelt invention. In this first political speech the President jolted a sluggish, inert campaign into sudden life and motion. And he did it by laying down a political barrage of terrible accuracy and armor-penetrating humor.

Not that the Dewey campaign has been entirely ineffective. It has been pedestrian and dull, but Mr. Dewey has, it seems to me, pulled out two good bits of strategy. One was the introduction of a foreign-policy adviser, John Foster Dulles, who has helped to steady the candidate's yawing course in foreign affairs, and whose knowledge and experience are stupendous compared with Mr. Dewey's. The too obvious effort of Dewey and his mentor to make the Administration appear both secretive and partisan at the start of the Dumbarton Oaks conference was neatly sidetracked by Mr. Hull. But the general effect of the Dulles appointment has been to give Dewey's campaign a respectable and fairly convincing foreign-policy front. It needed it badly.

The other effective piece of Dewey strategy has been his use of the undeniably cumbersome processes of wartime administration in Washington. The best example of this was in his Seattle speech of September 17. Speaking obviously to labor, the Republican candidate made great play of his enthusiastic support of the National Labor Relations Act; indeed, he claimed for the Republicans equal credit for its adoption. But then he devoted the bulk of his talk to a detailed chronicle of the run-arounds, the multiplication of agencies, the delays that have interfered with the purposes of the act and barricaded labor from its just rewards. He cited dramatic cases to illustrate his general charge. And he may have convinced some of his listeners that once a Republican Administration is in power and the bureaucratic obstacles have been swept away, the entire labor problem will have been solved to the satisfaction of consumers, employers, and "the great free labor movement of this country."

This is pretty good electioneering. Because what Mr. Dewey did not say, what he deliberately failed to say, may easily have escaped notice. He did not say a word about how, if he were elected, his administration would handle the great post-war conflicts which are bound to arise, not between labor and government, but between labor and capital. Not a word. You would think, if you didn't bother to think much, that government agencies were the only things that labor would have to deal with. For once Mr. Dewey forgot the employers. And he forgot the whole ominous picture of a demobilized war machine confronted with eleven million demobilized soldiers and an even greater number of workers for whom jobs can be found only if production is stepped up, not down. In short, he forgot the issue that will be the greatest issue of all when the war ends.

But these facts of industrial life are not being forgotten by everybody. They are the very substance of the thought and words of Henry Wallace. They infuse every act of the Political Action Committee. And it is because they provide the dynamite of the campaign on the domestic side that the counter-offensive against the P. A. C. has gathered such force. The right wing, from its respectable organs like the New York *Herald Tribune* to the ranting Hearst and McCormick press, is concentrating an impressive amount of fire on this single group. Within the last week a new organization has been formed dedicated solely to attacking the Hillman forces. I forget the name of this outfit, but you will doubtless soon get some circular literature from them telling you that only your dollar will prevent communism in America next January. One of the leaders is the fallible Mr. Bromfield.

All of this was to be expected, for the P. A. C. *is* effective, it openly advocates progressive policies, and it is a clear warning that labor is in politics on a national scale, and to stay. The counter-offensive is a tribute to the force the P. A. C. has been able to muster in so short a time.

But I think it indicates something more than this. I think it also indicates how feeble and passive the regular Democratic organizations have become. In very few states is the party fighting with the energy this election demands. Very few of the top Democratic leaders are doing a real job of campaigning. Apart from Mr. Wallace and the free-swinging Mr. Ickes, who among the President's chief supporters is talking or writing? One reason the Republicans are directing their fire at the P. A. C. is that it is almost the only political target within range. Without the P. A. C. this most crucial of all campaigns would have been the deadest and dreariest. And a dead campaign means fewer voters at the polls.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE question of the duration of the European half of the war is being settled—as this is written (Sunday)—outside a city in the Netherlands. The late news has just come in: the air-borne division in the Arnhem pocket is still holding out, after seven days and nights of fighting, but its perimeter has been badly compressed; only limited contact has been established with General Dempsey's ground forces advancing up from Eindhoven and Nijmegen; patrols have had to cross the Lek by night under fire from Germans on the heights; and the weather is so foul that reinforcing by air is impossible. The situation is one of those so often encountered in war, where every operation is simple but even the most simple is terribly difficult, complex, and filled with chance. All the air-borne troops have to do is hold off the Germans, who are attacking from every side; all the ground forces have to do is break through to the relief, guarding the flanks of their long, narrow corridor as they advance; all the air crews have to do is wait for a break in the weather so they can fly in low through heavy ack-ack and drop men and ammunition in a restricted area with enemy fighters buzzing them as they go.

That's all anybody has to do, really, to win the war quickly: overcome the terrible friction inherent in the simplest warlike act. All anybody here can do is pray.

The success of the original undertaking was great. This largest of all air-borne operations went off under enemy fire much better than most such complicated performances go off in maneuvers. Within twenty-four hours of the droppings—made in broad daylight—the ground forces had broken through on the Netherlands border and joined with the air-borne troops near Eindhoven. Then came the drive northeast to Nijmegen, and the brilliant seizure of the big Waal bridge, intact, before the Germans could blow it—a happy reversal of a similar stunt four years ago.

Meanwhile the enemy rallied quickly, as he always does (who was it said the Germans didn't fight well on the defensive?), and counter-attacked violently all along the sides of the Allied corridor and all around the air-borne force which had been dropped closest to Germany, right across the last of the Rhine barriers, at Arnhem. The German High Command knew that if this force held out until the Second Army linked up with it, there would come a drive to turn the end of the thick Siegfried Line defenses at Kleve—a drive which could roll down behind the Germans holding the line, and which could also split off straight across the flat Westphalian plain toward Hanover and Berlin.

Presumably there is what amounts to a military vacuum in this area. The stiffness of the German resistance along the line from Arnhem to the Belfort Gap indicates that every available division has been committed to this action. If a breakthrough is made, and if it is exploited with the usual Eisenhower celerity, there should be a dash into Germany, the encirclement of large bodies of the enemy, the surrender of army corps, divisions, and smaller units piecemeal, and an early end to organized resistance in the west.

Because the German General Staff saw this pattern unfold in France and knows that it can unfold the same way in Germany, it is committing its remaining troops everywhere. And because the Kleve-Arnhem sector at the end of the Siegfried Line is the most vulnerable area for the Germans, this is where the most determined effort is being made to destroy the Allies and prevent the further unfolding of the familiar pattern. If the Allies can break through here, into that area of virtual military vacuum, the war in the west can be finished in very short order. If the air-borne division is wiped out, we shall have to try elsewhere, and the war will take longer.

Even so, it is hard to see how it can take very much longer. A quotation is apt:

> A study of Napoleon's tactics will show us that the first step he took in battle was not to break his enemy's front and then, when his own forces were disorganized, risk being hit by the enemy's reserves. Instead, his aim was to draw the enemy's reserves into the fire fight, and, once they were drawn in, either to hold and envelop them or break through them. This done the enemy was compelled to retire, when a pursuit became possible. What we should now aim at is a combination of the following ideas: (1) to force the enemy to mass his reserves in a given sector; (2) to disorganize these reserves *before* we break through them. This done, pursuit—the tactical act of annihilation—can take place. Pursuit is the dividend of victory.

This quotation is neither from Eisenhower's operational order for the present battle nor from Major Eliot's daily column. It is from Major General J. F. C. Fuller's project for Marshal Foch, prepared in 1918 for use in 1919, not put into effect then because the Armistice intervened, but very obviously in effect today. The German reserves have been drawn into the fire fight both in Normandy and along the Westwall; they were held and enveloped in Normandy, and will either be held and enveloped in the Netherlands or broken through in Germany. The German reserves are now being whittled away all along the line; there is nothing to take their place, what with the increased tempo of advances on the eastern and southern fronts. Once they are broken through, pursuit and "the dividend of victory" will follow quickly.

FDR, PAC, and the Midwest

BY I. F. STONE

Chicago, September 21

SEEN from a plane, the land between the Ohio and the Mississippi, and Lakes Michigan and Erie, is a neat checkerboard of black earth and green fields, the pattern marred from one horizon to the next by a succession of small towns, here and there the Lilliputian towers of a few great cities. From Youngstown to Gary, this is the domain of steel, and at night one can see furnaces and slag heaps burning in the distance like lonely miniature hells. Below one is the countryside that produced Lincoln, Altgeld, and Debs; Rockefeller, Ford, and Girdler; Harding, Cox, and Bricker. Its atmosphere is a shade more democratic than the Eastern seaboard; its class conflicts are sharper. From it sprang the giant young unions in automobiles, steel, and rubber, and also America First. Its most influential paper is the Chicago *Tribune*, but this Midwestern area we think of as typically American is fully as polyglot as New York. Its people talk all the dialects and tongues, from Cornwall, which supplied many of the miners who dig Upper Michigan's ore, to Syria, whose folk are no inconsiderable factor in Detroit local politics.

This section of the Midwest is a land of snug farms and self-reliant farmers, of small-minded small towns and cities of cosmopolitan culture. Its politicians are uniformly mediocre; its capitalists, extraordinarily capable and often brilliant; its workers, well-organized and militant. Predominantly Republican in the past, this area would seem, by quick guess, headed back to the fold this year, but the party's leaders and financial angels are worried. A Presidential election in war time provides more than the usual number of imponderables; Dewey's speeches are cool and competent but leave no wake of throats hoarse from cheering; there is fear of the Old Maestro's magic. In Detroit the business men are shelling out as usual, but in Cleveland and Chicago the anti-New Deal zealots are having trouble collecting. On the form sheets it looks as if Roosevelt should lose Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, but politics is less scientific than horse-racing. There are two big unknowns. The first, as Republicans admit privately, is the effect of Roosevelt's scheduled radio addresses. The second is the extent to which the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee can get the workers registered and to the polls. Organized labor in three crucial counties—Cuyahoga (Cleveland), Cook (Chicago), and Wayne (Detroit)—has sufficient numbers to outweigh the rising anti-New Deal tide on the farms and in the small towns. If labor turns out in force, it can deliver the seventy-two electoral votes of Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan to President Roosevelt and insure his reelection. It all depends on F. D. R. and the P. A. C.

I found my ten-day pre-election Cook's tour of Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan a chastening experience. I can claim no sensational discoveries, but I bring back a wholesome truism. The U. S. A. looks a lot different from Chillicothe than it does from Washington. Washington is concerned with the problems of government, Chillicothe with the problem of making a living. As long as this is solved, however temporarily, with a fair amount of satisfaction, Chillicothe isn't too interested in anything else, politics becomes a side issue, and party affiliation reverts to habit. We left-of-center journalistic kibitzers live in a world far removed from the common man whose century we proclaim, and ordinarily have as little contact with him as an eighteenth-century salon liberal with the peasant he idealized and championed. In Washington, where we tend to think in terms of abstractions and ideal programs rather than in terms of political realities, F. D. R. more often than not seems an exasperating fumbler and compromiser. But when you get out to the Middle West and begin looking at the country, county by county, politician by politician, bartender by bartender, you realize it's a miracle the President has been able to accomplish as much as he has.

Political pulse-feeling is tricky business, and the reporter engaging in it had best remember the blind man and the elephant and be wary. As one tries to check on popular feeling, one begins to understand why intellectuals are almost always dubs at politics. The irrelevant, the immaterial, and the inconsequential play far more part than fact or logic in determining individual judgment, and one good homely saw like the danger of changing horses in midstream—it has the Republicans worried—is more effective than a whole campaign handbook of reasonable argument. The task of discovering why any one particular county or ward votes Republican or Democratic is often difficult and always fascinating. Since political affiliation is so largely a matter of habit and inertia, except in periods of crisis, the reasons for the politics of any area usually lie in the past, that is, in some past crisis deep enough to establish political patterns for years to come. The Republicanism of the Midwest is the heritage of the struggle over slavery, and the vestigial Democratic rural areas in Illinois and Ohio seem to lie principally along the rivers, which provided access to the early settlers from the South and Southeast; but often I found experienced politicians unable to explain just why their districts happened to be Republican or Democratic. There is a kind of geology of politics in which the investigator uncovers one buried stratum of party affiliation after another, some the relics of major political convulsions, others the result of a petty local feud or an outstanding personality's influence. The personality may range from an astute saloonkeeper's to a glamorous President's. These determining factors, many of them trivial, are quite different from the economic and social issues that concern us in Washington.

It is a little surprising to find the extent to which racial groups and national origins play a part in the election returns in this area, and in this the area can hardly be exceptional. I hate to generalize about this, for exceptions are many and obvious. I am not relying on my own necessarily random and fleeting observations but solely on what I was told by practical politicians in the three states I visited. It is not the Irish alone who are attached to "the old sod." By far the largest group of the foreign-born in Detroit are the English and Canadians; their votes went to Roosevelt in 1940, and most of them will go to him again in 1944. There are large communities of Dutch origin in rural Michigan; they go back to 1846, when many left Holland because of differences with the Established Church; Vandenberg is of this stock. It was predominantly isolationist—until Hitler invaded Holland, and there will be votes there for Roosevelt this year that are normally Republican. The Irish are, of course, an old story. I talked to an Irish Democratic politician, with an Irish name, who failed to carry a Chicago ward normally solidly Democratic. It turned temporarily Republican in the First World War and has again in this one. "They still want to fight Cromwell, not Hitler," was the politician's comment.

It is not always possible to disentangle factors of national origin from those of economic class. The Poles make up the largest group of the foreign-born in Michigan, rank with the Germans in Illinois, and are the third largest group after the Germans and Italians in Ohio. Americans of Polish origin have been strongly pro-Roosevelt in the past, and not in Cleveland, Chicago, or Detroit could I find anyone who thought they would vote differently this time, despite their admittedly deep feeling over the Polish boundary question. But the Poles are pro-Roosevelt not because they are Poles but because they are of the working class, many in the lower-paid strata. Hamtramck, the city within the city of Detroit, is solidly Polish and solidly proletarian, and probably returns the largest pro-Roosevelt majorities of any Northern city. Similarly, most of the Jewish vote will go to Roosevelt, but a Jewish Democratic politician with whom I spoke said he found a considerable gravitation toward Dewey among wealthy Jewish business men.

The normally Democratic German vote in the Midwestern states is expected to go against Roosevelt this year. An extreme example in this sector is provided by the tier of Ohio counties along the Indiana border, normally Democratic. They turned against Wilson in the First World War and are today a stronghold of the Coughlin–G. L. K. Smith following. Smith's running mate, Romer, is from one of these largely German and Catholic counties, which include some of the richest farm land in Ohio and are ardently opposed to the New Deal. Germans are the largest single group of foreign-born in Ohio and the second largest in Michigan; they provide a strong isolationist and anti-Roosevelt factor throughout the Middle West. In Detroit the Nazis were powerfully intrenched in the German American community. Cincinnati, the second largest industrial city in Ohio and probably the only city Roosevelt will not carry, is put in the Dewey camp by Ohio politicians for two reasons. It is a center of the open-shop machine-tool industry, and it has a large population of German origin. In this connection, it is only fair to note that Democratic politicians with whom I spoke in Ohio estimated that Dewey lost from 10,000 to 15,000 votes in that state by his slap at Gerald L. K. Smith.

I am sorry to talk in racial terms, and I know that they do an injustice to many Americans of German origin, but I must honestly report that Midwestern politicians find them valid enough for the rough-and-ready calculations of practical politics. Certainly, enough people in each of these groups are influenced by considerations of this kind to affect a close election. These factors will all play their part. The principal and decisive division, however, is between the rural areas and the cities, between farmers and business men on the one hand and workers on the other. The latter have numbers in their favor. Whether they can translate them into victory is a question I should like to examine in a second letter from the Midwest.

[*Mr. Stone's "second letter" will appear next week.*]

China in Crisis

BY BETTY GRAHAM

MILITARY developments shaping up in the Far East may very possibly cause the Allied leaders to revise their fundamental plan of campaign against Japan. This new crisis is highlighted by the rapid Japanese thrust into Kwangsi Province, but much broader issues are involved than the loss of the Kweilin air headquarters or the bisection of China.

Japan is only 400 miles short of establishing an overland escape route for its armies scattered throughout Southeast Asia—in Burma, Thailand, Indo-China, and the Malay Peninsula as well as in the adjoining Indonesian islands. These southern troops, at present supplied entirely by ship, are now perilously near to being cut off from their homeland.

Once the Allies establish bases in the Philippine Islands and once the bulk of their European fleet moves to the Pacific, they will be in a position to throw a tight blockade across the South China Sea. This body of water lying between the Philippines and China is already the only relatively safe shipping channel left to Japan's dwindling merchant fleet. But Japan is now experiencing serious difficulty in keeping its southern troops efficiently equipped. After a few months it may be virtually impossible even to evacuate these forces—unless an overland escape route is opened.

Japan already holds both ends of a transportation network stretching from Singapore on the southernmost tip of the Asiatic continent, or Rangoon at the western extremity of Japanese expansion, across the Asiatic continent to Fusan at the eastern end of the Korean Peninsula, which juts out from Manchuria toward the islands of Japan proper. During the past year Japan's main military activity was directed toward knitting these ends together where they converge in China.

Complete achievement of this objective is already in sight in Kwangsi Province, the last gap in the 4,400-mile escape route. This fact is giving Allied leaders real concern, and it seems safe to speculate that it provided a major subject of conversation at Quebec. For if Japan's armies on the Asiatic mainland become fluid, if Japan can concentrate its forces for a last stand on ground of its own choosing—whether in China, Manchuria, or Japan itself—the Allies may be forced to change their entire strategy in the Far East.

Just why is it that the Chinese troops are not expected to be able to prevent the imminent junction of Japanese forces moving down through Central China with those in Indo-China? Why are current dispatches from China so pessimistic about the possibility of holding Kweilin, or Liuchow farther south, which is at the junction of an excellent highway running up from the Indo-China border with a railway coming down from the north? The answer to this question lies in the progressively quickening rate of disintegration within the Chinese military organization. This fact is a source of Allied alarm, and we can be sure that Major General Patrick J. Hurley, President Roosevelt's personal military adviser, is giving the matter full attention during his current visit in China.

The disintegration of China's armies can be explained only partially by lack of military equipment, though this is Chungking's official excuse. Lack of equipment is certainly an important factor in the current demoralization that is creating record desertion rates in the Chinese army. But even on this score, the Allies are not the sole culprits, as some well-meaning writers would have us believe. For instance, at the time of Pearl Harbor American military officials surveyed Free China's armament industry and estimated that Chungking could keep its armies quite adequately supplied with small arms and ammunition. By the first of this year fourteen of eighteen iron foundries in Chungking had closed down; one out of every four steel plants set up in war-time China was idle. The reason for this goes back primarily to the Chungking government's economic policies, which have continued to favor the wealthy landlords even at the expense of the industrialists—but that is another story too long to recount here. It is sufficient to note that the problem is so important to our war effort that Donald M. Nelson, an authority on war-time industrial economy, hurried to Chungking with General Hurley.

China's army staff has always been split into cliques, held together mainly by a common devotion to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Now Chiang's popularity is perceptibly waning. Since the first of this year he has lost the support of two of his top-ranking generals, both once listed among his most ardent adherents; he has uncovered one widespread plot among his younger officers; and he has lost his second largest group army, consisting of six reputedly strong armies under General Tang En-po, which simply evaporated last spring in the path of the Japanese drive into Honan.

These three developments have been so muffled in censorship that it is difficult to evaluate their seriousness. However, General Pai Chung-hsi, Deputy Chief of Staff under the Minister of War, and General Chen Cheng, frequently termed China's ablest military leader and once looked upon as Chiang's chosen successor, have both taken themselves off to the sidelines. Both are said to be angered by the policies of the Minister of War, General Ho Ying-chin, who is one of the most reactionary and pro-Japanese officials in Chungking. Both are also said to desire an end to the Communist blockade, so that China's full military strength can be loosed against Japan. However, their dissatisfaction on these two scores is undoubtedly coupled with disappointment in the Generalissimo, who has permitted such situations to develop. Whatever the reasons, General Pai left Chungking last winter and secluded himself in his home near Kweilin. General Chen relinquished his command of the Yunnan forces driving into northern Burma last spring just as the offensive was starting. Though his removal was explained on the usual grounds of "ill health," he has since been assigned to a lesser post in Chungking.

Last February Chungking's top militarists were thrown into a state of panic by the discovery of a plot formed by a young officers' clique. Later this plot was believed to be only a scheme devised by some military classmates to obtain more rapid advancement, not a planned revolt against the Generalissimo's authoritarian regime.

However, the evaporation of General Tang's armies in Honan cannot be minimized, for it indicates a corruption and demoralization among Chinese troops that may crop out elsewhere. During recent years General Tang's troops had been kept largely inactive in the central part of Honan Province, ready to support General Hu Tsung-nan's blockade against the Communists to the west or to move eastward into Anhwei Province to mop up Communist detachments. These forces were stationed in a tobacco-raising area, and in time the officers began investing in the tobacco industry to pad their inadequate salaries. As General Tang himself became known as one of the principal speculators, he could not prohibit the business enterprises of his subordinates. When Pearl Harbor put an end to tobacco imports, prices of Honan tobacco skyrocketed, and General Tang's officers became wealthy overnight. Naturally, when the Japanese invaded the region last spring in their drive to seize the entire length of the Peiping-Hankow railway, most officers thought only of removing their wealth to safer regions. The rate of desertions reached unprecedented heights, leaving General Tang with a skeleton force that offered only token resistance to the Japanese.

Chungking leaders realize that corruption is widespread in other Chinese armies that have remained inactive and stationary for years. It is almost impossible to foresee when the pattern set by General Tang's men may be repeated. And while the American retraining course may ultimately revitalize the Chinese army, it will take time to retrain and reequip from three to six million Chinese soldiers. The importance Chungking gives to this situation is indicated by a recent United Press story from China's capital. The dispatch quoted an official announcement that two battalion commanders were executed on September 6. The officers had fled before a Japanese attack, leaving one regimental commander in charge of the battlefield. Public announcement of army disciplinary action is almost unprecedented in Free China.

Even more unprecedented is the flood of criticism regarding China's military and economic condition which has poured out from Chungking in the past week. A few months ago such critics would have disappeared into a concentration camp. So it seems possible that Chiang Kai-shek has lifted the ban on popular criticism in order to lay the foundation for a substantial reorganization—a reorganization as desperately needed as increased Allied military aid if Chinese forces are to be revitalized in time to help in the defeat of Japan.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT CUBA seem to have advanced one stage, in that the Spaniards have been asked to sell the islands for bonds. . . . The offer has been refused. Spain, it is said, will not negotiate for a sale as long as the insurrection lasts, and there thus only remains the alternative of getting her to make thorough political reforms in Cuba or beating her out of the island.—*September 2, 1869.*

IT IS NOT TOO MUCH TO SAY that there is no power in the government, in the parties, or the church, that can influence the press as effectually as the financial class do by means of their advertising patronage. Far be it from us to assert that the financial classes, as a rule, seek to corrupt the press; still less that the press, as a rule, is venal; but undoubtedly the system of financial advertising has been developed to a degree of perfection that almost destroys the dividing line between a business bargain and downright bribery.—*September 2, 1869.*

THE STATE OF THINGS in Ireland grows highly interesting. The disestablishment of the church has, as was expected, been succeeded by a renewed, and what promises to be a very vigorous, agitation about the land tenures; and this agitation, we regret to say, derives a good deal of its power from what may be called dropping murders of landlords all over the country, even in districts in which such murders have been hitherto unknown; and it has been stimulated, too, by some very cruel evictions.—*September 9, 1869.*

THE PREPARATIONS IN THE STATE for the fall elections are tolerably lively. Frequent meetings of the two Gangs in this city have been held with a view to reunion; but then the combination, if they succeed, will be mechanical merely, and not chemical; that is, nothing new will result from it. The two Gangs united will simply form one big Gang, with the same aims, processes, and probably increased powers of mischief.—*September 23, 1869.*

What About the Peace?

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

GOVERNOR DEWEY and his followers would have us believe that the main issues of the 1944 Presidential campaign are such intangibles as bureaucracy, one-man rule, economic freedom, the "defeatism of the New Deal"—and Sidney Hillman. The Democrats are placing their chief dependence on the President's war record, with subsidiary emphasis on the social and economic achievements of the Roosevelt Administration. So far neither party has come to grips with the question which most closely affects the future of the American people—how to make a peace that will stick. Mr. Dewey has tried to befog the issue by implying that peace is above partisan politics, and the President has done little more than stand on his record.

Many honest independent voters are frankly confused on this most vital of all issues. They know fairly well what a vote for Mr. Roosevelt means in terms of the future role of the United States in preserving peace and prosperity; his nearly twelve years in office have made Mr. Roosevelt's strong points and weak points clearly apparent. They may reasonably assume that if he is reelected, his basic policies will have the same direction as in the past and will reflect the same strengths and weaknesses. But a vote for Mr. Dewey has no such precise meaning. Dewey has no record whatever in the handling of foreign affairs. Voters who want to know how he would deal with the problems of the peace can only go by such things as his various statements on foreign policy since he has aspired to the Republican nomination, the Republican record in Congress on foreign affairs, and the attitudes of his associates, particularly the views of John Foster Dulles, who is prominently mentioned as Mr. Dewey's choice for Secretary of State.

Friends of Mr. Roosevelt picture him as a clear-eyed prophet who saw World War II coming long before most of his fellow-countrymen and took decisive action to assure victory. Some of his enemies go so far as to call it the Roosevelt War, charging him with fomenting it in order to keep himself in office. A careful study of the President's record reveals little justification for either of these extreme views.

Mr. Roosevelt's supporters might better admit that, as any other man would have done, he made many blunders at first because of inexperience. When he was inaugurated on March 4, 1933, the chain of events leading up to World War II had already begun. Japan had seized Manchuria and Jehol and was threatening the great cities of Peiping and Tientsin in North China. The League of Nations had proved its ineptitude in the face of Japan's unprovoked aggression. Adolf Hitler had risen to power in Germany partly through his unbridled denunciation of the peace treaty which had terminated World War I. Benito Mussolini was already casting covetous eyes on Ethiopia. If Mr. Roosevelt was aware, during his first term, of the rising tide of war, he did not reveal it by either word or action. Reading the back files of *The Nation,* I find an editorial in the issue of March 8, 1933, urging the President, as "his first official act," to declare an embargo against Japan. Needless to say, this was not done. Mr. Roosevelt's inexperience led him to make another serious blunder in his first important venture into the field of foreign policy—his famous message to the London Economic Conference refusing to participate in a worldwide arrangement for the stabilization of currencies. Even two years later, when Italy invaded Ethiopia, Mr. Roosevelt seemed unaware of the need for international cooperation to stave off disaster. The League's sanctions against Italy were hamstrung by the unwillingness of the American government to cooperate in imposing an oil embargo. And the President signed, without any apparent misgivings, the first version of the neutrality act, which was interpreted by potential aggressors throughout the world as assuring a "hands-off" policy on the part of the United States. A little later, after the outbreak of the war in Spain, Congress, upon the State Department's urging, placed an embargo on the export of munitions to Spain—even though this action clearly favored German-Italian intervention in the Spanish conflict.

Early in his second term, however, Mr. Roosevelt began to show an awareness of what was really happening. His "quarantine the aggressors" speech, delivered at Chicago on October 5, 1937, was studded with phrases such as "the present reign of terror" and "the foundations of civilization are threatened." In this speech he pledged the United States to a "concerted effort" to preserve the peace. In view of Mr. Roosevelt's war-time record of close cooperation with Great Britain, China, and Russia, there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of these words. If his Administration delayed abrogation of the trade treaty with Japan until July, 1939, and failed to bring about a revision of the neutrality act until after the outbreak of war in Europe, the blame must be placed primarily on Congress. During the four crucial years culminating in the attack on Pearl Harbor, the President's efforts to restrain aggression were consistently balked by an intransigent isolationist faction in Congress—a faction that was composed predominantly, but by no means exclusively, of Republicans. This clique backed the adoption of the so-called neutrality act, which forbade American aid to the democracies in the event of aggression in Europe or Asia. It frustrated the Administration's efforts to fortify Wake and Guam, and in other ways imperiled American defenses. Many of the most constructive moves made during the pre-Pearl Harbor period were carried out by Executive action without awaiting Congressional sanction. These include the destroyers-for-bases deal in September, 1940, and the orders to the American navy in 1941 to protect our shipments to Britain.

On the debit side, it must be admitted that Mr. Roosevelt still seemed unable to grasp the political character of the world struggle between fascism and democracy. Although he doubtless sympathized with Republican Spain, he never appeared to regard the Spanish war, as the Axis did, as a test of the unity, strength, and will to survive of the democratic states. Along with Britain, the United States continued to appease Fascist Italy until the day of its "stab in the back" against France. The collaborationist regime at Vichy was recognized until the invasion of North Africa, and the subsequent dealings with Darlan and Giraud in French Africa and with Badoglio in Italy have cost America millions of friends throughout Europe.

If Mr. Roosevelt is reelected, we can assume, on the basis of this record and the peace plans now being drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks, that a realistic basis of cooperation among the United States, Britain, and Russia will be worked out and maintained. There will be no undue leniency for the war-makers of Germany and Japan. But our government may continue to prefer to deal with the "safe and sane" elements in the smaller countries rather than with the groups that are seeking to throw off the shackles of political and economic reaction along with the Nazi yoke.

Some critics of President Roosevelt's foreign policies have indicated that they intend to vote for Mr. Dewey on the ground that he could do no worse and might do much better. They point to his Louisville speech to prove that Mr. Dewey is just as sincere an internationalist as the President, and insist that he would avoid the blunders that have marred Mr. Roosevelt's record. But before rushing off to vote for Mr. Dewey because of President Roosevelt's mistakes, it might be well to see if there is any reason for believing that New York's governor—with no experience and apparently little interest in foreign affairs—can be relied on to do a better job in the critical days ahead. If Mr. Roosevelt's greatest weakness lies in his failure to grasp the political implications of the rising democratic tide throughout the world, what can be said of Mr. Dewey's insight? The Republican candidate is almost twenty years younger than Mr. Roosevelt. Most of his mature life has been lived in the period when the Axis powers were preparing and carrying out their aggression against the democratic way of life and the international security system developed after the last war. If Mr. Dewey was aware at any time during the tragic 1930's of the threat of this Axis revolt to American security, or to world democracy, he never said so publicly, nor did he provide the slightest leadership to any attempts to awaken the country to its peril.

Mr. Dewey's infrequent utterances on international affairs are characterized by an amazing lack of consistency. In his Louisville speech he sought to cover up his inexperience by giving the impression that he stands for the same things as Mr. Roosevelt. Yet as recently as last February he declared that a Roosevelt peace would mean "a repetition of the same catastrophe which happened in 1919." This is not the first time that Mr. Dewey has reversed himself on foreign policy. When the Lend-Lease bill was first introduced into Congress in a desperate effort to save Britain, Dewey denounced it as "an attempt to abolish free government in the United States." Two years later, at the time of the Mackinac Island conference, he went to the other extreme and advocated a military alliance with Great Britain. When it became apparent that this idea was not acceptable to Mr. McCormick and the isolationist wing of the Republican Party, it was quickly dropped.

It is generally agreed that prospects for peace or war during the next generation depend primarily upon effective cooperation among the United States, Great Britain, and Russia. This cooperation has been developed to a remarkable degree under the pressure of war. But high statesmanship will be required to maintain it once the pressure is removed. It is essential that the man who is chosen President in 1944 be capable of working in harmony with the leaders of our two chief allies. Mr. Roosevelt has demonstrated his capacities in this direction in his many meetings with Prime Minister Churchill and at the Teheran conference with Marshal Stalin. Could Dewey do as well?

Apart from his inexperience and rather smart-aleck attitude toward such large problems as those of military strategy, Mr. Dewey presumably could work amicably with Great Britain. Far more crucial in the years immediately ahead, however, will be our relations with Soviet Russia. We know that Mr. Roosevelt can work with Stalin. What are his opponent's chances?

Mr. Dewey has already provided the answer. His general attitude toward the Soviet Union was clearly expressed in one of his earliest statements on international affairs. In a speech delivered before the Women's National Republican Club on January 20, 1940—when he was still hoping to win the 1940 nomination—he denounced President Roosevelt's "most unfortunate" action in recognizing Russia in 1933. He declared that the Soviets had obtained recognition from other countries by trickery and had similarly hoodwinked the "gullible" New Dealers. He described the Soviet regime as "a perversion of government, abhorrent to the conscience of mankind." Not satisfied with name-calling, he proceeded to charge Russia with having "surreptitiously" seized large areas of China while that unhappy country was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Japan. Incidentally, Mr. Dewey had not a single word to say in condemnation of Germany or the Nazi regime. In recent months Mr. Dewey has been much more careful in his public statements on Russia. Only a few months ago, however, in a private "off-the-record" conference, he is reported to have described the Russian leaders as a bunch of Communists with whom we could never deal.

Next to preserving workable relations with Britain and the Soviet Union, the most important task facing the next Administration will be that of world economic reconstruction, involving the stabilization of currencies, the stimulation of trade, and the development of backward areas. Mr. Dewey's only mention of this vast undertaking has been his jibe at "Washington wasters," whom he accused of trying to buy good-will abroad with the contents of American pocket-books and aiming to set up an international WPA.

Perhaps in view of Mr. Dewey's lack of interest in world affairs, it is unwise to attach too great significance to his remarks. Their conflicting character makes it obvious that he is unlikely to provide leadership in foreign policy even if elected President. Mr. Dewey is above all a party regular, and his foreign policies will be determined by the Republican Party leadership. Fortunately for the voters, the Republican record is an open book for all to read. During the crucial period when England was standing alone against the Axis, an overwhelming majority of the Republicans in Congress opposed the President on a series of vital measures, including modification of the neutrality act, lend-lease, extension of the draft act, and the lifting of the ban on the arming of merchant ships. Republicans like Henry Stimson, Frank Knox, and Wendell Willkie, who were as vigorous and sincere as the President in opposing aggression, were virtually read out of the party for their views. The Republican leadership in Congress has passed into the hands of Senator Taft, whose isolationist record is surpassed only by that of extremists like Hiram Johnson and Gerald P. Nye. It is significant that Mr. Dewey has not repudiated the efforts of another Republican leader, Senator Vandenberg, to emasculate the Dumbarton Oaks proposals by subjecting actions of the world organization to veto by Congress.

Against this, friends of the Republican candidate insist that John Foster Dulles, Dewey's chief adviser on foreign affairs, has a good record as a supporter of the League of Nations in its earlier days and as a leader in drafting a strongly internationalist post-war program for the Federal Council of Churches. This is true. But when the stakes were highest, Mr. Dulles's judgment—or courage—failed him completely. In 1939, a few days after Hitler's seizure of Czechoslovakia, he declared that "only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy, or Japan contemplates war upon us."

Inasmuch as very little is known about the real views and capabilities of Thomas E. Dewey, there is, of course, a remote chance that he might free himself from party domination and display an unrevealed capacity for constructive leadership once the campaign is completed. But Dewey's persistent dodging of the basic issues of the campaign, his incapacity for developing constructive criticism of the President's foreign policy, and his failure to see the intimate connection between the well-being of other peoples and that of the American people suggest that inexperience is perhaps the least of Mr. Dewey's grave limitations.

[*This is the first article of a series on the chief issues of the election. The second—on full employment—will appear in two weeks.*]

In the Wind

A BROCHURE soliciting subscriptions to *Industrial Relations*, "a magazine for employers," contains this summary of a forthcoming article on Plant Protection: "Indications are that we are in for a wave of strikes and labor trouble when 'down-grading' and layoffs begin—how others are preparing by building strong plant police and protection systems—use of women in policing plants and how to train them."

CAPTAIN MARVEL, a comic-strip hero of the Superman variety, finishes his war missions this month, and next month begins an assignment on the "International Police Force."

HAVE YOU SEEN those street-car posters advertising a sunburn lotion, illustrated by a Varga girl of the type that got *Esquire* into trouble with the Post Office? If you haven't there's a reason. *Tide*, an advertising trade magazine, reports that delighted male citizens throughout the land have been tearing down the posters and taking them home. The advertising agency is having serious difficulty in keeping up with the depredations, and the lotion is selling in great volume.

A CURIOSITY SHOP in New York offers Landon-for-President buttons for sale. A friend of ours has been wearing one around town for a week, but nobody has noticed it yet. We find that fact very disturbing.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Nazi press in Denmark recently quoted with approval the British military commentator Liddell Hart's aphorism, made during the Blitz, "The defensive is the best offensive."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 is awarded each month for the best item.*]

The Russians Think of Home

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Moscow, September 8

WHILE the Red Army has been plunging through one Balkan frontier after another to make junction with the Yugoslavs, Italians, French, British, and Americans in one great South European front, the thoughts of the Soviet people have turned ever more insistently to the reconstruction of their war-shattered land.

It is a striking fact that during the short, four-day war with Bulgaria that brought the Red Army to the borders of Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia, cleared out the last Nazi bases on the Black Sea, and assured the Soviet Union the formal right to participate in Allied decisions concerning Bulgaria, four leading editorials in *Pravda* were devoted not to war but to home affairs. The "leaders" in *Pravda,* like American front-page headlines—but not like American editorials—always indicate the topics which the paper's direction (in this case, the Soviet government) considers most important and on which it wishes the nation's attention to be concentrated.

The day that war with Bulgaria was declared, a *Pravda* leader explained this step as necessary to clean out the Nazi strongholds. Thereafter Bulgaria, in fact the entire Balkan campaign, dropped out of the headlines. On the following day the leader was captioned, "Fight Labor Turnover and Absenteeism." On the next the editorials and nearly half the rest of the paper celebrated the first anniversary of the liberation of the Donetz basin with its valuable coal and steel.

A full-page letter to Stalin that had been signed by 710,000 people reported achievements in the Donbas during the year. It stated that the Germans had killed 279,000 inhabitants of the region during the occupation and deported 200,000 more to Germany. They had also burned villages, blown up blast furnaces and power plants, and flooded the mines. In the year since liberation the workers in the Donbas had reconstructed 858 industrial establishments, including 51 large mines, 8 blast furnaces, 34 open-hearth furnaces, 18 rolling mills, 49 coke batteries. They had also restored an impressive list of cultural institutions—libraries, museums, and schools. We must not assume that these "restored" enterprises and schools function like new ones. The people still live in dugouts and work under colossal hardships. But at any rate the schools are open and the factories run.

Pravda's next editorial leader summoned the nation to a great "socialist competition" in preparation for the November holidays. It stated that the August production of iron and steel was 25 to 35 per cent higher than that of the previous year but urged everyone to do still more. The Stalin automobile works in Moscow challenged the workers of the entire nation to increase production. The same number of *Pravda* devoted more space to Max Lerner's answer to Bullitt in the American newspaper *PM* than to Bulgaria, with which the war was now in its third day. All aspects of American public opinion are very important here.

On the following day the leader discussed the opening of the school year, especially the opening of trade schools which are preparing personnel replacements for industry and the railroads. A short item on the second page announced that the war with Bulgaria was over. The back-page weekly summary of the international situation noted that Finland, Bulgaria, and Rumania had all been forced out of the Nazi coalition and that the Anglo-American successes in France brought very near the day for the storming of Germany from all sides.

These four *Pravda* leaders—on the labor turnover, the Donetz reconstruction, the nation-wide socialist competition, and the opening of the schools—indicate accurately the major trends of Soviet thought in the final period of the present war. Somewhat the same phenomenon is observed in America, where reconversion discussions are the order of the day. Nobody here, however, worries about the difficulties of returning to peace-time activities but only about how soon they can get at it.

If you ask any Soviet citizen about the shape of the post-war world, he immediately answers in terms of whatever immediate reconstruction is nearest to his heart. In Siberia, for instance, I spent an afternoon with a group of sixteen-year-olds from the trade schools who are already working part-time in a factory; one youth had won a prize as a lathe hand. I asked these young folks what the post-war world would be like. The young lathe expert immediately replied, "I'll be studying music instead of making munitions."

I tried the same question on the assistant mayor of Krasnoyarsk, a Siberian city which has had a spectacular growth during the war years. The assistant mayor was a young woman who had advanced rapidly in her career and had just been elected assistant governor of a large province. After short references to nearby China and Allied victories in France, I posed to her also the problem of the post-war world. Her answer was quick and unhesitating: "We will have street cars in Krasnoyarsk. The people now walk miles to the factories."

When I explained that my query related to post-war Europe and the world outside the Soviet borders, both the boy and the mayor apologetically replied that they were too busy and too ignorant of what the people of Europe wanted to be able to guess what they would decide. There was not the slightest indication that they even imagined their government might dictate the choices of people in other states.

These incidents, of course, are not conclusive, but they may somewhat reassure any Americans who fear that the Red Army may advance far beyond the Soviet borders and that the speed with which the Eastern European nations are making peace with Moscow presages far-reaching Soviet intervention in the post-war period. Undoubtedly the Soviet leaders intend to see that there shall be friendly states along the entire border. When this is secured, the tendency of the Soviet government will be to concentrate—perhaps even unduly, as America did for a century—on Soviet internal affairs. The Red Army soldiers are just as anxious to get home as the American G. I.'s are—possibly even more so, since they have been away longer.

Polls, Propaganda, Politics

The Negro Vote

THE Negro vote in eight Northern states whose electoral votes total 203—of a grand total of 531—is sufficient to push those states from one of the major party columns to the other. Race relations have therefore become an important campaign issue. That they are more important this year than they were in 1940 is shown by the much greater space now given to Negroes in politics by seven representative New York newspapers. In the ten days after the Democratic National Convention of 1940, which followed the Republican Convention, one paper devoted nine inches to two items about Negroes. The other six carried no Negro political news. This year in the same period five of the seven newspapers carried twenty-two items filling more than sixty-six column inches. Half of them were news stories, four were editorials, and seven were found in columns or features. No especially big Negro news broke in the period studied.

This column has polled a sample number of Negroes in Harlem, the biggest single Negro community in the North, to determine their voting intentions. The persons to be questioned were selected after a careful study of past voting records and local social conditions. Of 581 Negroes interviewed, 30 per cent had not yet decided whether to pull the Democratic or the Republican lever on Election Day. Of the others, 74 per cent intended to vote for Roosevelt and 26 per cent for Dewey. Of the 581 people polled, 82 per cent said they had voted Democratic in 1940, 18 per cent Republican; of those who told us they had already made up their minds, 78 per cent voted Democratic in 1940. Thus no marked defection from the Democratic ranks was discovered among Negroes who have decided how they will vote. However, almost twice as many 1940 Democrats as 1940 Republicans (27 against 14 per cent) have still to decide.

The indecision found among Negroes parallels the indecision found among Polish Americans, on which this column reported recently, and may be explained in the same way. In the first place, certain special issues have arisen—dissatisfaction with the Administration's race-relations policies, and the influence of Old Guard Southerners in the Democratic Party—which have made 1940 Negro Democrats think twice about how they will vote. And in the second place, people of depressed social and economic status make up their minds late in the campaign. The highest proportions of undecided voters were found in two groups: one consisted of Negroes who were born in the South and never went beyond grade school—they will be drawn in later by their environment; the other of Negroes who had completed high school or gone to college and who were in doubt about which party has most to offer to their race.

Much the largest amount of Republican sentiment was found among Negroes born in the South who never went beyond grade school and are now forty-five years of age or older. This is probably explained by the old Negro Republican tradition, reinforced by fresh memories of the deeds of Southern Democrats.

Most Negroes intend to vote for the party favored by most low-income voters. This reveals an interesting political paradox, for racial discrimination against Negroes is apparently strongest among low-income whites. During the Philadelphia transit workers' strike against the hiring of Negroes, Mr. D. C. Gilchrist and Miss R. Thompson made a special survey of white opinion, asking 600 persons, "Do you believe Negroes should be given jobs as operators of trolley cars and buses?" To determine the effect of income on white attitudes toward Negroes, they took two-fifths of their sample from persons on an upper income level and three-fifths from those on a lower. In both groups the majority were in favor of job equality for Negroes. But 40 per cent of the poorer people were against Negroes getting qualified jobs in the transportation system, while only 20 per cent of the more prosperous felt that way.

Experience in previous elections suggests that most of the people who hesitate now will vote the same way they did in 1940. There can be no doubt, however, that there are elements of strain in the Negro community which make one section of the vote unpredictable.

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IN EARLY ISSUES OF THE NATION

Two articles on Russia by PIERRE COT, former French Air Minister. M. Cot has spent the past ten months in Russia as special delegate of the French Provisional Government. He has traveled all over the country and has been in a better position to learn the inside facts about the Soviet Union than most other correspondents.

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Eisenhower in the Ruhr

BY ALBERT NORDEN

WHEN General Eisenhower takes Essen he will have broken the economic backbone of German imperialism regardless of how long the war may continue. For there is the center of German industry. From the country around Essen comes seven-tenths of Germany's coal. These coal deposits and the proximity of the Lorraine metal deposits, which until 1918 were largely in German hands, have led to the growth of a giant iron and steel industry. Half of Germany's blast furnaces, including the largest, two-thirds of its pig-iron and raw-steel production, and 80 of its 133 rolling mills are in Rhineland-Westphalia, in and around the Ruhr Valley. This section has no fewer than 3,854 plants for the manufacture of finished iron and steel products—more than half of all those in Germany.

Who owns this enormous wealth? The coal deposits of the Ruhr, with their estimated reserves of 55,000,000,000 tons, are controlled by eleven trusts. The two largest, the steel trust (Vereinigte Stahlwerke) and the Thyssen family firm, which are closely connected by personal relationships, control more than 850,000,000 square meters of coal fields. They are followed by the Flick firm with 550,000,000 square meters, Haniel with 470,000,000, Stinnes with 350,000,000, Krupp with 178,000,000, Hösch with 139,000,000, and Köckner with 123,000,000. These coal kings have formed powerful vertical corporations. They are the owners of the iron-and-steel works, the rolling mills and tube factories, the blast furnaces, and the bridge-building firms of the Rhine and the Ruhr. They control a large part of the shipyard industry. The German explosives industry is the joint domain of the steel trust and I. G. Farben. The two most important trusts in the German electrical-equipment industry, Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft and Siemens, are partially controlled by the giant Ruhr firms, especially the steel trust, Krupp, Flick, and Mannesmann.

These industrial czars of western Germany have been the support of German imperialism ever since, half a century ago, it entered, booted and spurred, on the world stage. For such important imperialistic organizations as the All-German League, the German Navy League, the Defense League, and the German Colonial Society they provided leadership, newspapers, and money. During the First World War, it was they who proclaimed the infamous intention to extend Germany's—meaning their own—domination to the Atlantic by taking over France, Belgium, and the Baltic states, and also to seize the Ukraine and Morocco.

Germany lost the First World War, but these men, its real rulers, were not disarmed. Steadily pursuing their aim as if nothing had happened, they formed a temporary alliance with the new republican regime, and with its cooperation built up forces whose first military success was the defeat of the progressive elements in Germany itself. When the bloody internal battles were over, and when Germany's industrial plant had been completely modernized—with American money—they were ready for the Second World War.

Adolf Hitler, having proved himself the most effective of all the reactionary demagogues, became the darling of the Ruhr millionaires. For every ton of coal they sold they gave fifty pfennigs to the Nazi Party. The "black Ruhr barons" in the *Herrenklub,* in the German Nationalist Party, and in the circle around Hindenburg determined to raise Hitler to power. They knew that he would push through a rearmament program that would give their steel mills, then running at only one-third of capacity, full employment, and that his aggressions would open up world markets for their coal and their machines. They wanted the First World War; they manufactured the second. They must not be given a chance to start a third.

The first and most obvious step to be taken to prevent another war is expropriation of the properties of the Ruhr magnates. But when this has been done, what then? Who shall take over the mammoth concerns? In international discussions of this question diverse proposals have come up. The most radical is to take the Ruhr away from Germany and make it a separate country, either controlled by an international mandate or closely tied to France. That would cut the claws of German imperialism, but it would also destroy the German economy. It would put the Reich in the impossible position of having to transform itself from an industrial to an agrarian country. Millions of industrial workers in the cities would be condemned to permanent unemployment—and economic anarchy would inevitably produce political disorder. Germany can exist, if necessary, without East Prussia; it cannot exist without the Ruhr.

Another proposal, which meets with the approval of certain circles in Wall Street, the London City, and the Comité des Forges, is for an international group of capitalists to take over a majority of the stock in the Ruhr enterprises. No doubt the German trusts, which under this arrangement could hope to keep a minority interest in the business, would welcome such a solution, but the people would be outraged by it. For the war of the democracies against the fascist states is not being fought for the purpose of placing the international cartels in a new and commanding position in the heart of Europe. To put the Ruhr under the control of a few cartel magnates who in their own countries have always been the worst enemies of progress would be to lay the basis for economic and political reaction in Germany.

There is a better solution, one that would promote democracy in Germany. Whether it will be adopted or not depends on whether General Eisenhower follows the principles of Marshal Foch or adopts others. In November, 1918, the revolutionary German soldiers and their leaders had seized all the ammunition depots in the country and all the bridges over the Rhine, and were disarming all the counter-revolutionary troops streaming back from France and Belgium. At that moment the Allied High Command stepped in. General Hirschauer appeared at Kehl, directly across the Rhine from Strasbourg, and announced, *"C'est bien entendu, plus de Soviets ni d'histoires de ce genre"*—"One thing is clear: no more Soviets or any monkey business of that sort."

Foch was so afraid of revolution that he refused to demand the immediate dissolution of the German General Staff, that citadel of imperialism. He permitted the regiments that remained loyal to the Kaiser to march back into Germany fully armed and in close formation. Under the leadership of the General Staff they stamped out the revolution and became the germ cells of Hitler's Wehrmacht. Two such unimpeachable witnesses as Clemenceau and Barthou agree that Marshal Foch permitted the German General Staff and the Ebert government to keep 5,000 machine-guns, "so they could turn them against the revolution."

When Sumner Welles tells us that the subsequent history of Germany and the world would have been different if there had been more Liebknechts ("The Time for Decision," page 16), we should not forget that Foch's policy led to the defeat and violent death of Liebknecht and tens of thousands of his followers. Foch's support of monopoly capital in the enemy's country took precedence over the military security of his own. Thus Germany's defeated imperialists were given their chance to prepare for a Second World War.

How the Allies tipped history's scales in favor of reaction has been shown by Colonel J. L. Hunt, the officer in charge of civil affairs with the American forces in Germany. In his official report on the occupation of the city and district of Coblenz by the Americans in 1919 he reveals quite frankly how the occupying forces propped up the shaky imperial authorities and lifted them when they fell:

> It was fortunate indeed for Germany that the plans of the independent wing of the Socialist Party were foiled. The counsel of moderation won the day, and most of the ex-imperial officers remained at their posts. In occupied territory *their retention was made a condition of the armistice.* . . . As a result, the armies of occupation had a thoroughly capable group of officials to carry out their orders and wishes. . . . In many cases our arrival was welcomed by the officials, who regarded our coming as being of great assistance in enforcing their authority, which had been weakened by the revolution (my italics).

In view of all the evidence, it must be admitted that the internal development of Germany, and hence the course of world history since 1918, would have been different had the Allies followed a different course.

Will the supreme commander in 1944 repeat the mistakes of the supreme commander in 1919? Or can he adopt other methods? For an answer, let us look briefly at the population of the province of Westphalia and the administrative district of Düsseldorf, which contain the coal and industrial region we have been discussing.

Of the 2,766,000 gainfully employed people in the province of Westphalia (total population 5,200,000), 61.6 per cent are industrial workers and 11.8 per cent white-collar employees. In the Düsseldorf administrative district (total population 4,165,000), 2,280,000 people are gainfully employed, of whom 63 per cent are industrial workers and 16.5 per cent white-collar employees. This social pattern has produced an interesting political pattern. Consider the last election in which it was still possible to vote for parties other than the Nazis. It took place on March 5, 1933, five weeks after Hitler came to power and one week after the burning of the Reichstag, in a period of unrestrained terrorism in which thousands of Social Democrats and Communists were killed, wounded, or arrested. The Social Democrats got 740,000 votes, the Communists 905,000, and the Catholic Center, which had great strength among anti-Nazi workers in this region, 1,395,000. The Nazis got 1,959,000 votes. Despite the fact that the polling-places were manned by Storm Troops, despite the fact that tens of thousands dared not go to the polls, despite the fact that both parties on the left had lost their leaders and their places on the ballot, the vote showed a large anti-Nazi majority—not counting the votes of the smaller non-Nazi parties. An election of shop stewards in 1934 showed such overwhelming anti-Nazi sentiment in the Ruhr mining area and the factories of western Germany that in 1935 these elections, which Hitler had promised would be held every year, were officially abolished.

First things come first. When Eisenhower has occupied the Ruhr, the Allies will face the task of increasing the region's coal, iron, and steel production to a maximum as support for their own war effort. The Rhenish–Westphalian industries can contribute so much to the final victory that military control over their operation will be a matter of course. But in order to bring them to maximum production, the Allied command will need the services of thousands of master workers and division foremen, and these of course will have to be people living in the region, that is, Germans. Everything will depend on choosing the right Germans—those who wish to see a democracy established after the fall of the Nazi regime. That Eisenhower will find tens of thousands of such Germans, men who have always been against Hitler, is shown by the election figures given above.

By their use in this capacity tried German anti-fascists would be prepared for taking over later, after the end of the war, the direction of mines and plants. For when the Allies decide that the hour has come to set up a democratic German government, this government will be obliged to nationalize the giant West German trusts. Only by such action can the basis of German fascism be destroyed.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

TODAY I shall simply set down a number of quotations from German and neutral sources which throw light on certain interesting questions about Germany. No comment is required.

HITLER'S ECLIPSE

Official circles in Berlin maintain complete silence concerning Hitler's activities and his changing places of residence. It is no exaggeration to say that questions about those subjects are considered suspect since the events of July 20. Rumor has it that Hitler is busying himself with Buddhist philosophy. It is also whispered that in the course of a violent discussion with his generals Germany's master suddenly exclaimed that he was abandoned by all and would retire to Berchtesgaden with his remaining faithful followers and kill himself, thus giving the world an example of German heroism. (*Tribune de Genève*, Switzerland, September 12.)

GERMAN "STIMMUNG" AS DESCRIBED BY THE NAZIS

The present situation is being regarded with concern in many places. We must not conceal the fact that there are people to whom confidence is completely alien. This type argues that the situation is grave. But if we lose the war, it will not be so bad, either, they say. Just remember 1918. We lost the war then, but a few years afterward we were again out of the mess. The Anglo-Americans will not leave us in the lurch. (*Der Angriff*, Berlin, September 8.)

Today many people are asking how we can win the war. After all the setbacks at the fronts and the treachery of former allies, it certainly is not easy to understand how this war can be won. We are shown by facts and figures that our Nazi faith cannot produce planes and weapons. But the Nazis with their faith conquered a superior internal enemy in 1933. (Deputy Gauleiter Richard Schaller, Siegen, Rhineland, August 30.)

NEUTRAL REPORTS ON GERMAN DEFEATISM

In all places and all circles the people look into the future with great uneasiness and abysmal pessimism. Defeatism is becoming more and more perceptible. Even among the Nazi leaders it is increasingly believed that the war is lost, and they openly admit Germany's defeat. More and more Nazis are preparing to "hibernate" during the temporary Allied occupation. They intend to "go underground" in various ways and may even try to organize something corresponding to the French *maquis*. It is said that considerable stores are hidden in the Bavarian Alps, whence these resistance groups could operate. (*Svenska Dagbladet*, Stockholm, September 7.)

One of the inscriptions seen on many German walls, particularly on the smoke-stained walls of ruins, is, "The people want peace!" Another says, "Occupation means quiet nights." A third that is widespread runs, "The party's defeat means the people's victory." Where do all these slogans originate? Are they spread by enemy agents, as the Gauleiters claim? If enemy agents are really responsible for this propaganda, they must have a good flair for public opinion. It is clear now that the Reich has lost this war too. Even party members have come to this conclusion, although they vow that "the Germans will die like heroes, with their guns in their hands." More reasonable persons point out that the only patriotic solution is to capitulate as promptly as possible. After all, they say, the heroic Finns did it; why should we be ashamed to follow their example? (*Basler Arbeiterzeitung*, Switzerland, September 8.)

DEFEATISM IN ACTION

The number of sick people absent from work has been increased considerably by the employment of women and older workers. But in addition to this, illness is a popular excuse for absenteeism. A definite lack of discipline exists which must be checked by vigorous measures. The cancelation of supplementary food rations is a particularly effective punishment. (*Deutsche Verkehrsnachrichten*, Berlin, September 7.)

We must overcome the same well-known obstacles, even now, in the process of remobilization. The philistine mentality, the egoism, the bureaucracy, the bourgeois laziness and intellectual indolence, which always blocked our way are now obstructing total mobilization for war. Subterfuges and reservations originate in these familiar weaknesses. Resisting them will strengthen us. (*Das Schwarze Korps*, Berlin, August 31.)

It is characteristic of the present situation in Germany that two days ago the German military attaché in Switzerland, Herr von Horn, met his wife and two children at the railroad station in Basel; he is taking them to Berne for a "visit"—taking them into safety. (*Basler Arbeiterzeitung*, Switzerland, September 7.)

In the region of Freiburg in Baden massacres of military deserters by S. S. troops are taking place daily. The deserters hide in the dense Black Forest region. (*Journal de Genève*, Switzerland, September 12.)

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

A New Talent

THERE is no doubt that Jean Stafford, author of "Boston Adventure" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.75), is a remarkable new talent. This is not to say that her first novel is a completely satisfying experience but that Miss Stafford brings to the writing of a novel an unusual native endowment; I would find it hard to name a book of recent years which, page for page or even sentence for sentence, was so lively and clever. By the light of any one of the incandescent moments of "Boston Adventure," it may turn out that the book as a whole is strangely disappointing, reminding us that in the final analysis no amount of skill as a writer substitutes for the total novelistic power. But for its manner, for the way in which it stands up to the literary job, Miss Stafford's novel unquestionably demands a place for itself in the best literary tradition.

The tradition which Miss Stafford has most lovingly studied is quickly apparent. Written in the commentative first person, half a re-creation of childhood and half an anatomy of "good" Boston society, Miss Stafford's novel scarcely hides the influence of Proust, and although often, in the chapters which deal with Boston, "Boston Adventure" might be criticized for being too obviously derivative, in its first half Miss Stafford has assimilated the lesson of the master to her own needs and personality; indeed, the early section of this book could be put forward as a telling argument against our modern tendency to disavow our literary heritage. Even the most original writer is bound, after all, to lean on tradition, and the test of a new novelist is not in how much he depends on the already established but in what model he chooses and what use he makes of it. When we say, unhappily, of certain modern novels that they have been influenced by Steinbeck, it is not the fact that *an* influence is at work that we regret, it is the fact that this influence is not of the best; and we do not dismiss the disciples of Hemingway simply because they are disciples but because, despite their good teacher, they are themselves second-rate. But Miss Stafford has chosen an excellent teacher and is herself a worthy pupil. For much of its way her novel, like a child in relation to its parents, asserts its individual vitality almost in the degree that it acknowledges its healthy connection with the past. The dignity and flexibility of manner that Miss Stafford appears to have learned in an apprenticeship to Proust is perhaps the most important single element in what we must now call her own literary gift.

We have been given many stories about miserable childhoods and many novels about poverty and sordidness, but the first half of "Boston Adventure," in which Miss Stafford describes the girlhood of her Sonie Marburg, is something quite new in awfulness. Sonie's father disappears, her mother is insane, her brother dies after a short life of Dostoevskian horror; virtually from babyhood Sonie is the financial and moral mainstay of her family. The meanness of Sonie's family life is so endemic and the girl's efficiency so precocious that they would seem to strain credulity; yet Miss Stafford not only convinces us that the Marburg world is possible but manages to give it a tragic grandeur. Neither the autobiographical taint to be found in novels even as good as those of James Farrell nor the note of self-pity and sentimentality which sounds such disturbing overtones to stories of distress like "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn" mars the first half of "Boston Adventure." But unfortunately, in the second section of the novel, where objectivity would seem easier of attainment than in the childhood portions, Miss Stafford loses her clean distance between author and narrator. At eighteen Sonie has been taken to live in the home of a Boston lady named Miss Pride, and with this shift in scene "Boston Adventure" breaks down into an alternation between a sharp-eyed but essentially not very meaningful or original social report and a highly subjective, almost hysterical self-study. At the same instant Sonie, who as a child was never too big for her little boots despite her precocity, suddenly steps into the large boots of Miss Stafford herself. I find Sonie's insight into the manners and morals of Beacon Hill as improbable for a girl of her age as the poise and finesse with which she accomplishes her feats of social adaptation would be unlikely for a girl of her background.

In other words, it is at the point where Miss Stafford's narrator approaches adulthood, but not until then, that "Boston Adventure" begins to identify narrator with author, and to suggest the autobiographical. The drama of childhood being exhausted, Miss Stafford seems unable to create a valid drama of maturity; instead, she is reduced, for the most part, to introspection—that inadequate literary substitute for drama. And this failure of the dramatic imagination at the point where the protagonist of a novel reaches maturity suggests the autobiographical because it is as if the author were to say, "Well, and so my childhood ended and here I am grown up. What more would you have happen to me than that I should become a thinking person, the person preparing to write this book?" The novel of development regularly reveals its author-hero relationship by this recourse to internality as the hero comes of age.

I say that Miss Stafford is unable to create a "valid" drama of maturity; I realize that she has tried to create, for the second half of her book, drama of a sort. There is a long episode centering in Miss Pride's niece; but this niece is, after all, only a secondary character in the novel, and Sonie, who engages our major interest, is never really involved in the niece's predicament. As a matter of fact, I think the mature Sonie's inability to become involved with people —by which I mean, of course, her author's inability ever truly to involve Sonie with people—finally keeps "Boston Adventure" from being the completely satisfying novel we expect it to be. Yet Miss Stafford has so much style and energy and intelligence in this first book of hers that one can be hopeful she will achieve, in her next books, this ultimate novelistic power. Even without it she is a new writer to be read, and applauded.

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Realpolitik and World Order

THE SUPER-POWERS: THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN, AND THE SOVIET UNION—THEIR RESPONSIBILITY FOR PEACE. By William T. R. Fox. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

THE vindication of the obvious," once observed Justice Holmes, "is sometimes more important than the elucidation of the obscure." Never has this been more true than now with respect to American thinking about international politics. What is here most obvious is most often forgotten: that war is a result of anarchy; that the only permanent cure for anarchy, and hence for war, is government; that the United Nations, by championing the "sovereign equality" of states, have rendered world government impossible in our time and insured the continuation of international anarchy. Under these conditions no new league or association of sovereignties can possibly maintain peace. The only hope for a period of peace lies in converting the anarchy into a concert of power rather than a conflict for power.

Dr. Fox's slim volume is by a wide margin the best brief exposition to date of the issue of winning the peace. It deserves wider reading than the contributions of Walter Lippmann and Sumner Welles, for it states the case with a more rigorous logic. Those who still have hope for Governor Dewey, after his assertion that a great-power alliance dominating the world would be "immoral," should pray that he will read it.

Fox's point of departure is the proposition that squirrels and elephants, as Samuel Grafton has pointed out, are not the same size. In 1939 London and Paris made war inevitable by refusing to conclude a workable alliance with Moscow on the ground that it would be immoral to guarantee the Baltic states and Poland so long as they refused to be guaranteed. In 1945 Washington may make more war inevitable either by refusing to commit American power to any common purpose or by insisting that the squirrels of the international community must have equality of power with the elephants. The truth, of course, is that most of the squirrels will be trampled to death if the elephants engage in a new race for individual security. The small and weak can live in safety and enjoy equality of rights only in a world in which the large and strong act together to organize safety on a basis of power. The facts of power will not be changed by verbiage. "To say that armed power is responsible for our present miseries," observes Fox, "is like saying that because the large intestine is a favorite breeding ground for many germs, it is the chief cause of disease. Health cannot be assured by removing the large intestine, nor can peace by legislating armed power out of existence."

While there may be a number of "great powers" in the old sense in the world of tomorrow, there will be only three "super-powers," with China as a potential but doubtful fourth. These will in cold fact dominate the world. All states of lesser rank are utterly helpless under contemporary conditions of warfare. The problem of world peace is the problem of whether the super-powers will exercise their dominion unitedly, wisely, and in the interests of all. If a joint dominion is disrupted through new rivalries or false solicitude for the powerless or some irresponsible formula of

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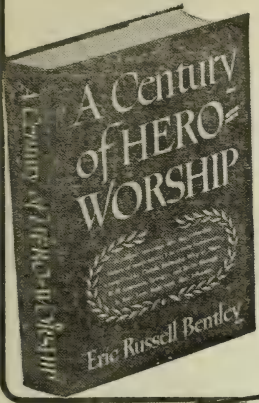

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Philadelphia • **J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY** • *New York* "cooperation without commitments" (Governor Bricker), the result will be disastrous to all. Fox shrewdly evaluates what is necessary here, what is possible, and what is probable. His two chapters on Britain and America and his analysis of the Price of Collaboration and the Consequences of Non-Collaboration between the Western powers and the Soviet Union are quite the most lucid discussions thus far published of the most crucial aspects of the problem. His chapter on Germany pays insufficient attention to the social and economic prerequisites of a stable Reich in a stable Europe. The Far East as a common problem for the super-powers is here neglected, but for this there is partial compensation in other publications of the Yale Institute of International Studies, in which Fox is a research associate.

What is above all imperative is the inclusion of the United States in the security system foreshadowed in the Anglo-Soviet alliance. There is danger, as at Dumbarton Oaks, that the necessity of sharp and specific commitments may be obscured in the effort to establish a universal organization based on vague and general obligations. Such an organization is politically unnecessary if the super-powers act together. It will be unworkable if they do not. "It might perhaps be better," says Fox, "if the powers of the first rank developed strictly *inter se,* and therefore outside the general international organization, the procedure for arriving at joint decisions." A durable Grand Alliance among the powerful would be infinitely better than a feckless league of the impotent. To try to combine the two may prove more dangerous than to separate them. Americans have not yet decided which they want or whether they want either. This book should help them to a decision. It is not too much to say that acceptance of its central thesis is the *sine qua non* of a future world fit to live in. FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

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On His Way

LABOR LAWYER. By Louis Waldman. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.50.

"LABOR LAWYER" is the story of an ex-Socialist who, while moving to the right, paused to set down his experiences. More than half of his book is devoted to politics, and it is clear that Mr. Waldman is not much of a political philosopher or even a keen observer of the political scene. His discussion of the split in the Socialist Party is not very perceptive.

The division was due to an influx of young people disillusioned, by the depression, with the status quo and inclined to be carried away by leftist jargon, and to the dissatisfaction with the dominance of New Yorkers in the top councils of the party. It is true that much of the highfaluting lingo of the militants resembled the shop talk of the Communists, but men like Norman Thomas, Dan Hoan, then mayor of Milwaukee, and Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr were among those anxious for internal reform. As the militants became more politically sophisticated, most of them became violent opponents of dictatorship and of Soviet Russia. Darlington Hoopes, an anti-totalitarian Socialist, is the party's candidate for Vice-President, and the conservative Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport has indorsed the Socialist ticket. A more adroit leader might have recognized the leftist jargon for what it was—"political baby talk."

Mr. Waldman's sections on the American Labor Party are mainly a discourse on the high-mindedness of Mr. Waldman. It seems that everyone has been out of step but Louie. The difficulties of the American Labor Party arose from its failure to win labor support beyond the needle trades and a few progressive unions. Perhaps the split in the labor movement was in part responsible. Another factor was the inability of the party to develop an outstanding individual around whom non-labor liberals and anti-Communist labor people could rally. The labor leaders who dominated the party had not the time, talent, or inclination for this task.

The author concludes with a warning which is little more than a rehash of the stale clichés of Frank Gannett's Constitutional Government League. Mr. Waldman tends to be a bit hysterical about the danger of an American popular front. A popular front is a joint endeavor of several autonomous political groups—usually liberals, Socialists, and Communists—to achieve one or several objectives. No such movement exists in the United States, despite the author's hallucinations. At present the Communist labor policy resembles closely the one sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers, and that is as much of a popular front as the one he describes.

Despite the pose adopted by the author, the book is full of innuendoes and the sly amalgams typical of the Communists whom the author detests but whose literary manners he copies. As the fruit of three decades of political activity we are given some mildly interesting chit-chat, few insights, and little information of value. PHILIP TAFT

Basic Rights

OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES. By Osmond K. Fraenkel. The Viking Press. $3.

IT IS natural that Mr. Fraenkel, who has been very active as a lawyer in defending civil liberties, should have written this book. The danger of the subversion of civil liberties is particularly great in periods of war and crisis, and his book, which has been written for the layman in simple and readable prose, is very timely. It is easy to get hot under the collar on issues of civil liberties, particularly these days, when our native Nazis are invoking the rights of free speech and press as a means of destroying democracy, but an outstanding quality of Mr. Fraenkel is his admirable objectivity, and one of his best chapters is devoted to a consideration of the question whether civil liberties should be denied to those who do not believe in them.

Mr. Fraenkel devotes, indeed, a number of chapters to the larger and more general aspects of civil liberties in our time, but his book in the main deals with the traditional constitutional liberties. He makes a happy divison of these liberties into the broad guaranties of free speech, press, religion, assembly, and petition and the guaranties against the abuses of the criminal procedure which consist of such provisions as those requiring indictment and trial by jury with the right to counsel, and those prohibiting unreasonable searches and seizures, compulsory self-incrimination, double jeopardy, excessive bail, and cruel and unusual punishments. The organization of his book is thus strongly reminiscent of Leon Whipple's "Our Ancient Liberties," which contained, however, more of the English historical background. But the civil liberties of one generation are not necessarily the same as those of the next generation, despite the fact that the language of the constitutional clauses remains unaltered, and there is ample justification for Mr. Fraenkel's book. The Supreme Court of the United States as now constituted has made a noteworthy record in its defense of civil liberties, and Mr. Fraenkel's book is in large part a chronicle of its pronouncements. The court is carrying on the noble Holmes tradition, and if its present members are usually less brilliantly epigrammatic they are often more usefully pragmatic. Still, I like Justice Jackson's dictum: "Compulsory unification of opinion achieves only the unanimity of the graveyard."

In the realm of civil liberties the famous dictum of Aaron Burr that law is that which is boldly asserted and plausibly maintained is peculiarly applicable. Our civil liberties have in other centuries been called natural rights, or fundamental rights. Those were the periods when they were in process of becoming. Our written Constitution, which has enumerated the recognized civil liberties, has had a rather static effect upon the development of civil liberty, which depends less upon constitutional phrases than upon a public recognition of certain rights as basic. Some of the rights that come to be regarded as basic do not even appear in the lists of

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constitutional guaranties. Bills of rights are for the most part reactions against evils of the past rather than promises for the future. Mr. Fraenkel notes, for instance, that the constitutional right of petition is now virtually obsolete, although it is included in the Bill of Rights, and he notes also the inconveniences of such a procedure as indictment by a grand jury. But he could have dealt more effectively with the theme of the shifting kaleidoscope of civil liberties.

This inadequacy is reflected also in Mr. Fraenkel's treatment of the civil liberties which consist of the guaranties against the abuses of criminal procedure. The existence of a criminal code enumerating the punishable crimes is itself a basic civil liberty, quite apart from any question of content, and the emphasis in European democracies before the present holocaust was upon the substantive criminal law rather than upon criminal procedure, and the great constitutional slogan of *nulla poena sine lege*—"no punishment without a law." But this attitude, reflected also to some extent in American constitutional theory, has led to an insistence upon rigid prescriptions as to crime and punishment and hampered all efforts to deal with criminals in an intelligent manner, rendering abortive such devices as probation and parole and the indeterminate sentence. It may well be that modern scientific criminology in the present constitution of society would prove a grave threat to the preservation of civil liberties, but Mr. Fraenkel has not chosen to explore this problem.

Mr. Fraenkel argues in favor of free speech even for native fascists, on the ground that civil liberties are granted for the sake of society rather than for the sake of the individual. This theory seems to me in itself to have a totalitarian tinge, and as an old-fashioned liberal I should prefer to reverse the proposition and put the accent on the individual. In connection with the whole problem of fascist propaganda Mr. Fraenkel has, indeed, missed entirely an interesting development in recent years, which is represented by such legislation as the Foreign Agents Registration Act. This legislation has been based upon the theory that while it would not be wise to suppress totalitarian propaganda, it can be dealt with effectively by compelling the revelation of its sources.

I must note finally a few foibles of Mr. Fraenkel. I cannot subscribe to his dictum that "the judgment of a jury on what is objectionable should be preferred to that of bureaucrats." This may be an unwitting lapse into anti-New Deal propaganda. I wonder also why he speaks regularly of the Second World War in the past tense. Finally I would dispute his reference to Jeremy Bentham as a "lay reformer of the law." Jeremy, who was destined by his fond father for the woolsack, had the best legal education that could be bought in the eighteenth century.

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IN BRIEF

AKRITAN SONGS. By Anghelos Sikelianos. Greek Text and English Translation by Paul Nord. The Spap Company, New York. $2.

A SOLDIER'S DIARY. By Charles Norman. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.75.

PRIVATE PAPERS: POEMS OF AN ARMY YEAR. By William Justema. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $1.50.

AN AMERICAN IN SICILY. By Earl Davis. Margent Press, New York. $1.75.

The Greek poems, since they come from the Greek underground, have an interest which transcends their rhetoric; the price, however, seems a little excessive for a paper-bound book of thirty-odd pages, including the Greek text. Lieutenant Norman's brief lyrics, rather in the manner of Housman, are delicate and pleasant, not very memorable. Sergeant Justema, lately discharged, writes a tougher-fibered and more original running free verse. No hint is given as to the rating of Earl Davis: a brief prefatory note carries the date line University of Wichita, April, 1944. "An American in Sicily" reads like the account of a participant in the actions it describes: the blank verse is nothing startling from a technical point of view, but the technique of fighting has a professional ring. as told here, and the reflections of ideas and action make up a candid and engaging little book, unpretentious, to be sure, but lively, interesting, and at times really moving.

FILMS

IT IS a tremendous pleasure to see something done in American movies which you can be proud of—however foolish and suspect that sort of pride may be. I feel pride in and respect for everyone, from start to finish, who was involved in the shooting, cutting, writing, and speaking of the Marine Corps' and Warner Brothers' "The Battle for the Marianas"; I feel all the better because, coming after "Tarawa," "Memphis Belle," and "Attack," the picture so clearly proves that fine honest work can become a habit, and is not necessarily a result of the bitter attempt and the frustrated desire of scattered individuals. Key individuals, unquestionably, are in the long run responsible for the excellence of these films, and some of the most important of them, very likely, are not movie men at all but simply executives whose taste and decency and good sense make it possible. Such men are of course quite as indispensable as good craftsmen and good artists; I wish one might know their names and might thank them, both publicly and privately. "The Marianas" does not seem to me to have quite the clarity or force of "Tarawa"; and by now, inevitably, even a civilian watching combat films from a theater chair begins to feel some pinhead fraction of the fatigue which transforms soldiers. But I would recommend this picture highly if that were all I could say for it; and I could say a great deal more if there were room.

It is quite as great a pleasure, and a much more startling one, to see such a film as "Youth Runs Wild" coming out of a Hollywood studio—a far better piece of news than films like the much more resourceful, polished, and entertaining "Hail the Conquering Hero." Not even its faults are the Hollywood kind: it is gawky, diffuse, rather boyscoutish in its social attitudes (but it does have attitudes); often as not its characters go wooden (but they never turn into ivory-soap sculpture); too often the photography goes velvety (but always in earnestly striving for a real, not a false, atmosphere, and never striving for a sumptuous look). When the picture is good—and its over-all inadequacy flashes with good all through—you are seeing pretty nearly the only writing and acting and directing and photography in Hollywood which is at all concerned with what happens inside real and particular people among real and particular objects—not with how a generalized face can suggest a generalized emotion in a generalized light. As pleasing to watch as what these people do, both in front of and behind the camera, is the clearly very simple, earnest, and honorable attitude which they have toward their work. To watch most of them, you would hardly think they had ever heard of Hollywood, much less wanted to go there. For a fuller and more specific appraisal of "Youth Runs Wild" and its producer, Val Lewton, I can only recommend that you read Manny Farber's review in a recent issue of the *New Republic;* it would be senseless for me merely to repeat, in other words, what I so thoroughly agree with. Mr. Lewton may well run into hard times with his work if he develops much of a reputation, either popular or critical. So it is with mixed feelings that I realize, and write, that all over the country he must already have the respect and the hopeful wishes of everyone who cares two cents for what a moving picture is.

JAMES AGEE

Drama Note

WHILE the Sun Shines," an English import (Lyceum Theater), is as full of tags as a cut-rate drugstore: the precious English lord; his childhood sweetheart and present fiancee, the untouched fresh-complexioned girl from Inverness whose hair is her crowning glory; his former mistress, a lady-about-town who in the end knows her place and gives up the lord; the crude but lovable American bombardier; the romantic Frenchman. Oh yes, and the lord's man, Horton. There is even a dowager grandmother who does not appear on stage but is duly invoked. The only character who isn't noticeably shopworn is the fiancee's father, a run-down duke with a passion for horse-racing. He is well brought out by Melville Cooper. The other members of the cast do their parts. The play itself is the shadow of a shadow of Sheridan as animated by George S. Kaufman. It's quite fast, and amusing enough while the footlights shine, but it would seem to indicate that the Drama in Great Britain has also reached the end of an era. Yours for the revolution. M. M.

ART

AN EXHIBITION of some six hundred prints and blocks from the hand of José Guadaloupe Posada, with photostat enlargements of several of the prints, has just opened at the Brooklyn Museum, to run through October 15. Posada was one of the most original of the exponents of an indigenous popular art in post-Columbian North America; his prints are somewhat equivalent to those of Currier and Ives but far superior to them as art. His memory has received much attention lately, and his work much praise. Dying in 1913 at forty-one, he left behind more than twenty thousand wood and metal engravings and lithographs, not one of which seems negligible. Their crudeness of texture reinforces their effect, and that effect is macabre, humorous, and subversive. Their virtues as illustration are inextricably involved with the power of the design and draftsmanship which went into them. And Posada sensed as very few graphic artists ever have the potencies of black and white as sheer color above and beyond the context in which they act only as descriptions of line, mass, and space.

Still, all this ought not to be exaggerated. Posada's art was after all limited in its range. The same points are made again and again. The patterns in which the picture rectangle is organized are unerring yet repetitious—the center of gravity usually coinciding with the dead center of the page—and the grays, for all their strength, are always used in the same way. Nevertheless, the prints of this Mexican artist remain of almost inexhaustible interest.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

RECORDS

THE outstanding piece of music on Columbia's September list is Mozart's Quartet K.428 (Set 529; $4.50), one of the great group of six dedicated to Haydn—with an opening Allegro and a slow movement that are extraordinarily sombre and powerful, one of the loveliest of minuet movements in which humorous touches alternate with intense melancholy, and a mercurial finale. The Busch Quartet's performance is not outstanding, and lacks everything the music calls for: beauty of sound, fluency, finesse, grace, a feeling for correct pace (the minuet is slow to the point of being stodgy, the slow movement is too fast), an ability to maintain a chosen tempo (the slow movement gets faster than it starts). And the performance is recorded in a way that makes its sound—when reproduced by a wide-range phonograph—wooden, nasally distorted, and so coarse and harsh as to be hard on the ear. Limited-range equipment removes the harshness, but leaves the sound wooden and distorted.

Also on Columbia's list is a set (550; $5.50) offering a considerable part of the third act of Wagner's "Tristan und Isolde." Beginning with the Prelude, it skips the long English horn solo and Kurvenal's duet with the shepherd; then, resuming at Tristan's *Die alte Weise*, it continues—with the two cuts that are made at the Metropolitan, and apparently at the Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires—through the dying Tristan's *Isolde!* Some of the music I find wonderful; some of it I have always found difficult to listen to. The singers are Melchior and Janssen; the orchestra on eight sides is the Colón Orchestra under Kinsky, and on two sides the so-called Columbia Opera Orchestra under Leinsdorf. Janssen's voice still retains resonance and beauty; Melchior sings, as he has done for some time, with the husky remains of a voice; and he can get through much of the music with sheer volume and emotional intensity, but the strain it is for him to sing the quietly flowing *Wie sie selig* makes the listener's own throat ache. Perhaps competitive spirit will induce Victor to restore to its catalogue a record that it should never have withdrawn—11136, with a much younger Melchior singing *Wie sie selig* very beautifully, and with the orchestra heard more clearly than it is on these new Columbia records. The over-all recorded sound of the Columbia performance is good.

On a single disc (71605-D; $1) is Vaughan Williams's inconsequential Overture to Aristophanes's "The Wasps," well performed by Malcolm Sargent with the Hallé Orchestra. And dressed up in new albums are two older sets: Rimsky-Korsakov's "Scheherazade," well performed by Rodzinski with the Cleveland Orchestra, and excellently recorded (Set 398; $5.50); and Tchaikovsky's "Nutcracker" Suite, in a mediocre performance by Stock with the Chicago Symphony that is very badly recorded (Set 395; $3.50).

The sharply perceptive young man whose observations have appeared in this column—most recently a couple of weeks ago—managed to find something to report on before he was shipped overseas. "Today," he wrote, "we were subjected to one of the official orientation films, 'The Battle of China.' In it Mussorgsky's 'Pictures at an Exhibition' took another beating. For the section devoted to the great migration of the Chinese, their industry and culture to the western provinces, some movie composer took the Ox-Cart section of Mussorgsky's work and made it do for the entire trek—some fifteen minutes of screen time. At the point where I thought it would surely sink beneath the weight of its inflated orchestration he added a chorus, Hollywood species! It sang words in some unspecified tongue, not English—first, for fully three repetitions, in 'Yo, heave ho' style, while we saw the boats being inched up the gorges by manpower; and then as a paean of triumph. This, I think, must be an ultimate of some sort: my wildest flight of imagination can't carry debasement much further."

As it happens I have just seen the documentary war film "Attack," in which passages from the last movement of Rachmaninov's D minor Piano Concerto are dubbed in every now and then without regard for the sense of the scenes, or for the incompatibility of the flashy rhetoric of the music with the sobriety and honesty of the film. This is sheer debasement of the film; but no less indignity is committed on "The Memphis Belle" by the especially composed music which intrudes on some of the sequences to draw attention to its meaningless "modern" ugliness. These two experiences have raised in my mind the questions that other experiences led me to ask in this column once before—whether music is essential to films; whether it should not be possible to use the pictures by themselves not only to convey the bare sense of any situation but to give this sense all the desired emotional heightening and impact; whether a documentary film at any rate should not include music only if the music happens to be part of the facts which the film presents. I am not contending that music should never be used in films, but only questioning the prevailing idea that it must always be used. I have witnessed effective use of music in films; but I also have had opportunities to observe the effectiveness of films without music; and "Attack" and "Memphis Belle," it seems to me, would speak powerfully by themselves—more powerfully this way than when they have to fight their way to our minds through trashy and ugly music.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

OF TRIESTE AND OTHER HEADACHES

Dear Sirs: "The speech which Count Sforza delivered in Rome last week"—I am quoting from The Shape of Things in *The Nation* of September 2—"was the first public declaration of Italy's foreign policy. . . . Sforza asks that Fiume be made 'one of the seats' of a super-league of nations. . . . Certainly, Yugoslavia is unlikely to accept such a solution to the problem of the Dalmatian coast. Yugoslavia wants not only Fiume but Zara, Istria, Gorizia, and also Trieste, which Sforza sees as an 'internationalized port.' . . . This last suggestion is a step forward from Sforza's attitude of some twenty years ago, and the Yugoslavs, if not the Italians, may be inclined to look favorably upon it. They will not hesitate to underline the necessity, which Sforza pointed out, of a Yugoslav federal union with Bulgaria. . . . This is the Mazzinian conception of Italian foreign policy. . . . It is encouraging to see it returning to life."

The reader might get confused somehow and infer from the context, twice unduly, (a) that "Fiume, Istria, Gorizia, and also Trieste" are on the Dalmatian coast; (b) that Mazzini placed those cities and territories in the Balkans and assigned them to the Slavs. The reader might also infer from the intonation and structure of the paragraph that the editorial writer of *The Nation* takes sides with Yugoslav nationalism, absenting himself awhile from the supranational and universal point of view, inherently American, which *The Nation* represents with exemplary loyalty. This point of view is upheld, I dare say irreprehensibly, in the Italian Manifesto published by a group of Italian exiles and Italian Americans, one of them this writer.

Zara in Dalmatia and Fiume in former Hungarian Croatia are Italian islands in an ethnic Slav sea. The criteria to be applied to them should differ both from those that must be applied to the compact Slav areas annexed by the Italy of 1920 and from those that must be held valid for Trieste, Gorizia, and that part of Istria which Wilson himself, a steadfast friend of Yugoslavia, was willing to recognize as Italian. Those territories build a continuum, in geography no less than in culture and sentiment, belonging unmistakably to the Italian national being. Minorities interspersed along the coast or gathered in more cohesive groups in the immediate hinterland cannot claim, in a world of good sense and justice, more than can be claimed by the Latin enclaves or "fossils" in the Slav national body to the east and northeast.

As a long-term planner I am all in favor of a unitary world state in which the present national colossi, inevitably monopolistic and warlike, will give way to a global federation of smaller units, flexibly articulated, with these frightful frontiers of blood and iron weakening into penciled contours as harmless as those within the United States. In a world so shaped there would be plenty of living space for countless city states or free communes, old and new: Fiume and Trieste, to be sure, but also Dubrovnik and Salonika, Hamburg and Bremen, perhaps Riga and Istanbul and Shanghai and—why not, if they so wish?—Venice and Genoa, Antwerp and Marseille, or even Glasgow and San Francisco. This, however, looks today like a dream we must intrust to later generations.

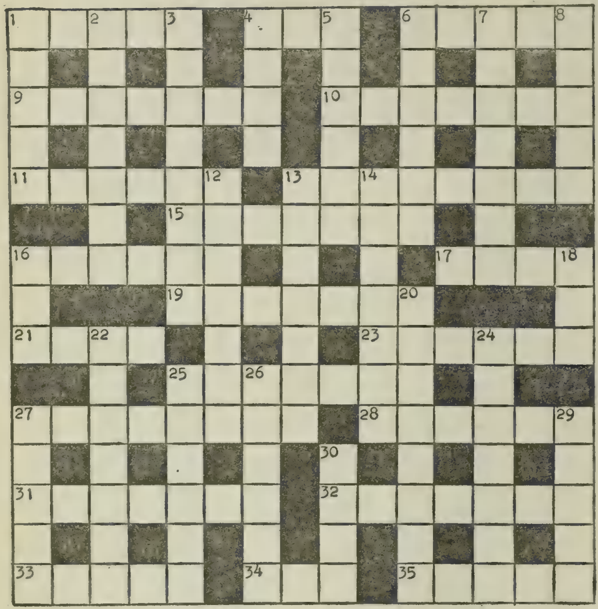
For this day and for short-term planning there seems to be no way out of the national set-up. In a world so shaped the imperialism of the smaller stocks—whether French reaching for the Rhine, or Poles hesitating between a slice of Russia and a chunk of Germany, or Yugoslavs rolling up their sleeves to operate on Italy—is even worse than the imperialism of the Big Ones, who have to their credit, if not allegiance to justice, at least the prestige of uncounterfeited power (which is a morality of sorts). Needless to say, the acquisitiveness of the smaller states plays up the dictate of an "economic reason" that is no less make-believe and eventually murderous than the doctrine of the "strategic frontier." The "economic reason" can be taken care of through consortiums, customs unions, and such other arrangements, excellent for Trieste and for other places as well. Otherwise the flag must follow the heart, not trade—and the people of Trieste must be free to prefer, if they so wish, poverty in the family of their nation to prosperity under alien domination. If that is not going to be so, if the "freedom of assembly" is going to be hounded and lacerated in Trieste and other places, any weather man, when this battle in Europe is over, will report that it has stopped raining but the sky is more awful than before.

Let it be hoped that there are Yugoslavs who feel the same way and that not everyone in their leading groups is eager to take advantage of the opportunity that calls for remorseless handling of a prostrate neighbor. Whatever the guilt of Italy, she will have had punishment enough in blood, mud, and hunger; in political degradation; in financial and economic bankruptcy; in the 50 per cent infant mortality and the 20 per cent incidence of tuberculosis—all these aside from the irreparable defacement of her beauty with which the invader and the liberator concomitantly are finishing her make-up as a Job among the nations. A cruel and unjust mutilation, in addition to all the doom, cannot be inflicted without tipping the scales and conferring on the one-time aggressor nation a primacy among the victims who will yearn for redress. The wisdom of driving a mass of forty-five millions, whatever their weakness, into an underground of despair is debatable; while it seems legitimate to stand by the conviction that the mission of America—whose five million citizens of Italian descent, incidentally, are not likely to rejoice at the vivisection of Italy—is to teach liberty and dignity, with charity to all the peoples of Europe, not to lend an uninformed hand to political régisseurs whose concern seems to set the stage for bigger shows.

As for Sforza, I submit that *The Nation* overrated the significance of his speech. Sforza is one of the members of a self-styled Italian government who took confidential cognizance of and bowed silently to the secret second armistice, of September 29, 1943, whereby Badoglio purchased security for his rajah-king at the price of Italy's unofficial but wholesale annexation by the

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 83

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Start here
4 Knave of clubs at loo
6 Juno transplanted his eyes into the tail of a peacock
9 Full of panegyrics
10 An English girl in the trappings of royalty
11 They are heard repeatedly
13 Doll which opens with an exclamation
15 Reliquaries for relics
16 Arrive at Sambo's reference to Mussolini
17 Loose
19 Inroads (anag.)
21 These rags usually come on in the evening
23 Tooth's overcoat
25 House-warming affair (hyphen, 3-4)
27 A schoolgirl with this name always requires a very proper woman for a head
28 A sporting designation applied by the English to the Scotch
31 "How happy could I be with either, Were t'other dear ------- away!" (Gay)
32 Star with a 45-inch inside measurement!
33 Blunt end of the ship
34 Fared back and forth
35 Housebreaker in *Oliver Twist*

DOWN

1 A letter from the Pope may be a long note
2 Knight without a flaw who achieved the quest of the Holy Grail
3 Nice hotel
4 Merry fairy in *Midsummer Night's Dream*
5 A Scots man finishes off a Latter-Day Saint
6 Fourteen guarded the sleeping children in *Hansel and Gretel*
7 Hollywood impresario
8 Hardly diplomatic language
12 American general of "War is hell!" fame
13 Otherwise the camelopard
14 They usually have some visible means of support
16 "In one door and out of the other, like a --- at a fair"
18 Poured on troubled waters
20 American slippers
22 Flatter
24 Abyssinian emperor who routed the Italians at Adowa in 1896
25 English, not a Teutonic, composer
26 Being full of anxiety is naturally frightened
27 River famed in literature of the Wild and Woolly West
29 Children's playgrounds
30 Consumed

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. [illegible]

ACROSS:—1 UNCAS; [illegible] BOWER; 7 WEST; 9 HAVANA; 10 APSES; 12 LEAH; 13 HUTS; 15 EASIEST; 17 ENLIST; 18 ERRORS; 19 AGE; 21 JACKASS; 23 ENCHAIN; 24 HAL; 26 SPADES; 28 HERMES; 31 SCOOPED; 32 NAGS; 35 ALMA; 36 HEART; 37 SAVILE; 38 PEST; 39 BOHEA; 40 DENTS.

DOWN:—1 UTAH; 2 CRAVAT; 3 SHAKING; 4 BRAISE; [illegible] WASH; 6 RUST; 7 WILDE; 8 SHALL; 11 EUROPA; 14 SUSAN; 15 ESCAPES; 16 TRACKED; 19 ASH; 20 EEL; 21 JASON; 22 CHANGE; 25 AROUSED; 27 SCOTIA; 28 HEAVEN; 29 MELEE; 30 START; 33 AHAB; 34 SASH; 35 ALPS.

British Empire, otherwise called Sphere of Influence, in which she "lives, and moves, and has her being." It is the burden of all American correspondence, from Mrs. McCormick's to the greenest newcomer's, that there is no such thing as an Italian government except in its capacity as a blotter for British edicts, more or less automatically countersigned by the great Allies. Sforza's word was relevant as long as it was spoken by a free man in a free country. The little good and the much bad he is reported to have said in his present status are equally cryptic, and needful of a decoding labor that would be sadly out of proportion with his power.

What remains is our obdurate expectation of a sudden act of faith and firmness that will restore him to the place of authority he held in his years of exile. Short of it, the circumstance that he is a minister without even a portfolio, would sharpen, not blunt, a judgment like Trotsky's when Chernov accepted a post in a hollow coalition government: "What a contemptible ambition!—to abandon his historic position for a portfolio."

G. A. BORGESE

Chicago, Ill., September 10

Dr. Johnson, Reporter

Dear Sirs: Re Cross-Word Puzzle No. 79, "26 across":

In which one of his works or on what occasion did Dr. Johnson use William Pitt's historic admission to "the atrocious crime of being a young man," as imputed to the former by the usually meticulous Jack Barrett? *Quandoque dormitat et mirabilis Johanniculus!*

MORGAN BARNES

Grove City, Pa., September 2

Dear Sirs: The clue was quite correct: Samuel Johnson made the remark and *attributed* it to Pitt, as Hugh Kingsmill makes clear:

"Cave, the proprietor of the *Gentleman's Magazine,* commissioned him [Johnson] to report the debates in Parliament. A single visit to the House of Commons sufficed Johnson, who thenceforward *made up the speeches out of his own mind* with a force and eloquence which raised the circulation of the magazine by some thousands . . ." (italics mine).

Bartlett's "Familiar Quotations" footnotes the passage, "Pitt's reply to Walpole," but you will have to look under "Samuel Johnson" to find it.

JACK BARRETT

New Castle, N. H., September [illegible]

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

THE BUILDING-UP OF JAPANESE AIR POWER in the Philippines for the purpose of waging an all-out battle on that new outpost of Japan's "basic sea area" has simply resulted in the annihilation of all the strength so carefully husbanded. Japanese aircraft virtually disappeared from the Central and Southwest Pacific during the summer, except for the abortive attack on our forces off Saipan, which cost the enemy more than 400 planes; the rest of his air force was being withdrawn to the Philippines to meet our expected blows in that direction. Perhaps the Japanese expected a respite while our Fifth Fleet rested and refitted after the Marianas campaign; at any rate, they were disappointed, for Admiral Halsey's Third Fleet went directly into action against the Philippines a little over a month ago, and in twenty-five days delivered four strikes against the Philippines and one against the Bonin and Volcano Islands, destroying or damaging more than 1,000 planes and 500 ships. Two strikes against the Manila area were enough to break the enemy air force and disperse his naval vessels; the next two strikes were more or less mop-ups, and on the last our pilots found only seven Japanese planes to shoot down. The entire series cost us sixty-one planes, and our surface vessels were not even damaged. It is surely a record unsurpassed in warfare. Immediate results included the evacuation of civilians from Davao and Manila; future results should include Allied air supremacy when General MacArthur returns—which, with the completion of the bloody clean-up on Peleliu, should not be too long delayed.

*

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL WAS AT HIS BEST in his masterly review for the House of the momentous military developments of the past two months and the pressing political problems which lie ahead. All in all it was probably the most encouraging speech that Churchill has delivered. He spoke more positively and specifically than ever before of the immense contribution which Britain is prepared to make in the war against Japan. In the political field, Churchill promised to recognize a provisional French government as soon as pending steps are completed for making the National Committee of Liberation responsible to a broadened, elective legislative assembly; this is a move, however grudging, in the right direction. The Prime Minister also spoke fairly optimistically about the prospects of an early settlement of the Polish question through a renewal of direct negotiations between Mr. Milolajczyk and Marshal Stalin. Mr. Churchill made it clear that on several issues—the Polish question, problems connected with international security organization, and the treatment of Germany—serious differences of opinion had arisen between Britain and Russia. But his invitation to Stalin to join in another three-power conference showed his government's determination to carry forward Allied cooperation into the post-war period.

*

THE STATEMENT WITH WHICH ROOSEVELT and Churchill responded to the events of the past few weeks in Italy read as if it had been based on the advice of realists on the spot rather than on the homework of State Department experts. This move, by increasing the prestige and authority of the present Italian government, removing the word Control from the name of the Allied Commission, and promising the Italian people relief from "hunger and sickness and fear," will serve to temper the rising storm of which the killing of Carretta was a premonitory rumble. What remains to be seen is whether the Roosevelt-Churchill statement will really be implemented or will turn out, by design or ineptitude, to be one of those devices for keeping a people quiet so vividly described in the annals of—Tacitus. If it is not implemented, the Allied Commission in Italy may soon face a revolutionary situation—"chaotic" is the word the State Department uses—and any government which emerged from a revolution would be far to the left of Bonomi's.

*

DE GAULLE'S ECONOMIC PLAN FOR FRANCE will bring little comfort to the Two Hundred Families. It has already brought new hope to the French people. The plan as outlined in his Lille speech calls for a sharp break away from "that political, social, and moral situation that took us to the edge of the abyss" and the establishment of a planned economy in which the state will "direct the economic effort of the entire nation for the benefit of all." Admitting the advantage of conserving the "stimulus of just profit and initiative," De Gaulle refuses to contemplate the rebuilding of the industrial trusts that dominated pre-war France and declares unequivocally that the state itself will "take over the great sources of common wealth." Readers of *The Nation* will recognize in the proposal a close affinity to the economic plans outlined in the resistance movement months before the liberation. There can be no doubt that the great majority of the people of France are solidly behind the plan. Nevertheless, we predict hard sledding for De Gaulle. For he will have to cope with other plans for France conceived by some among its foreign liberators whose main interest will be to reinstate France's erstwhile economic overlords and their economic rule. The first act of our new representative to France, Jefferson Caffery, was to snub De Gaulle's administration by insisting that we had not yet recognized the French Provisional Government. We suspect, with reason, that our Minister may be more sympathetic to those reactionary interests with which he has so long been associated than to De Gaulle's desire that "the life of every Frenchman and Frenchwoman shall become a better one." Fortunately, neither Mr. Caffery nor the economic lords of yesterday's world can delay for long the determination of the French people that tomorrow's life shall be free.

*

ALTHOUGH BRITAIN'S NEW SOCIAL-SECURITY plan is slightly inferior to the Beveridge proposals, it represents a marked improvement on the present system and is vastly better than our own limited program. Like the Beveridge plan, the new British proposals attempt to provide protection against all types of insecurity, whether resulting from unemployment, old age, sickness, motherhood, large families, or death of the family breadwinner. Provision is also made for an improved national health service, for training pay for jobless workers, and for free milk and meals for school children. Benefits are, on the whole, more liberal than at present although somewhat less adequate than those recommended by Beveridge. No effort is made, as in the Beveridge plan, to base benefits and family allowances on minimum subsistence levels so as to be certain that every British child is adequately nourished and provided with the necessities of life. In defending the decision of the British government to cut family allowances, retirement pensions, and widows' benefits below subsistence levels, the New York *Times* declares that "the danger today . . . is chiefly . . . of forgetting the effects of . . . benefits in reducing the incentive to find useful work." It warns also that "excessive taxes can reduce the total production upon which the welfare of all of us depends." This thesis is still a popular one in extreme reactionary circles in America, but the important fact about the British plan is not its concessions to conservative economic notions but its full recognition that no modern state can risk the discontent and misery that arise from undernourishment, preventable sickness, lack of educational opportunity, and insecurity.

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THE RAGE WITH WHICH THE ARGENTINE fascist press greeted President Roosevelt's frank denunciation of "Nazi-fascist influence and methods" in that country proves how effectively his statement was aimed. Throughout the American-Argentine controversy, official propaganda in Buenos Aires has implied that the attitude of the United States government represented only Mr. Hull's personal inclination, with which the President privately but strongly disagreed. In support of this interpretation, the former Under Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, has been frequently quoted. Good use has been made of his contrary theories, as is proved by the fact that within the next few days a Spanish edition of his book, "The Time for Decision," will appear in Buenos Aires, where other American books on foreign policy are virtually banned. In anti-fascist Argentine circles, President Roosevelt's statement has been accorded an enthusiastic reception, according to Professor Cernuchi of the University of Tucuman, who made a most interesting exposé of the Argentine situation at a press conference held last Monday in the office of *The Nation.* Professor Cernuchi, just arrived in this country as a special delegate of the Argentine movement of resistance, said that for the first time in his memory the name of the United States was acclaimed at an impressive demonstration in Buenos Aires on the day of the fall of Paris—a demonstration to which the President referred in his statement. More than 200,000 persons participated in the gathering, which was recognized as a turning-point from silent opposition to the government to open antagonism. "I do not think that many more such demonstrations will be allowed," added Professor Cernuchi, "but there will be a day when all Argentine fascism has learned from the Gestapo will not avail to stop the people—the day when Berlin falls. Then the people will take the Casa Rosada" (the Argentine White House). The resistance delegate made the important disclosure that within the near future an Argentine *Junta de Liberación* will be created in Montevideo, with the support of all the political parties.

A Plan for Germany

IT SEEMS likely that Secretary Morgenthau's proposal for the destruction of Germany as an industrial state was released through the State Department as a balloon intended to test the strength and direction of public opinion. If that was the idea, the results have been impressive. The dangers of the plan were pointed out by almost the whole rational press, and two days after its release it was officially if obliquely denounced by Mr. Hull. A few days later the President himself issued instructions to the Foreign Economic Administrator to work out his plans for the economic control of Germany "under the guidance of the Department of State," an order which ruled out the likelihood of a future de-industrialized Germany.

The balloon was finally shot down by General Eisenhower, whose first proclamation to the German people, telling them just what to expect under Allied military rule, was a model of good sense. He said in effect: We will overthrow the Nazi power, wipe out militarism, punish persons guilty of atrocities and other crimes, take over all the functions of government, and stamp out any resistance to Allied authority; but we are not going to oppress or terrorize the German people. This calm statement cleared the air and took away from Goebbels some of the ammunition he had manufactured out of Carthaginian threats and evidences of divided counsels among the Allies.

But even Eisenhower cannot create a long-range, unified plan for the future of Germany. That can come only as the result of common agreement among the major powers, and no such agreement has been reached. This is the disturbing fact. It was bad enough that the collapse of Italian resistance found the Allies without any fixed policy for Italy. It would be immeasurably worse if German collapse should occur before the three great powers have done more than agree on their respective spheres of military occupation and on immediate measures of control. Discord or a struggle for power within Germany would not only encourage dangerous elements in that country to try to exploit such differences for their own advantage; it would threaten the over-all collaboration among the three great Allies upon which all hope of lasting peace depends.

Yet it is questionable whether even a serious attempt has been made to arrive at an accord on Germany. At Teheran complete unanimity of opinion on military matters prevailed, and the splendid results are now being realized. But apparently the three powers cautiously skirted a discussion of the policy to be applied after Germany's defeat and occupation. And this is hardly surprising when, even in the Cabinet of a single nation, members disagree as profoundly as do Secretary Hull and Secretary Morgenthau.

In presenting our own plan for Germany we intend to avoid the oversimplified and abstract terminology which has been so generally applied to this subject. To begin with, we reject as unrealistic the classification of "hard" peace as opposed to "soft" peace. These words mean nothing unless they are defined in terms of actual people and measures. We want the "hardest" peace imaginable for Nazi officials and party members, the S. S. blackguards, the militarists; also for the social elements—Junkers, monopolists, big industrialists—who were responsible for bringing Hitler to power. We want German fascism destroyed to its last roots, as we want fascism destroyed all over Europe and in the rest of the world. But this "hard" peace should not strike with equal force whatever anti-Nazi elements exist in Germany after Hitler's collapse; at least it should give them an opportunity to show their capacity to rise and to fight for a decent Germany.

More pertinent than a protracted debate about a "hard" or "soft" peace is the working out of a settlement with Germany which will hold; which will be supported by the American people not only now but ten years from now.

There are two chief purposes to be sought in planning the future of Germany. One is to prevent the revival of German military power and the Nazi state. The other is to contribute to the construction of a sound and peaceful Europe. Terms for Germany, "hard" or "soft," are wise if they serve those ends, reckless if they fail to.

As far as the first purpose is concerned, the program is relatively simple. The record of Germany is such that the victorious powers are fuly justified in treating it as a special problem. We favor without reserve the complete and immediate disarming of Germany, from top to bottom. We favor the destruction of the army itself as a military force. And we believe that an Allied military mission should be left in Germany for an indefinite period to guard against secret rearmament such as followed the last war.

On the other hand we believe that the German army, after its surrender, should not be immediately demobilized but should be reorganized as a labor force for the reconstruction of areas it has laid waste. Equipped with tools and trucks instead of guns and tanks, units of the former Wehrmacht should be put to work, under the command of the authorities of the countries to which they are assigned, to rebuild towns, roads, railways, and in general to make what physical reparation is possible for the immeasurable destruction they have brought about.

Such a scheme is more than a measure of retribution or even of reconstruction. It has the added merit of insuring a gradual, piecemeal demobilization of the German army. Nothing would more seriously threaten order and delay the emergence of democratic civilian elements in Germany than to flood the country with millions of returned soldiers, schooled in Nazi doctrine as well as in violence, few of whom could be absorbed by the shattered industries of the Reich.

The destruction of the Nazi state apparatus and the elimination of all Nazi officials who may survive the defeat may be taken for granted. Such temporizing with Fascist functionaries as took place in Italy is not likely to be repeated in Germany. But past experience justifies a warning against any dealings with such left-overs from pre-Nazi days as Dr. Heinrich Brüning. There are many persons of his type who have remained in close touch with similar elements in London and Washington. And these are the very men whose timidity and conservatism prevented them from taking action against the Nazis at a time when Hitler could have been jailed and his movement smashed. Far better undivided Allied military control than the use of German Badoglios.

The trial and punishment of German war criminals, agreed to at Moscow, is again promised by Eisenhower. We strongly favor the plan to turn over for punishment to the people who have suffered under Nazi terror the men directly responsible. But we think this plan should apply in Germany as well. No matter what may be the normal restrictions of military rule, we insist that every genuine effort on the part of the people to overthrow their Nazi rulers and bring them to justice must be encouraged rather than repressed. The hope of a regenerated Germany depends largely on the will of the people to purge their country of fascists and militarists. Every Nazi gangster—from Hitler down—who is caught and shot by Germans will be worth a hundred tried in an Allied court and duly executed by an Allied firing squad.

More difficult to agree upon than measures of disarmament and the elimination of Nazi rule are plans for controlling Germany's economic life. At this point the first purpose merges with the second—the reconstruction of Europe. For the future of Germany cannot be separated from that of the Continent as a whole.

The partition of Germany into several states according to traditional political and religious groupings, as proposed by Sumner Welles, would have the effect not only of breaking up German industrial unity, but also of depriving Prussia of its dangerous position of dominance. The more extreme proposal made by Mr. Morgenthau would even more certainly reduce the Reich to industrial and military impotence for a considerable period. But in spite of these advantages both plans seem to us confessions of weakness and predictions of failure. A first obvious objection is that they could be accomplished only by force and maintained only by force. Here we have a plan which insures the rise of frantic agitation on the part of naitonalist groups intrenched solely in preparing the ground for a new war of "liberation." How long, we wonder, would the American people be willing to leave troops in Europe to prevent the reunion of Germany's severed parts? But a more serious objection, especially to the Morgenthau plan, lies in its economic consequences. Germany is the heart of the economy of Central Europe. To destroy German industry is to weaken still further an economic structure already demoralized by years of war. Surely saner methods can be found to control the Reich's concentrated economic power than by partition and the actual demolition of its industrial plant. Surely the Allied powers have sufficient force and ingenuity to use rather than smash what is left of Germany's productive capacity.

Industrial power is not lodged in machines and mines and railways. It is wielded by men, representing political and economic interests. These interests are what must be destroyed—and the men with them if necessary. After the last war the Thyssens and Krupps kept their wealth and therefore their power. This time they must be stripped of both.

But the future of Germany is not going to be decided by Mr. Roosevelt alone, or in a conference between the President and the Prime Minister. Moscow is far from London and Washington; it is close politically and economically to Berlin. Any plan for Germany must be acceptable to Russia.

It is clear that Russia will support no scheme for the dismemberment of Germany or the destruction of German industry. Only the other day Tass, official Russian news agency, bluntly said that "projects of this kind have not been and are not considered by the European Advisory Commission." We have had many indications that the Soviet government expects German industry to contribute heavily to the restoration of Russia. As much as two years ago the Russians expressed doubt as to the wisdom of the demolition air attacks on German industrial plants; their own air force has carried out no such destructive raids. What Russia presumably wants in Germany is a system of economic control which will insure that production is geared to the use of Germany's neighbors, chiefly the Soviet Union, and that no power remains in the hands of the financial interests that were responsible above all others for the rise of Hitler.

What should become of these great properties ultimately depends both upon developments in Germany and upon the development of Europe as a whole. If Germany is not a geographic or an economic vacuum, neither is it a vacuum in the political sense. Germany is part of the entire European social-political process. And Europe is moving rapidly toward the left. The socialism that is about to overtake the Nazified industries of France will become the logical successor in Germany to the military control installed by the occupation. Nowhere will the domination of the Thyssens and the Comité des Forges and their various counterparts survive the profound changes that are today in preparation all over Europe.

That is why, while supporting the most drastic measures necessary to secure the destruction of Nazism and German military power, we oppose a policy which would check the revolutionary process in Germany under the pretext of maintaining order. The "education" of Germany demands, above all, that the Germans themselves share in the liquidation of Nazism and that the armies of occupation do not prevent a German day of reckoning.

Much will depend upon the courage with which the anti-Nazi Germans face their own situation and the situation of their country. To concentrate their main effort, as some of those outside Germany have done, upon denouncing Vansittartism and expressing horror whenever the slightest modification of the 1919 frontiers is suggested will neither help the German revolution nor moderate Allied policy toward Germany. Every German who is not a Nazi must be ready to accept the fact that deep-rooted doubt prevails, even among people whom it would be absurd to characterize as Vansittartist, as to whether Germany can ever become a peaceful member of a new world organization. And he must recognize that the Allied nations will adopt a policy in support of a democratic Germany only if the German people prove themselves, in action and words, mature enough for the historic task of ending forever the Germany of Frederick the Great, of Bismarck, of Wilhelm II, and of Hitler.

The leadership for such a movement in Germany is not yet visible, nor do we believe there is much likelihood that a popular revolution will take place before the Nazi power is crushed by military defeat. The important thing for Allied authorities to remember is that in the emergence of a popular movement lies the greatest permanent hope of a Germany capable of living in peace with its neighbors.

Home is the Soldier

It is all here: Angela wearing her smart felt autumn hats again,
George with his remembered jokes, the familiar tear in the window blind:
All is unchanged, the glass world utterly unchanged by war;
It is all here except the thing you expected to find.

They are, if anything, younger; it is you who have aged,
But, whatever you were looking for, you will not find it here:
It is somewhere between neon light and light, between a bar and bar,
Somewhere in quiet summer leaves at midnight, or dead in a former year.

Something that was here, if it was ever anywhere at all, is gone:
You had three days at home to find that home was not home any more;
And gone wherever it is that such things go: lost with a word,
Shut out of another, younger life with some lost closing of a door.

FREDERICK EBRIGHT.

Bricker's Running Mate

BY JAMES A. WECHSLER

Aboard Dewey's Train, September 27

THOMAS E. DEWEY'S first major campaign trip proceeded on a split-second schedule for nearly two weeks. Each arrival and departure was precisely timed; each word and gesture seemed to conform to a well-prepared script, with laughter strictly rationed. ("Smile, Governor," a man shouted during the Lansing reception. "I thought I was," replied Governor Dewey.) The whole enterprise was a magnificent display of efficiency. It was also monotonous, uninspired. It looked as if the GOP were engaged in a conspiracy to bore the electorate and blanket the election. Dewey made few platform appearances, using press conferences as his main medium of communication. Two unanticipated events enlivened the junket—a train wreck near Portland and Mr. Roosevelt's speech. The impact of the latter was the more violent.

On his eight-thousand-mile trip Dewey showed he was no black-mustachioed villain in a reactionary political thriller but rather a quick-change artist. Three separate and distinct portraits of Mr. Dewey might have been painted on this journey. In the first phase he was the attentive listener. He raised the demobilization scare at Philadelphia, embraced most of Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy at Louisville, and tried to pump new life into the faded "MacArthur issue" at Valentine, Nebraska. These blasts kept him off the obituary pages. But most of the time en route to the West Coast he just listened and nodded sympathetically without direct commitment. He heard the laments of the prosperous cattle men and transmitted them to the correspondents. His aides gave fiery pep talks to local politicians. Dewey himself sat through innumerable conferences with business men, veterans, obscure labor representatives, Negro delegations—seeming to drink in the thoughts of each in turn. As we approached the West Coast, it was a dull, funereal procession, attracting small crowds, stirring little tumult.

The second portrait emerged at Seattle. There he delivered his labor address, skilfully phrased in the language of labor's grievances. This was no Union League Club version of the workingman's woes; it had obviously been prepared by experts familiar with the Washington labor scene. In San Francisco his romance with the New Deal became more intense. In Los Angeles Dewey virtually took over the C. I. O. program for expansion of social-security legislation. The disconsolate murmurings of the Old Guard were loud and insistent. Was this the Willkie story being reenacted? Would "real Republicans" again be denied "a real choice"? The Chicago *Tribune* relegated his speeches to page ten, usually reserved for Mr. Roosevelt's remarks.

To independent observers on the pilgrimage, however, Dewey's campaign had finally begun to make sense. He was deliberately and stubbornly ignoring the advice of the Old Guard. He knew their votes belonged to him anyway and knew also that those votes had not added up to victory for his three predecessors. He had to prove that any resemblance between himself and our only living ex-President was entirely accidental. If he were successful he might lure some section of the independent vote, neutralize portions of the labor vote, and create doubt among former FDR supporters who instinctively disliked a fourth term. Meanwhile, lesser Republican orators could play the other side of the street, taunting Sidney Hillman, flirting with the isolationist fringe, solidifying the party's habitual followers.

Then Mr. Roosevelt went on the air.

Future students of this campaign will not have to probe much farther for the turning-point. No one in the Dewey entourage questioned the power of FDR's performance. In a single speech he had exploded the "tired-old-man" charge. He displayed a warmth and wit that emphasized the political frigidity of his opponent. He infused fighting human content into a drab race. The correspondents listening to the broadcast aboard the Dewey train were unanimously bowled over, regardless of private loyalties. The next day Dewey had to make the biggest decision of his campaign—whether to drop the New Deal mask and fight back as the Old Guard had wanted him to fight all along, or stick to his initial plan without outward evidence of discomfort.

The third Dewey enters. The essential strategy of his campaign was junked overnight. In his seventh and final radio speech of the trip he struck back on the ground that Mr. Roosevelt had chosen for him. It was an aggressive reply, ably delivered and containing some effective passages. But it was fundamentally the reply of a Republican conservative, fighting on the line where his party had suffered so many defeats in the Roosevelt era. On the homeward journey his reversion to Republican type was even more pronounced. In half a dozen platform appearances he dispelled any confusion about his current identity. This wasn't Franklin Roosevelt or Wendell Willkie or any minor imitator speaking. It was John W. Bricker's running mate. Tom Dewey was rediscovering the banalities of the Landon campaign. The crowds were bigger, more animated. But they were composed of the same old faces that had given Willkie and Landon the illusion of victory. Only the bobby-sock girls were new, and most of them won't vote this year.

Now, entering the decisive October phase of the contest, Dewey must select his campaign portrait. Will he once again become an austere, soft-spoken, business-like character, dutifully carrying his message to the countryside and trusting that a large number of voters will remain deeply uninterested in the outcome? Can he recapture the pose of streamlined New Dealer, pledging social progress at bargain prices, high-pressure bureaus that run without bureaucrats? Or will he be the free-swinging, hard-hitting spokesman of the Old Guard's cause, crying out against the "Hillman-Communist alliance," exploiting war-time inconveniences, promising a new freedom for free enterprise? A modernized Hoover, a mellowed Willkie, or just a serious young man with a mission? That is the question. Probably the only safe prophecy is that, as in the past, he will exhibit the courage of Dr. Gallup's predictions.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

ALTHOUGH prospects of an immediate victory over Germany went glimmering with the magnificent failure at Arnhem, the noose continues to tighten around the Reich; and, after all, Mr. Churchill only said that several months of 1945 *might* be required for Germany's final defeat. He added, "Many persons of the highest technical attainment and knowledge and responsibility have good hopes that it will be all over by the end of 1944"; and Raymond Daniell, the astute New York *Times* man in London, cabled his paper: "There were some of those who heard the Prime Minister's report on the progress of the war . . . who thought his remarks were a guarded expression of his own belief that the new year might see the dawn of peace in Europe, after more than five years of war."

Arnhem, of course, was not a complete failure: the estimate of "80 per cent success" placed on the over-all air-borne operation by a senior staff officer seems just. The Red Devils occupied the full attention of General Sepp Dietrich's first-class S. S. troops, and held out for nine days against greatly superior forces, heavy artillery, tanks, and flame-throwers; their grievous losses and outstanding courage and tenacity enabled General Dempsey's troops to move from the stalemated line of the Escaut Canal to new positions beyond the Maas and Waal, where they still threaten the soft end of the Siegfried Line and have seriously compromised the enemy troops remaining in western Holland. Beyond these immediate tactical gains, the operation proved that air-borne troops can be dropped a good deal deeper in enemy territory than had been previously known, that the advantage of surprise enables even a lightly armed air-borne division to hold off superior forces for a considerable time, and that the Germans in their present state are hard put to it to concentrate such superior forces quickly.

The last factor is likely to remain the decisive one on the western front this fall. The Germans lost a million men in France and the Low Countries; there are now probably not more than half a million men holding the 500-mile front from Switzerland to the sea. Against these thirty or fewer divisions the Allies have poised six armies—between two and three million men. With this superiority at hand, the Allied strategy is obviously to strike consecutive blows in widely separated sectors, thus keeping the enemy off balance, until strength can be built up in one sector for the decisive break-through. With troops tied down all along the front trying to meet the consecutive Allied blows, and with almost nothing in the way of reserves behind the front, the Germans should find it next to impossible to cope with a break-through, and the way should be opened for quick pursuit and "the dividend of victory."

Logistics and weather are the chief barriers to the neat and orderly unfolding of this plan, so glibly set forth from a comfortable foxhole in Chelsea. The "madness" of German commanders in holding out for so long in the ports of France is now shown to have been about as crazy as a fox. Cherbourg and Marseilles are a long way from the Vosges; use of Antwerp is still denied; Le Havre and Calais and the others were surely well blown before they fell. We have perhaps a million troops at the wrong end of a very long funnel, fighting in the rain, which not only makes them wretched but, more important, turns our hard-won aerial supremacy into nothingness on many days. October is one of the worst flying months over Europe: last year the Eighth Air Force operated on only seven days, and rain is anticipated on sixteen or seventeen days out of thirty-one.

Victory will come in the west this year if the ports are cleared, the roads are passable, and the air forces can operate. October must be kind, and General Lee (Eisenhower's supply man) must pass a miracle. If these conditions are fulfilled, the Germans are licked; already the enemy troops are being chewed up, tanks and men being destroyed in that slow but deadly process of attrition Montgomery called "the meat-grinder," which has preceded every Anglo-American victory since Alamein. The process was last revealed in Normandy; and there was much head-wagging over the rate of advance then, too.

Germans lost now cannot be replaced from other fronts. Parts of twenty-five divisions are fighting for their lives in Italy, having been driven in costly battle from most of the Gothic Line through the mountains, but having now the water barriers of the Po Valley to fight behind. Across the Adriatic the Germans in the Balkans are engaged by a fantastic combination of Yugoslav partisans, Anglo-American landing forces, and Russian troops of the Second Ukrainian Front, who form the link between the ever-compressing southern and eastern fronts. The majority of German troops are still fighting the Red Army: their expulsion from most of the Baltics and their imminent disaster in Hungary do not improve German prospects on the dangerous center of the front, around Warsaw, when the anticipated Russian blow direct toward Berlin develops.

Three Crucial Counties

BY I. F. STONE

Chicago, September 28

FROM the Civil War until 1932 Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan had been pretty securely Republican. Ohio had left the party fold only in 1912 and in 1916. Illinois had voted once for Cleveland (1892) and once for Wilson (1912). Michigan had never gone Democratic in a Presidential election since the Republican Party was formed in 1854. Roosevelt carried all three in 1932 and four years later increased his majorities in them. Ohio gave Roosevelt only 74,000 more votes than Hoover in 1932 but in 1936 cast 619,000 more votes for Roosevelt than for Landon. In Illinois Roosevelt beat Hoover by 449,000 votes; Landon, by 712,000. In Michigan Roosevelt's margin over his Republican opponent was 131,500 votes in 1932; 317,000 votes in 1936.

To Middle Western Republican politicians in 1936 it must have looked as if the Hoover depression had altered the area's political patterns as sharply as the slavery issue did in the 1860's. Despite returning prosperity, higher labor costs, sharp strikes, and a steady chorus of charges of communism from the press, the middle class was more strongly behind Roosevelt than it had been four years before. In 1936, in this as in most other areas, Roosevelt was the choice of the farmer and small-town business man as well as the worker. To obtain the seventy-two electoral votes of these three states, he was not dependent on working-class majorities in the three crucial counties of Cuyahoga (Cleveland), Cook (Chicago), and Wayne (Detroit). In 1936 Roosevelt carried 67 of the 88 counties in Ohio, 72 of the 102 counties in Illinois, 49 of the 83 counties in Michigan. He had a majority of 437,000 in Ohio before he reached the Cuyahoga County line. In Illinois he won the "downstate" regions outside Cook County by 160,648 votes He carried Michigan outside Wayne County and Detroit by 103,000 votes. The New Deal was a victorious coalition, as representative of the farmer and the middle class as of the worker. But this coalition was to prove far less permanent than the one which had brought Free-Soil farmer and Northern capitalist together under Lincoln.

By 1940, in this area as elsewhere outside the South, the working class alone was solidly for Roosevelt. That year he carried only 28 of the 88 counties in Ohio, 29 of the 102 counties in Illinois, 15 of the 83 counties in Michigan. He lost downstate Illinois by 127,000 votes, rural and small-town Michigan by 182,000 votes. Chicago made it possible for him to carry Illinois, but Detroit failed to counterbalance its countryside and Willkie won Michigan by 6,926 votes. Ohio, where Roosevelt still had a majority of 8,318 votes outside Cuyahoga County and Cleveland, seems to have departed from this pattern until more closely examined. If one puts aside the vote in Ohio's eight industrial counties with populations of more than 100,000 one sees that Roosevelt lost the rest of the state—rural and small-town Ohio—by almost 94,000 votes. The workers of Cleveland, Youngstown, Akron, Dayton, and Canton saved Ohio for the President in 1940. They, and the workers of Chicago, Detroit, and a dozen lesser industrial centers, can put Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan in the Democratic column this year—insuring Roosevelt's reelection—but only if they register and vote almost literally to the last eligible man and woman.

It may be that the President's final radio speeches, the fear of a change until Hitler is defeated and the boys safely started home, the gratitude of some normally Republican areas like the Dutch farm country in Michigan will attract some G. O. P. votes to Roosevelt. These at best can hardly do more than offset the defection of many German votes, notably in Cincinnati, and of many Irish votes, notably in Chicago, which normally go Democratic. The workers in the great industrial centers of these three states will have to cast enough ballots to outweigh larger anti-Roosevelt majorities than ever in rural and small-town areas and even in some of the industrial towns. Cincinnati and Columbus are examples of this last group.

The worker is strictly on his own in this election. The Middle Western farmer and the small town are back in the Republican fold until the next crisis, and nobody knows just where that will send them. People respond to what seems their immediate interest; they rarely think in long-range terms. To the worker Roosevelt represents the right to organize, unemployment insurance, and the vague if glamorous hope of something called full employment. To the farmer and small business man he is associated with higher wages and higher operating costs. That higher wages have also expanded and maintained his market is an abstract proposition in economics too elusive for his bookkeeping. These marginal operators, never too far ahead of the sheriff, have to keep their eyes focused sharply on their own balance sheets.

It is easy to term the anti-New Deal swing since 1936 "reaction," which it is, but it is more important to understand it. The Middle West has its share of embryo fascists, but the bulk of the anti-New Dealers are good folk, with no sinister intentions. It is not hard to see why "free-enterprise" slogans have so strong a hold upon them; they have themselves seen and practiced "free enterprise." The farms between the Ohio and the Mississippi are family size; the farmers are competent; their land is well cared for. These neat farms refresh the eye and spirit after the wasted and slatternly acres one so often sees to the south and west. Agriculture here is really a way of life, not a business; the farmer in this area consumes more of his own products than in most states. The Midwestern farmer is self-reliant, individualistic, fairly contented, and therefore conservative. The slogans of the New Deal do not have much meaning for him, though he does react to measures and movements—like the C. I. O. bogyman—which seems to make it harder to keep the hired man (when he has one) happy.

This individualism is not inconsistent with cooperative activity, where it shows up in dollars-and-cents savings, but the pragmatic farmer seems to draw few, if any, generalizations from his participation in the cooperative movement. I visited the rich Ohio Farm Bureau headquarters in Columbus. Its consumer-cooperative show windows would do credit to a metropolitan department store. I talked with Murray Lincoln, its spark plug and sage, a maverick from Massachusetts, in his walnut and chintz offices. The Ohio Farm Bureau's consumer co-op did a quarter-million-dollar business last year. The Farm Bureau sells feed, fertilizers, oil, and insurance. It manages the country's fourth largest automobile mutual insurance company. I could find no evidence that these successful activities in competition with capitalist enterprise had changed the thinking of the farmers who take part in them and profit by them. Lincoln himself is a leading progressive. The *Ohio Farm Bureau News* for September, which I picked up in his reception room, carries an editorial gently suggesting "production for use instead of profit." Most Farm Bureau members, like most Ohio farmers, whether normally Republican or Democratic, will vote for Dewey none the less.

The small Midwestern business man, like the small Midwestern farmer, is perhaps best observed in Ohio. Michigan is only "Midwestern" by geography. The miner and the lumberjack are as important in its economy as the automobile worker; its farmers specialize in seeds, fruits, and vegetables; extensive wood and paper industries in the state depend on the axes of its French Canadian woodsmen; it is the world's greatest producer of iron ore; and it is the domain of big business from the Calumet and Hecla copper mines in the far northern Keweenaw Peninsula to General Motors, Ford, and Detroit. Chicago is big business, too; outside Chicago, Illinois has only one city, Peoria, with more than 100,000 population. But Ohio has eight cities of more than 100,000—Massachusetts is the only other state which has as many—and dozens of smaller towns hardly one of which has not an industry of some sort; the state seems one unending Main Street. This is a good place to study the entrepreneur, large and small.

To those of us who know the world of business principally through the volumes of the Temporary National Economic Committee's monopoly investigation and the records of recent anti-trust proceedings, "free enterprise" is something to put between quotation marks. But one cannot understand the anti-New Deal undercurrent among the smaller business men unless one understands that "free enterprise" is something they have seen produce industrial wonders in their lifetimes. There is hardly an Ohio town that is not a monument to the daring and vision of some outstanding business man. Akron comes first to mind, synonymous with rubber, and rubber with Goodrich, Seiberling, and Firestone. In Canton you hear of Henry Timken and the tapered roller bearing. In Cincinnati you see Procter and Gamble's "Ivorydale." In Toledo the giant Libbey-Owens-Ford glass company merges the labors of three great glass manufacturers. Dayton still tells of John Patterson, who bought the National Cash Register Company in 1884 for $6,500 and tried to sell it back the next day for half that price. Less well-known but no less capable men explain Lima's locomotives, Zanesville's pottery, Chillicothe's paper, Wadsworth's matches, Newark's glassware.

It is hard for middle-class people who have seen all these accomplishments to shift over to the less individualistic concepts of the New Deal. One comes across an occasional business man who understands the economic and social changes going on around him and is fully capable of adjusting to them. One such is the brilliant banker, Cyrus Eaton, who carries on a successful guerrilla war against Wall Street from his twentieth-floor fastness in the Terminal Tower, the skyscraper with which the Van Sweringens adorned Cleveland and depressed New York Central bonds. But Eaton is the exception. Most of the business men sense the concentration of industrial and financial power that has reduced their opportunities and horizons, but few understand it. A striking example is provided by the automobile industry. Ohio is content to pour parts and accessories and steel into Detroit. It once put on the roads the Chandler, the Willys-Knight, the Cleveland, the Westcott, the Overland, the Moon, and the Winton. Ohio's volume of production is greater as an auxiliary to Detroit, but its opportunities for initiative and enterprise are less. These and similar changes might logically lead Ohio's smaller business men into the New Deal camp, but it may take another depression or two to make the logic visible to them. In the meantime they will vote for Dewey, and vote for him even more solidly than will the farmer. Only the worker can stem the anti-New Deal tide. The magnitude of that task and the progress made in it I must leave for my next and final Midwestern letter (to appear next week).

Leftward the Course of Empire

BY F. R. SCOTT

London, September 26, by Cable

THE flying bombs have mostly stopped, and only a stray few continue to remind us of what London has been through. The Battle of Germany is engaged, and though the fight will be hard the outcome is certain. In liberated Europe the purging of collaborationists and the growth of left-wing pressures are evident. The Continent is entering upon a period of flux and change greater than anything seen since the end of the last war and likely to reach far deeper into the social and economic structure of every country except the U. S. S. R.

In this atmosphere and in the face of these possibilities the Conference of the Labor Parties of the British Commonwealth is taking place. This is the first time such a meeting has been held. Never before have the democratic Socialist and Labor third parties of the self-governing members of the Commonwealth sent their official delegates to a joint conference. The moment is ripe for leadership and for action by the forces of the left. The delegates here assembled have a unique opportunity to formulate policy on world issues and to seek the means of cooperation with similar movements in other countries. In Australia and New Zealand the parties that they represent are in power. In Great Britain the Labor Party has rendered decisive assistance to the war effort. In Canada the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation is a major contender for office in both federal and provincial elections. In South Africa labor stands out as the most liberal political influence. If the parties here represented stand firmly by their principles and jointly plan to save the peace, the whole movement of the popular democratic forces everywhere in the world will be strengthened.

It cannot be said that the conference is all-inclusive. No Irish delegates are present, and there are none from India or Newfoundland or from the smaller colonial dependencies where there are the beginnings of political action by labor. In view of the difficulties of travel at this time, it was felt best to invite to the first conference only delegates from the recognized Labor and Socialist parties in the autonomous parts of the Commonwealth. From the British Labor Party we have members of the government and of the national executive of the party. Canada has sent the C. C. F. leader M. J. Coldwell and four others, including David Lewis, the party's national secretary. New Zealand is represented by Michael Moohan, national secretary of the Labor Party, and Australia by the vice-president, Jim Walsh, and one other. The three South Africans are led by Senator Henderson, national secretary of the South African Labor Party.

The program, which at the time of writing has not been entirely covered, includes the main issues which must face all progressives who gather to consider the post-war world. After a survey of the war situation in general, the alignment of political forces in the various countries represented was taken up. Naturally the place of the British Labor Party in the Churchill coalition was of special concern, and while the reasons for that coalition were fully appreciated, there was warm approval of the decision of the national executive of the party, announced during the conference, that Labor would fight in the next British elections as an independent party. Once this vital choice is made, the whole complexion of British politics begins to change, and while the coalition is not likely to end until the defeat of Germany, the preparations for a clear breach and a fresh appeal to the electorate have already begun in the minds of the party members if not in the party organization. It is likely that the next national conference of the Labor Party, which has been postponed till December 11, will formulate a positive program on which to go to the people, who for nine years have not exercised the right to vote.

The chief topics of discussion were the peace settlement and problems of political and economic reconstruction. The treatment to be given Germany was a matter for debate. In North America the question appears a good deal more academic than it does to people who have experienced the blitz and the flying bomb. The issue seemed to turn round the choice between a soft and a hard peace; but a deeper examination of the attitudes made it clear that no one wanted a foolishly sentimental peace and no one refused to admit that the ultimate aim was the development of democratic institutions in Germany and the integration of the German people in the new world system. Certain hard terms, such as the destruction of the Nazi system, the trial of war criminals, the total disarmament of the people, a temporary occupation, and restitution of stolen properties, were accepted. But the conference would have been untrue to the Socialist tradition if it had not looked to the eventual resurrection of trade-union, cooperative, and Socialist movements among the German masses and to the possibility of friendly dealings with such movements.

On the long-term political issues there was emphatic agreement: nothing short of an over-all association or league of states with coercive power against aggressors and firm obligations on the part of members would suffice. Delegates from every country denounced the supine policies of the old parties and the great powers under the old League. And their arguments were fortified by Mr. Churchill's letter in the London *Times*, addressed to Sir Robert Cecil on his eightieth birthday, saying that we could have made the League work if we had wished. Since the building of the new world association will depend so much upon the continued cooperation of the leading powers among the United Nations, it was but natural that the conference should stress the importance of maintaining the present alliance and of overcoming whatever differences may arise from time to time among Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. At the same time any notion that a mere alliance could last unless transformed into a genuine collective system inclusive of all nations was strongly condemned.

Consideration of the position of India and the dependent territories in the Commonwealth resulted in the affirmation of two principles that are of general interest. The first was that India must be granted its freedom as soon as the alternative government can be arranged with the Indian representatives; the second was that dependent colonies everywhere must be brought under a new international authority to which their present administration will be answerable. There was nothing of Mr. Churchill's "what we have we'll hold" attitude at this conference, and there were frequent references to the remarkable progress made by backward peoples under the Soviet Union. The denial of racial superiority and the duty of aiding the colonies to attain self-government are tenets of all the parties represented.

The last sessions were devoted to a matter of major importance—the fostering of close relations with Labor and Socialist movements in other parts of the world. At every turn in the discussion it was clear that the safety and prosperity of the Commonwealth countries depend on world developments. Unless other nations, as well as these five, move in the direction of full employment, democratic government, and international responsibility, the outlook is indeed black. Unless the antiquated policies and institutions of monopoly capitalism are replaced everywhere by democratic vision and economic planning for plenty, another world conflict can scarcely be prevented. It was agreed, therefore, that as soon as possible a new Socialist International should be created and an effort made to weld the progressive forces of the world into a dynamic movement. If this conference does nothing more than dramatize this possibility, it will have been a success.

If American liberals, trade unionists, and progressives can feel that they are part of the same world of thought and action, the chances of a real union of forces are immeasurably increased. The worldwide unity of reaction we have seen to our cost. The unity of forward-looking minds has to be built. With Labor governments in Australia and New Zealand, with the British Labor Party on the threshold of power, with new forces upsurging in every liberated country in Europe and a new spirit of cooperation in the U. S. S. R., there has never been a more propitious moment for proclaiming the common interests of the common people the world over.

In the Wind

EX-GOVERNOR TALMADGE of Georgia evidently has some difficulty in pronouncing such names as Sidney Hillman, James Loeb, Jr., and Reinhold Niebuhr. In his weekly newspaper, the *Statesman* ("Editor—The People; Associate Editor—Eugene Talmadge"), he lists the members of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, and after each non-English name puts a question such as "Can you pronounce the above name and tell where he is from?" After Dr. Niebuhr's unmistakably German name he says, "I wish that I had a Russian dictionary."

BY HECK DEPARTMENT: That old sod-buster Louis Bromfield, the food expert, is listed as a featured speaker at the annual convention of the Ohio State Realtors this week. The announcement says his 1,500-acre farm "is organized as a cooperative in which the employers share profits." The thing is obviously a typographical error, but it's the kind that could happen only to a Republican.

A POLL OF 72,000 CITIZENS by the Wichita, Kansas, *Beacon* showed that three out of every five did not know the name of either candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

DON'T WORRY TOO MUCH about the familiar cry that corporate taxes should be reduced in order to permit accumulation of capital for post-war production. The monthly business letter of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York says, "In general, corporations have experienced an appreciable increase in working capital during the war," which should "serve to reduce the demands for investment funds on the one hand and add to the supply of funds seeking investment on the other."

FESTUNG EUROPA: We do not share the racist views of Lord Vansittart, but evidently the editor of the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* does. Thus: "If they defeat us without killing us all, they will only breed a new generation of German fanatics—millions of boys of the Horst Wessel type. It is quite clear that our enemies want to destroy the 'German idea' of National Socialism, but they will never be able to destroy it if they let any Germans live."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Justice Black After Seven Years

BY IRVING M. ENGEL

> In his opinion, which will ring with power as long as liberty and justice are cherished in our country, Justice Black . . . asserted, with moderated eloquence, great American principles of American liberty. The whole document ought to be read by all citizens who care for the perpetuity of the Republic.

THE quotation is from "The Republic," by Charles A. Beard. The reference is to the opinion written by Justice Hugo L. Black in the Chambers case (*Chambers* v. *Florida,* February, 1940).

That Hugo Black could express himself with "moderated eloquence" will come as a surprise to those who were influenced by the articles about him which flooded our press after the announcement of his appointment to the Supreme Court. The previous high-water mark in opposition had been reached when Brandeis, another great liberal, was nominated, and the seven then living ex-presidents of the American Bar Association signed a written protest against his appointment. However, not even Brandeis was greeted with such a flood of abuse as Black.

The charge was made that Black, before his election to the Senate, had been a mere police-court lawyer, and that he lacked legal training and experience for the bench. As a matter of fact, he had been one of the outstanding trial lawyers of Alabama. With no big corporate clients, his professional income, nevertheless, was one of the largest in the state. He was also said to lack education. Actually, although largely self-educated, he was a learned man, especially in the fields of economics, history, and literature.

The situation was not without its amusing aspects. The New York *Herald Tribune,* bemoaning Black's "meager technical equipment," said, "The nomination is as menacing as it is unfit." A few pages away, however, in the same issue, the paper's Washington correspondent described Black as "one of the most learned members of the Senate," whose "convictions came to him by a reasoned, intellectual process rather than by a natural or opportunist sympathy. . . . The Senate learned to respect his industry and intelligence."

The storm was whipped to a new fury when, several weeks after his appointment, it was disclosed that for a brief period prior to his campaign for the Senate in 1926 Black had been a member of the Ku Klux Klan and after his election had accepted or failed to return a "passport" signifying life membership. For many liberals this was one charge which could not be condoned. However, to persons acquainted with his origin in Clay County, Alabama, where all white Protestants were expected to join the Klan as a matter of course, the amazing thing was not that he had perfunctorily accepted membership in the Klan but that in thought and deed he should be so opposed to Klan principles. Much publicity was given to the fact that after his election to the Senate he had made a speech to the Klan; what was overlooked was that even in that speech he warned against lawlessness and religious intolerance. His lack of sympathy for the aims of the Klan appeared further in his strong support of Al Smith in 1928 and in the fact that he stumped the state in 1930 against Tom Heflin, a rabid Catholic-baiter. These activities earned for him the violent opposition of the Klan.

Soon after taking his seat on the bench Black showed his independence and the strength of his convictions by being the sole dissenter in several important cases. Immediately his critics renewed their attack. The climax was an article, The Supreme Court Today, by Marquis W. Childs, in *Harper's* for May, 1938. Among other things, Mr. Childs said:

> During his brief service on the bench Justice Black has caused his colleagues, again "liberal" and "conservative" alike, acute discomfort and embarrassment. This has had nothing to do with the issue of the Ku Klux Klan, which was more or less irrelevant. . . . It has grown out of the lack of legal knowledge and experience, deficiencies in background and training, that have led him into blunders which have shocked his colleagues on the highest court.

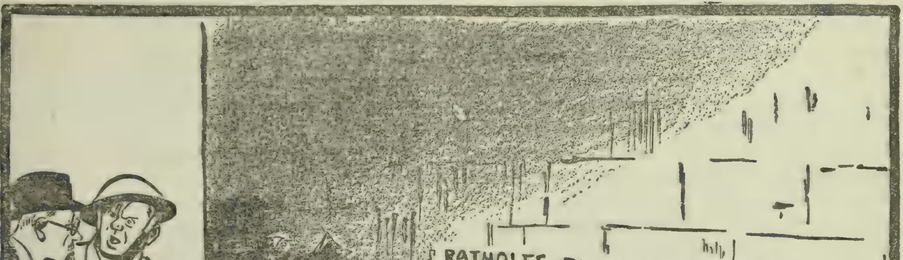
This was the last time a responsible journalist repeated the baseless charge of Black's incompetence. For within a few days after the article appeared, Black had dramatic vindication. On a point on which three months before he had been the sole dissenter, the Supreme Court, by a vote of seven to two, now reversed itself and sustained Black.

The point involved had been laid down in 1842 in the celebrated case of *Swift* v. *Tyson,* when it was decided that on questions of common law federal courts were not bound by the decisions of the highest court of the state where the cause of action arose but were free to apply their own views. This produced two systems of law, one for cases tried in the state courts and another for cases tried in the federal courts. In many instances the decision in a given case would depend, not upon the merits of the controversy, but upon whether or not one of the parties could take the case into the federal court. The result was not only confusion but, often, injustice. Nevertheless, the rule of *Swift* v. *Tyson,* although severely criticized, remained in effect for nearly 100 years.

When it was last applied, in February, 1938, in the case of *New York Life Insurance Company* v. *Garner,* Black was the sole dissenter. Three months later the case of *Erie Railroad Company* v. *Tompkins* was decided. That was an action for damages by a party injured on the right of way of the defendant railroad company. The question was whether the rule to be applied should be that of the federal court, where the action had been brought, or that of Pennsylvania, where the injury occurred. The Supreme Court, with only two dissenting justices, held that the doctrine of the Pennsylvania courts should be applied, whether the case was tried in the federal court or the state court. The decision in *Swift* v. *Tyson* was expressly overruled, as "an unconstitutional assumption of power by courts of the United States which no lapse of time or respectable array of opinion should make us hesitate to correct." Thus a few months after his appointment the court adopted Black's views and set aside that unsound although century-old decision.

During the past seven years the Supreme Court has made great strides in liberalizing its decisions and correcting some of the errors which had crept into our system. This progress has been due in some measure, of course, to the appointment of other liberals to fill later vacancies. However, much of the credit must go to Hugo Black. Of the utmost importance, for example, has been his position with reference to the due-process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. That clause provides that no state shall deprive a *person* of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. After some years of indecision the Supreme Court held in 1886 that the word "person" included corporations. By virtue of that ruling the federal courts for the next fifty years assumed authority to pass on all efforts of the states to regulate industry or commerce within their borders. Since during that period most progressive legislation emanated from the states, this meant that practically every regulatory statute and every innovation in the law had to run the gauntlet of the federal courts, frequently with disastrous results.

Black's position on this question has been clear and unequivocal. In one of his early dissents, the Connecticut General Life Insurance case (1938), he wrote a



"WHAT ABOUT STOPPING 'EM UP RIGHT NOW?"

learned and vigorous opinion in support of the proposition that the due-process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment did not apply to corporations and that the earlier decisions to the contrary should be overruled. While there is much to be said for Black's bold position, the majority of the court has not yet come over to his way of thinking. However, Black went still farther and maintained that even if the due-process clause were applicable it did not authorize the federal court, in passing upon state regulations of commerce or industry, to substitute its views for those of the state body; on the contrary, he indicated, the action of the state should be upset only when it clearly appeared to be confiscatory.

In this contention Black has now been sustained, and the principles for which he argued have become the law of the land. This appears, by way of illustration, in the decisions involving utility rates. In the Indianapolis Water Company case (1938), the Supreme Court, with Black as the sole dissenter, held that certain water rates adopted by a state commission violated the due-process clause—and were therefore unconstitutional—because they did not assure the company a return of 6 per cent on the "reproduction cost" of its system, and that in arriving at reproduction cost the then rising trend of prices should be taken into consideration. Black argued, first, that the due-process clause did not apply to the Water Company because it was a corporation, and, second, that the clause, even if applicable to corporations, did not empower the Supreme Court to impose upon the states its views as to the formulas to be followed in rate-making. Black's second contention was sustained by a majority of the court a few years later in the Pipeline case (*Federal Power Commission* v. *Natural Gas Pipeline Company*, March, 1942), which held in effect that rate-making bodies are not required to follow any single formula or combination of formulas, and that courts cannot intervene in the absence of a clear showing that the limits of due process have been overstepped.

As a result of the court's adoption, to that extent, of Black's views on this subject, rate-making bodies for the first time in several decades can now attempt to reach a reasonable solution of their problems without having to guess what will be the views of the Supreme Court. As Black put it, "The problem of rate-making is for the administrative experts, not the courts."

In the Indianapolis Water Company case it is worth noting that although the majority opinion was favorable to the water company and awarded it a new trial, the company has never taken advantage of its victory by bringing the case up for retrial in the lower court. It is commonly understood that Black's analysis of the water company's case in his nineteen-page opinion was so devastating that the company thought discretion the better part of valor, and has since then been operating, profitably and without objection, under the rates which the majority opinion had found to be confiscatory and unconstitutional.

It is in the field of civil liberties, however, that Black has made his greatest mark. No other Supreme Court justice—not even Holmes—has been such an outspoken champion of the rights of the individual, especially the individual who is poor, weak, and defenseless. In the Chambers case, already mentioned, the Supreme Court set aside the conviction of a Negro defendant in Florida because it was based on a confession which had been wrung from him by five days of unremitting "third degree." Black's opinion in that case, which was so praised by Beard, bids fair to become a permanent part of the literature of our democracy. A statement by a prominent metropolitan newspaper that it was "far and away the most direct, sweeping, and brilliantly written application of the Fourteenth Amendment to human lives that has yet come from our highest courts," was quoted approvingly in the *Catholic World*. Two sentences in particular from Black's opinion will bear repetition here:

> Under our constitutional system courts stand against any winds that blow as havens of refuge for those who might otherwise suffer because they are helpless, weak, outnumbered, or because they are non-conforming victims of prejudice and public excitement. . . . No higher duty, no more solemn responsibility, rests upon this court than that of translating into living law and maintaining this constitutional shield deliberately planned and inscribed for the benefit of every human being subject to our Constitution—of whatever race, creed, or persuasion.

Black's attitude toward freedom of the press and of religion appears in the series of cases involving the sect known as Jehovah's Witnesses. The last of these, the Barnette case (1943), overruled the Gobitis decision (1940) and held invalid a flag-saluting statute which had been based on it. Black's concurring opinion said: "Neither our domestic tranquillity in peace nor our martial effort in war depends on compelling little children to participate in a ceremony which ends in nothing for them but a fear of spiritual condemnation."

The story of Black's progress from Clay County, Alabama, with its meager educational facilities, to a place on the highest court in the land is a typical American saga. Taking his seat on the bench under an unprecedented burden of calumny and abuse, he has not only demonstrated legal capacity and craftsmanship of the highest order but has brought to bear a deep and understanding knowledge of historical, economic, and social backgrounds. Above all, he has shown unerring feeling for the fundamentals of our system and zeal in protecting the rights of the individual under that system. In seven short years he has made a lasting imprint upon our system of jurisprudence.

Polls, Propaganda, Politics

September Findings

A REVIEW of the results of national and regional polls published during September leads to the conclusion that Roosevelt's probable majority has gone up a little since our last summary was printed in *The Nation* of September 2.

The Gallup release for September 25 summarizes the changes during the preceding month as a gain for Roosevelt in twenty-seven states and for Dewey in fourteen. The figures are condensed in the following table:

	August 23, 1944		*September 25, 1944*	
	States	*Electoral Votes*	*States*	*Electoral Votes*
Safely Democratic	17	157	19	194
Safely Republican	13	104	12	93
Divided (47-53 per cent close)	18	270	17	244
	48	531	48	531

The election is obviously going to be difficult to predict, since nearly half the electoral votes come from states in which the advantage shown by the leading candidate is less than the margin of error of the usual poll. In the states that do show a clear trend, however, the change since August favors the Democrats, who seem to have picked up thirty-seven electoral votes, while Dewey has lost eleven.

Newspaper accounts of the *Fortune* poll suggested that Roosevelt lost a lot of ground during one week in September. A study of the facts indicates that a different interpretation is possible. The *Fortune* release of September 7 showed 54.6 per cent for Roosevelt. This conclusion was based on answers to a question suggesting four possible attitudes toward Roosevelt, as follows: (1) "Roosevelt has done an excellent job and it's very important that he should be President during the next four years"; (2) "while he has made mistakes and has been in office a long time, it is still better to elect Roosevelt President again for the next four years"; (3) "although Roosevelt has done some good things, he has been President long enough and the country would be better off to elect Dewey for the next four years"; (4) "it would be a very bad thing for this country to reelect Roosevelt for another four years."

The next *Fortune* release, on September 15, showed only 49.2 per cent for Roosevelt. The choices on which this report was based were about Dewey: (1) "Dewey has an excellent record and it would be the best thing for the country to elect him President"; (2) "while Dewey may not be ideal for the job, it certainly would be better to have him than Roosevelt for the next four years"; (3) "although Dewey may have some very good qualities, he still could not do the job as well as Roosevelt during the next four years"; (4) "it would be a very bad thing for this country to elect Dewey as President for the next four years."

In the earlier poll 4.5 per cent answered, "Don't know"; so if we follow the usual custom of this column and consider only those who did express a choice, 57 per cent chose one or the other of the two statements favoring Roosevelt. A week later, with the question centering on Dewey, 6.3 per cent answered, "Don't know," which means that 53 per cent of the respondents supported one of the pro-Roosevelt alternatives. The editors of the *Fortune* survey believe the drop in Roosevelt's popularity due to (1) a waning of the enthusiasm which accompanied the liberation of Paris, and (2) the Dulles-Hull conference, suggesting a non-partisan peace. However, the changed form of the question should be considered. To say, "Roosevelt has done an excellent job," is not exactly the same thing as to say, "It would be a very bad thing for this country to elect Dewey." The truth is probably best obtained by averaging the results of the two forms of question; this would show that about 55 per cent of all who have made up their minds now prefer Roosevelt.

On August 19 we noted that the *Fortune* poll in June showed 56 per cent for Roosevelt, while Gallup indicated a bare 51 per cent. With increasing samples, the two are coming closer together. The *Fortune* poll now gives a slightly smaller Democratic margin, while Gallup's estimate is rising. The approximation is strengthened by the recent Crossley findings, which give Roosevelt 52 per cent, Dewey 48.

This year only two newspapers are conducting local polls —the Minneapolis Sunday *Tribune* and the Des Moines Sunday *Register*. A comparison of September sentiment with earlier findings has been published only by the *Register*. Its release of September 17 showed 55 per cent for Dewey as compared with 56 in July. Gallup agrees in counting Iowa as safely Republican.

GOODWIN WATSON,
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50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE DEATH of Dr. [Oliver Wendell] Holmes has closed many careers in one end . . . He was one of that rare class of minds to which their environment is not a limitation.—*October 11, 1894.*

SO MUCH ATTENTION was attracted by Judge Jenkins's injunction forbidding the employees of the Northern Pacific Railroad to strike last December that the recent review of the proceedings by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals will be carefully read by all interested. The substance of the decision is this: Railway employees have a legal right to leave the service of the company either as individuals or by concerted action, provided it is a question of wages or the like, and if no intent to cripple the road can be proved against them. If the result of such action is to embarrass the receivers, it must be taken as incidental unless specially so indicated.—*October 18, 1894.*

PARIS, SEPTEMBER 28—A few days ago Mme. Sarah Bernhardt produced at the Theater of the Renaissance, which has become her theater, the "Femme de Claude," one of the most extraordinary plays of Alexandre Dumas. . . . Though time has not spared the ideal Sarah who played in "Hernani" and in "Andromaque," though she has felt, like Athalie, "des ans l'irréparable outrage," she still has something left which nothing can alter or destroy—an innate genius, an indescribable grace and delicacy.—*October 18, 1894.*

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Russia's Resurrection

BY PIERRE COT

IT IS difficult to give my impressions of the U. S. S. R. in a few paragraphs. I cannot talk about my mission, for I have not yet reported to the authorities which sent me. However, as the Soviet Union received me as a loyal friend and the government facilitated my studies by giving me always the information I sought and taking me wherever I wanted to go, I was able during my four months' trip to gather some interesting information which I am happy to share with *Nation* readers.

On my arrival in Moscow I found a world alive with a constructive spirit and social ferment—in spite of the war. It is impossible to imagine a country more completely absorbed by the present struggle, or one where each citizen is contributing more to the war effort. Nevertheless, life goes on in Moscow, as in all the Soviet Union. The people work and fight to save what they have created, but in the evening theaters and movies are crowded, libraries are alive with students—mostly girls, as the boys are at the front—and one may go to various expositions of modern painting and sculpture. To give you an idea of the quality of the entertainment offered to the Moscow public, I will mention a few of the "shows" running in the city while I was there—five Shakespeare plays, one by Calderon de la Barca, one by Lope de Vega, a ballet based on "The Merry Wives of Windsor," and adaptations of "Cyrano de Bergerac" and "Eugénie Grandet."

The strongest impression I received was of the degree of transformation and elevation of the people. I visited the Soviet Union in 1933, when I was Minister of Aviation; so I am in a position to make comparisons and judge what has been accomplished. The effort of the Soviet Union is really the effort of the Soviet peoples, the peoples which compose the Union. The secret of their resistance in 1941-42 and of their present victories is the participation of everyone, from the most humble to the greatest, in this effort. Conscience has attained here its greatest influence. The people are serious; they realize what they are doing, and they know what the world expects of them.

The U. S. S. R. has suffered immense losses. The country has been plundered; its inhabitants have been massacred. Let us not forget that for three years the Soviet Union supported almost alone the weight of the German armies and that these armies were supplied by the whole of German industry; even now the Red Army is fighting against four-fifths of the Wehrmacht. The results of this horrible war are visible in the complete destruction of many Soviet cities, but the courage and ingenuity of the Soviet people have been equal to the circumstances. In Leningrad, during the siege, several thousand persons died of cold and hunger, resolved that the birthplace of the Revolution, the city of Lenin and Kirov, should not fall into the hands of the enemy. One can safely estimate the material destruction in the Soviet Union up to date to be as high as 250 billion gold rubles—that is, twenty-five times greater than the destruction in France and Belgium during the last war.

It is very moving to see how the people go about their effort of reconstruction. I visited a little town that had been entirely destroyed by the Germans. What was left of the population had already begun to rebuild it, and as all the men were at the front, the women were doing the work. Women, little children, very old men, very young girls were all busy on the reconstruction of their town. They asked no help from the state, for they knew that the state's economic resources must go to the war effort. With twisted nails, some old lumber, some automobile parts abandoned by the Germans, they had built first a small brick kiln, a carpenter shop, a tool shop, and with these primitive industries they were going on to rebuild their town, according to plans prepared by the regional administration and discussed by the village Soviet. What they managed to do with so little was miraculous. A hospital for eighty beds had already been built, with an operating room and a maternity ward. Schools are usually deemed the first necessity, then public buildings and cooperative restaurants, lastly private dwellings. Until houses are ready for them, the people live in dugouts if necessary. The people are poor, they work incessantly, but the children have rosy cheeks, no epidemics break out, no one is cold, and no one goes hungry. The ingenuity of the Soviet peoples has risen above the ruin of war, and it is thus that the country rises from the grave in which the Germans thought they had buried it.

I found Soviet newspapers very conservative in their estimate of the number of persons massacred by the enemy. For example, at Odessa, which I visited thirty-four days after the Nazis had left, the number of victims was given by the Soviet papers as 200,000 because 200,000 bodies were found. Yet before the war the city had 600,000 inhabitants, and fewer than 100,000 are left. Those who could get away did so; many were deported to Germany. The real number of the victims is still unknown. I saw with my own eyes open trenches filled with the bodies of old men, women, and little children who had been machined-gunned by the Germans and Rumanians. When the children were not killed they were thrown alive into the trenches with the dead bodies of their parents. I saw children's bodies which bore no sign of wounds. Another method used to wipe out the population of Odessa quickly was to load a raft with victims, take it out to sea, and bring it back empty. One day a train was filled with children whom the Nazis said they were sending to Germany, but they found it easier to spray the train with gasoline and then set fire to it. These are examples of what fascism can do to human beings—of the degree of depravity that has been reached by the "master race."

The beautiful city of Odessa has been three-fourths destroyed. Bridges, schools, factories, water works, and power plants have been completely demolished. But the few inhabitants who remain have shown admirable courage and ardor in rebuilding their city. When I was there the streets had been cleared, certain indispensable works of reconstruction had been finished and twenty schools reopened, one part of the water supply was functioning, a sanitary system had been installed, and so on. In addition, the public gardens had been plowed and reseeded. The population was working day and night, without rest, to get the city back in shape.

It was interesting to learn how the surviving inhabitants escaped alive. Odessa is built on immense ancient quarries which form a labyrinth of catacombs under the city, with numerous outlets in the town and out in the country. The Germans never found out where all the openings were, though they used gas for the purpose. So here, in this natural underground, the resistance of Odessa lived, supplied by the peasants, who came in through the secret entrances. Under the leadership of the Communists a real guerrilla army was organized, which helped refugees, killed German and Rumanian sentries, blew up enemy positions, and the like. I would need a book to describe the deeds of the Partisans.

During 1941 and 1942 the Soviet Union lost two-thirds of its industrial capacity, but by the end of 1944 its capacity will be back almost to the level of 1940. This miraculous accomplishment is due principally to the development of resources in the Urals and Soviet Asia. I studied with great care the problem of reconstruction, for that was part of my mission. The Russian program is integrated in the general plan for the development of the country, since the Soviet Union believes not only in restoring what existed before the war but in continuing its march forward. In 1940 the general index of industrial production was 1,150 per cent of what it was in 1913 and 750 per cent of what it was in 1928. As a result of the integration of "reconstruction" in the general plan, I believe that in 1961—that is to say, twenty years after the German aggression and fifteen or sixteen years after the establishment of peace in the world—the U. S. S. R. will have achieved a higher level of development than it would have if there had been no war.

The causes of this extraordinary vitality are found, in the first place, in the system of "plans," which permits a rational utilization of all the forces of production, and, in the second place, in the character of the social regime. Take, for example, Stalingrad, an industrial city that was completely destroyed by the enemy. By the end of 1944, less than two years after its liberation, 45 per cent of Stalingrad's industrial capacity will be restored. How can this be achieved? Through the willingness of workers to have the factories rebuilt before their homes and to let comfort wait until production has been resumed.

In the Soviet Union cultural development goes hand in hand with economic development, or rather goes ahead of it. The U. S. S. R. is the new home of humanism. One might have thought that in the 1944 budget all credits not allotted to the war effort would go to the reconstruction of factories and cooperative farms, but actually the credits for the rehabilitation of economic life amount to 48 billion rubles and those for social work and cultural development to 54 billion. This is one of the many lessons the Soviet Union can teach us.

The U. S. S. R. hopes that a strong, democratic France will take its rightful place at the head of the progressive nations of Europe. The Soviet people have warm feelings for the France of the French Revolution, the France of the Commune, of the Popular Front. They never have believed that the traitors of France reflected the sentiments of the French people. A democratic France definitely repudiating the elements which inspired the policy of intervention against the Soviet Union in 1922, the sabotage of collective security, and the Munich betrayal, a France liberated from fascism, can count on the friendship of the U. S. S. R.

After the war the Soviet Union will surprise the world by its wisdom and moderation. It desires peace for itself

The Temperature in Italy

"Today, as a result of the coming to a head of certain historical trends, the people are bolder in their plans for the future than most of the political parties. If, instead of giving the signal and blazing the trail, the political parties are going to drag along after the masses, they will become merely a burden. In that case they will have signed their own death sentence, and new political groupings will rise on the horizon, springing from the fertile soil of defeat, of Partisan and volunteer fighting, and of the heroic people's thirst for social justice."—An editorial by Leonida Repaci in *Il Tempo*, Rome, September 21.

and for others. It wants to continue the vast work of cultural and social development it has begun. It will not take any territory which it does not own (frontiers of 1941). But it will demand that the war criminals be punished and that fascism be destroyed. It will work for an international organization which will make all future German aggression impossible and guarantee to all peoples liberty and peace. The two bases of this policy will be the democratic European order and the entente between the United States and the Soviet Union. Since Teheran the rapprochement of these two powers has been the dominant factor in international policies. Their friendship will be a great force for peace.

Visiting the Soviet Union as a simple democrat faithful to the ideals of the French Revolution, I found that through sacrifice and effort the liberty of peoples, the equality of races, and the fraternity of men were being forged there.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ON JUNE 20, two weeks after the invasion of Normandy began, the German commander-in-chief, Marshal Rundstedt, sent some lengthy instructions to his divisions. Under the title "Learned in Battle" they passed on to the commanding officers the new knowledge gained from experience. Several copies of this paper have fallen into the hands of the Allies and have probably been of more or less professional interest to the Anglo-American staffs. One of the points made, however, has a bearing outside the purely military sphere. The Allies, the Marshal declared, had attained such a degree of air superiority that railroads from 150 to 180 miles behind the front were paralyzed. Even the great highways within this radius, he said, under the new conditions were highly unreliable for supply transportation and troop movements. "Railroad transportation can scarcely ever be brought nearer to the front than 200 to 250 kilometers."

If that is correct, from the moment that the front was pushed up to the German border the most important section of Germany, the Ruhr, must have experienced industrial paralysis. For the Ruhr region begins 20 miles behind the border and ends 100 miles from it. And clearly the disruption of its railroads would mean the complete stoppage of its industrial production. Even if it is true that some of the region's armament factories have been transplanted to other provinces, the coal mines could not be moved. Coal from the Ruhr, however, supplies three-fourths of the entire German demand; if it cannot be delivered as needed the Reich is lost, whatever happens at the front. Now that the supply from France, Belgium, and Luxembourg has been cut off, scarcely a factory, railroad, power house, or synthetic-oil plant in the country can run without the Ruhr coal.

That the approach of such a crisis is recognized seems to be confirmed by a notice in the Essen *Nationalzeitung* of September 12 informing the public that all trucks and vehicles in the province in which coal can be carried must be used from now on, without exception, for the vital transportation of coal in bulk. From now on there will be no more vehicles for retail delivery; private consumers must fetch their coal themselves in small quantities from the dealer, using wheelbarrows or sacks. A similar announcement was published in Vienna some days earlier. Apparently all trucks that can be used for coal in any part of the country are being sent to the Ruhr to bolster an emergency transportation system.

Another sign that industrial activity is dying out far behind the front is furnished by the appearance of *Volksgrenadier* regiments and divisions. We do not yet know much about them, but this seems to be the idea: When the war draws near to a province, the pressure of events gradually forces the factories to stop operation and the workers are consequently released. The able-bodied men among them, as their numbers mount, are being collected into regiments of so-called "people's grenadiers" to fight in the "people's war." This plan for the wholesale induction of workers rendered jobless by the nearness of the front was announced by Deputy Gauleiter Schaller of the Rhineland in a speech printed in the *Kölnische Zeitung* of September 3. "Thousands of men," he said, "have already been sworn in." On September 17 the same paper printed a dispatch from its Berlin correspondent about the preparations for the people's war. This said:

> An entirely new German defense unit has been formed, of which no details are known except that its members are called "people's grenadiers." Their special task in western Germany is to protect the vital installations in the Rhine and Ruhr districts. The first units were sworn in on Thursday, September 14.

While the able-bodied men of the closed factories are being organized in the People's Grenadier regiments, workers in poorer physical condition are being taken into another "novel unit." The name given to this is *Ersatzheer-Korps* (Substitute Army Corps). According to an account in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* of August 29, the new corps consists of workmen and clerks "who have been at the front during this war or who fought in the last," and of men formerly deferred for physical defects. For some time these people have been taking a refresher training course in their free time. And now we learn from the Stockholm newspaper *Allehanda* of September 6 that Substitute Army Corps No. 2 has taken up a position on the Westwall.

Organization of the "people's war" is, in truth, in full swing.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

American Morning

THE WORLD OF WASHINGTON IRVING. By Van Wyck Brooks. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.75.

SAM HOUSTON, following the ideal of the natural man, ran away as a youth to live with Cherokees, and studied the "Iliad" in the virgin forests. Later he had himself painted as Marius, in a toga among ruined columns. This was the public American of the first national period, self-conscious, attitudinizing, a European still, but ready to conquer with mind and hand the rich wilderness and to breed a new race in its plains and clearings.

"The World of Washington Irving" is thronged with eager and curious men pouring out from the colonial seaboard between 1800 and 1840 to contend in the new land with savages, animals, and primitive nature. The plain men, the settlers and pioneers, kept going, were not writers, are little heard from, but Brooks draws in rich detail from the reports of explorers, painters, and naturalists—Bartram, Wilson, Lewis, Peale, Audubon—the anthropologists Catlin and Schoolcraft, romantic visitors like Crèvecœur and Châteaubriand, the novelists Cooper, Brown, Brackenridge, Simms, and Kennedy, and a host of minor figures. Washington Irving himself made a tour of the prairies when he came back from Europe, and his life of Columbus was a symbol of the age.

D. H. Lawrence said in his own essay on Cooper that when you want emotion safely, nature is the thing; and MacLeish in his "Frescoes" used Lewis's report to Jefferson as a rebuke to the ideologues. Brooks, who saw with such particularity Emerson's garden in Concord, is intoxicated by the wealth of images, still precise and lucent, of the pathfinders of a whole continent. Bartram, stewing a trout's head in orange juice, watched the paroquets flock above him and sunset streak the embroidered savannahs; Audubon sought in his pirogue the pink water hyacinth, and in his old age, in the Nebraska and Dakota of the future, identified for the first time the yellow-headed troupial.

It was a time, too, of cultivation and transplanting. Jefferson smuggled Piedmontese rice over the Alps in his pocket, made his estate in Virginia a vast agricultural laboratory for the improvement of European strains. The weeping willows along the Housatonic sprang from a cutting given by Pope himself at Twickenham to the first president of Columbia, and at Washington Irving's Sunnyside estate ivy from Scott's Abbotsford was planted by Mrs. Renwick, the Jeanie of one of Burns's songs, the sister of Francis Jeffrey, and the grandmother of the architect of Grace Church in New York.

These are the conjunctions that Van Wyck Brooks loves, the romance of origin, of lineage, of unexpected and particular association in time and space, and they run like Virginia creepers through the book, with six hundred indexed names of people, from Edwin Abbey to Zeuxis, and as many more names of places unindexed, and as many more names of books. We know, even though we may not remember it later, who sat with whom at the opening of Coleridge's "Remorse," who lodged with a family, friends of Da Ponte, where one of the daughters later became the mistress of Turgenev, and what Founding Fathers Edgar Allan Poe saw as a child.

To understand Greek tragedy, Taine said, we must see the Greeks as they were, men half-naked under the open sky, waited on by slaves, eating anchovies in oil as their food, and cultivating in leisure their minds and their bodies. To represent the American culture of those decades, Van Wyck Brooks shows us what are really habitat groups, like those in Peale's museum, of writers and characters in books, men picturesque in their persons or accomplishments, and at their moments of greatest rapport with the environment.

For the other moments, dramatic moments of conflict, suffering, passion, bitterness, and doubt, "The World of Washington Irving" has little place. And there is no place, of course, for legislative, political, and judicial controversies—the partisan violence against Jefferson, the question of the bank, the War of 1812—or for all the intellectual, philosophical, and religious problems which cannot be expressed in a metaphor or a quoted sentence or taken care of by an anecdote. And none for the influence of writers upon writers that came through literary forms and ideas on the printed page, nor for all that subsequent writers have said in analysis of those earlier ones, nor for all that is documentary, theoretical, statistical, unpicturesque. The spirit of the book is warmly left-democratic, but Brooks's anti-intellectualism makes it hard, in a different time and a changed country, to get back significantly to the period he describes.

Obviously such an approach cannot do justice to the complexity of Jefferson's thought, although it can to the unbelievable variety of his accomplishments. In discussing Jefferson's democracy Brooks minimizes the influence of the French encyclopedists and English philosophers, and talks instead of a Virginian boyhood and of racial memories of the forest moots of our pre-Christian ancestors. The treatment of Poe, on the other hand, is literary and critical, because this permits Brooks to continue explicitly his attack upon those writers who cannot be at home in their environment. Poor Poe, certainly, was not a "primary" writer drawing sustenance from the soil, the family, public life, and popular wisdom, and he helped father that line of writers abroad, the "sick" men, the figures of "Axel's Castle," who are Brooks's particular personal devils.

"The things of a man for which we visit him were done in the dark and the cold," Oliver Allston quoted from Emerson, but Brooks is writing here of an America with "the clear sun shining, the fresh air blowing," of "man in the morning of time with his best future all before him." "The World of Washington Irving" is the complementary affirmation to Brooks's bitter public, almost official condemnation in recent years of some other voyagers, voyagers of the mind rather than the body, who made spiritual symbols of the very physical voyages he is here describing, writers who lived in the depths without which life is illusory, writers who had their own kind of courage, not born of "the strength and power of health," but of sickness and disorder, and yet who contributed, quite as surely as Cooper and Washington Irving, to the enlargement of the human spirit.

ROBERT GORHAM DAVIS

Candidate

DEWEY, AN AMERICAN OF THIS CENTURY. By Stanley Walker. Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company. $2.50.

THOMAS EDMUND DEWEY was born at seven o'clock in the morning of March 24, 1902, over a general store on the edge of the Shiawassee River, a small stream which meanders through the town of Owosso, Michigan," in case you have been wondering. "Owosso," again according to Mr. Walker, "is a quiet, pleasant place where the people's yards are filled with trees and flowers."

Mr. Walker, former city editor of the New York *Herald Tribune*, author of "Mrs. Astor's Horse" and other works, now writes conversation pieces for the *Tribune* about how nice it is in the autumn on Fifth Avenue and about the condition of the squirrels in Central Park. So his copy has a real folksy touch, and after you have read a few pages of this "Meet our candidate," the place is redolent with the smell of clambakes, barbecues, and fried-chicken suppers, and in the distance is the sound of a lusty baritone singing, "I'll be switched the hay ain't pitched."

Those who had hoped that this local-yokel stuff had gone out with the Coolidge Administration are in for a big disappointment when they come upon a picture of Mr. Dewey as a farm hand—and look! no mustache—at the age of seventeen, when he worked one summer for Earl Putnam, who also has his picture in the book talking to his ex-hired man. In justice to the author it must be said that Mr. Walker hastens to say that his candidate doesn't spend all his time outdoors pitching hay. He also plays golf, shooting around one hundred, and plays softball on Lowell Thomas's team, though his stance at the bat is not too good.

About the mustache, it seems he grew that while on a bicycle trip in France after he was graduated at the Columbia Law School in 1925. The mustache was "at first a tentative, unpromising wisp, but soon full-blown and bristly. . . . From the first Dewey liked the mustache and did his own trimming." Mrs. Dewey, then Miss Hutt, "approved it," and still likes it we presume.

You get the idea from the account of the bicycle trip in France that besides growing a mustache Mr. Dewey picked up a lot of the inside stuff about international affairs that makes his speeches on that subject so crystal clear. Just before going on this momentous trip Mr. Dewey sang in a synagogue. Mr. Walker admits this, but says that his candidate in those days sang in all sorts of places: "he would have been delighted to lift up his rich baritone at a convention of the Improved Order of Redmen, a Tammany clambake, the Union League Club, the cops' dinner, or a flag-raising in Union Square."

Nearly everyone likes Mr. Dewey tremendously, including Mr. Dewey, but it turns out that there are some meanies running around the Stork Club and other high-priced saloons who indulge in Dewey-baiting. Mr. Walker puts the finger on Morris L. Ernst as leader of this cabal. Mr. Walker says that Mr. Ernst doesn't believe that Mr. Dewey is filled with the holy passion for civil liberties that Mr. Walker and Mr. Dewey insist he is filled with.

Mr. Dewey, when he was district attorney, had, as you will recall, the habit of putting little suspects into remote and obscure Bastilles until such time as they were ready to "sing." Having performed in these Dewey "singing schools," the suspects were then liberated, to have their places taken by the subjects of their songs, the bigger suspects. To a number of lawyers other than Morris Ernst this procedure had the faint Jesuitical odor of doing evil that good may come, but Mr. Walker points out that the District Attorney was using a perfectly good legal device called the "joinder," and that anyway he got results, didn't he? Look at Lucky Luciano.

On the subject of Mr. Dewey's underlying philosophy there is one story that we are surprised to find a smart man like Mr. Walker repeating. When someone was talking about a certain politician's lack of vote appeal, Mr. Dewey looked up and said, "He got elected, didn't he?"

On the whole I think I like the pictures in this book better than the text. I have mentioned the one of the farm hand. The honey of the collection is the one captioned "Off for a Round of Golf at Pawling." The candidate has been snapped—though "snapped" is hardly the word for the command photographs of Mr. Dewey—striding forth from the euphemistically named "farmhouse" at Pawling, New York, with a number of golf sticks in a bag, his sport shirt thrown open, and such a light as never was on sea or land beating about his uncovered head. Sir Galahad about to mount his charger would look like one of the late Mr. Luciano's "little punks" in comparison.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

Heroic Vitalism

A CENTURY OF HERO-WORSHIP. By Eric Russell Bentley. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.50.

THERE have always been thinkers, appreciated as prophets in democracies, who have not concealed their scorn of democratic philosophy and practice. But when democratic institutions are threatened by war and reaction, their words take on a more baleful meaning. A tendency develops among the opinion makers of the democratic community to convert these thinkers into scapegoats, and to portray them as ideological forerunners of today's enemy. Almost every critic of democracy from Plato to Nietzsche has been dubbed a "proto-fascist." Such interpretations violate basic principles of sound historical method and fail to do justice to those insights into man and society which had previously been hailed by democrats as containing important and healthy truths.

Among the major contributions of the anti-democratic prophets of the nineteenth century, usually buried in a mass of fustian and intellectual rubbish, was a plea for the preservation of the distinctive values of the personal, the noble, and the heroic in social experience. In this interesting study Mr. Bentley analyzes the theme of historical and aesthetic hero-worship in the works of Carlyle, Nietzsche, Wagner, Shaw, Spengler, Stefan George, and Lawrence. He shows that they left an ambiguous cultural heritage to the world and explains why they could be instructive and inspiring to democrats and why, at the same time, the fascists could exploit them for their own ends. What unites all the heroic vitalists is a repudiation of the ideals of democracy because of the degrading and vulgar democratic practices in existing culture, a refusal to go back to the past in search of an archaic system of values, and a fervent hope for a tomorrow in which new forms of excellence in art and life would be achieved by an élite.

At the end of the book Mr. Bentley offers a positive philosophy of heroic vitalism, seemingly pruned of all reactionary elements, to serve as a leaven for modern democracy and socialism.

Mr. Bentley's treatment of his material is impressive in a number of ways. He does not spare his subjects—indeed, his exposure of their personal failings and his criticism of their irrational doctrines are merciless. None the less, the authenticity of their vision comes through. This is particularly true for Nietzsche, and in lesser measure for Carlyle, one of the most overrated figures of the nineteenth century. Not one of the men discussed appears likable even to a small degree in Mr. Bentley's account. But all are pictured as having captured some significant truth that challenges us to deepen our own ideas about man and history. Second, Mr. Bentley avoids the confusion of substituting sociological explanations of why ideas are accepted for an explanation of why they are generated in the life career of the individual. In a characteristic sentence in his discussion of Wagner he drily observes, "Hitler and Mr. Viereck are wrong if they think ideology or musical taste is the foundation of fascism." The problem of the generation of ideas in philosophy or art is primarily psychological. In approaching it the author reveals a deftness and suggestiveness that make the extreme solutions, the violent posturings, the inconsistencies, and the self-flagellation of the heroic vitalists intelligible to us. Third, Mr. Bentley's judgments, although refreshingly personal, are based upon a wide reading that pays more attention to the substance than to the reputation of scholarship. He would have strengthened his interpretation of Carlyle if he had explored the great influence of Carlyle on the early Engels and Marx—some of Carlyle's language is in the "Manifesto,"—particularly Carlyle's critique of capitalist culture, and their reasons for rejecting his Tory socialism. Finally, Mr. Bentley's style is delightful—clear, vigorous, and unburdened by its rich load of erudition.

And yet Mr. Bentley's book is marred by a moral flaw that goes to its very heart. This is already apparent in his chapter on Shaw, in which all Mr. Bentley's virtues are lacking save style. Despite Shaw's glorification of the regimes of Mussolini and Hitler, he is sharply dissociated from other heroic vitalists and defended as a protagonist of a new democracy. The reason boils down to the claim that although Shaw admires Mussolini and Hitler, he admires Stalin even

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more. In the light of his sympathetic defense of Shaw, one wonders what, after all, are the real grounds of Bentley's rejection of the heroic vitalists. Those he gives—their authoritarianism, their reverence for successful power, the ease with which their doctrines can be used to systematize terror—apply substantially to Shaw too. If anything, on Bentley's own showing, the case is worse for Shaw. For Bentley pleads in extenuation of his other heroic vitalists that were they to return to earth and see what had been wrought by the professed practitioners of heroic vitalism, they would "weep" and "recant." But when Shaw praised Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin, he had already heard the "screams" from the concentration camps and seen "the flames from the burning books." Not even Wagner, the most bloodthirsty of the heroic vitalists, would have dared to say as Shaw did, "The majority of men at present in Europe have no business to be alive." Does Mr. Bentley believe that no vegetarian could really mean this? Hitler is a vegetarian, too.

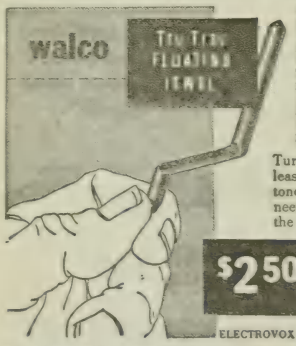
Although Mr. Bentley recognizes the elements of diabolism in Shaw he does not assess them properly. To link together, as he does, the social philosophies of William James and of Shaw is an intellectual outrage. James was filled with a passionate hatred of cruelty; if he hated anything more than cruelty, it was an apologist for cruelty. Shaw has a passion for anaesthetic efficiency at any cost to human life and freedom. He does not see the masses as individuals but as material to be sawed and planed to fit a fixed pattern. He would have no objection to an efficient Hitlerism without heroics or race nonsense. But heroics are not, as Mr. Bentley fails to realize, elements essential to fascism.

I pass over Mr. Bentley's remarks about Stalin and Russia, which are on the same order as Carlyle's on Frederick II. But his sneers at Gide and other socialist critics of dictatorship and cultural terror reveal that he believes, not that power is a necessary instrument of morality and intelligence, but that it is sufficient for power to be successful to be moral. This he identifies with pragmatism! The whole problem of ends and means does not exist for him. Criticism which points out that certain desirable ends can be better achieved by other means, and that the use of some means defeats desirable ends, is airily dismissed as anarchism.

We can now better understand the defects in his formulation of the principle of democratic heroic vitalism. Politically, the problem for him in a democracy is not one of participation by all individuals in the processes of government but wise acceptance or rejection of "leaders who come forward." His ideal is not some heroic work or principle of significance in the life of everybody but the discovery of an élite of professional heroes. He tells us that democracy must include aristocracy; more, it is justifiable *only* because it can produce an aristocracy of talent. Democratic equality is to give us the chance "to revere superiority—which implies inequality."

This is better than traditional heroic vitalism but not good enough for democracy, for it invites a new class society based on the dictatorship of the self-selected wise or good. Were Mr. Bentley consistent, he would accept Plato's "Republic" as his ideal "democracy," since it too provided for "careers open to talent." And if we are to "revere superiority," why not intrust the administration of public welfare to superior persons? No, this is a far cry from a democratic conception of the hero. To "revere" superiority is the first step to giving certain persons exceptional privileges at the expense of their fellow-men who are not superior but whose needs are just as great. If we refuse to draw a contrast between an aristocracy of talent and the masses of the untalented, and provide opportunities for individuals each to make his best contribution, we may diversify the patterns of excellence, quality, and heroism. There is no hierarchy of beauty in a garden; and we can recognize and appreciate greatness in men and their work without regarding the masses as fertilizer.

SIDNEY HOOK



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FALL BOOK NUMBER

The Nation's regular Fall Book Number will be published on October 28 Persons interested in placing advertising in this literary issue are warned that reservations must be received not later than Monday, October 16. Copy must be *ready to print* by Thursday, October 19. For details, telephone BA 7-1066, or write:

Advertising Department

THE *Nation*

20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

China's Industrial Cooperatives

I SEE A NEW CHINA. By George Hogg. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

MOST Americans, particularly *Nation* readers, are likely to think of present-day China either in terms of military exhaustion or of internal political conflict between the Kuomintang and the Communists. But Mr. Hogg writes of a China that is new-born and vigorous, a China that is little concerned with either Kuomintang or the Communists. His New China is that of the industrial cooperatives, located principally in the northwest.

Few Westerners have had Mr. Hogg's opportunity to know war-time China from within. Before reaching the northwest he spent weeks in the guerrilla areas of Shansi and visited the headquarters of Chu Teh, legendary commander-in-chief of

China's Red Army. After reaching Honan, he quickly linked up with the Chinese industrial cooperatives, and as "ocean secretary" he made numerous trips through vast areas of Free China. He shared the dangers and hardships of the Chinese who were turning out great quantities of war materials under the very noses of the Japanese.

As the picture of these fighting cooperatives unfolds through Hogg's vivid description of the personalities and problems he encountered on his trips, it becomes clear why the cooperatives are not and cannot be operated by some central authority at Chungking. Each individual cooperative has been created to meet a special war-time situation in the locality. Most of them were set up to enable the refugees from the war zones—who were without tools, capital, or raw materials—to turn out desperately needed war supplies. But in other instances workers formed cooperatives so as to continue output after the owners of the enterprises had fled. Often the establishment of a cooperative proved the only way of resuming production in areas devastated by Japanese raids.

Chungking figures in the book only as an outside force which endeavors from time to time to superimpose its authority on the cooperative movement. Although centralization of such a movement is obviously impracticable and undesirable, this did not prevent the effort from being made by politically ambitious groups. Fortunately, these efforts failed, but not before they caused a great deal of anxiety and some confusion among the working cooperative groups. The dramatic story of the cooperatives' struggle for freedom to do their job provides as much insight into the basic issues facing China as will be found in any other contemporary book.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

"Fortune's Football"

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS: A LIFE. By Eleanor Ruggles. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.50.

IN THE autumn of 1881 a member of the Society of Jesus, then undergoing the severe discipline preparatory to taking his final vows, wrote from his retreat at Roehampton to his friend Canon Dixon: "Now if you value what I write, if I do myself, much more does our Lord. And if he chooses to avail himself of what I leave at his disposal, he can do so with a felicity and with a success which I could never command. . . . But since," he concluded, after further exposition of his conscientious scruples about publication, "as Solomon says, there is a time for everything, there is nothing that does not some day come to be, it may be that the time will come for my verses." The time came for them truly, but only after a lapse of almost as many years as the Israelites spent in the wilderness. The faithful doubtless see confirmation of the poet's assurance in the happy reversal of fate suffered by his work, and the agnostic cannot but marvel at the remarkable rise to fame of this obscure priest of Victoria's reign. It was only some thirty years after his death in 1889 that his friend Bridges, then Laureate of England, gave the poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins to the world. Their power and originality attracted the attention of all serious practitioners and students of poetry. He has since been the subject of various biographical and critical studies, while scholarly editions of

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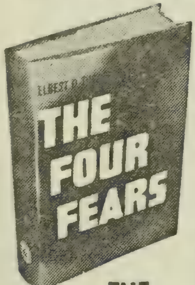

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his letters and notebooks, indeed, of every scrap of his writing that could be rescued, have been issued from time to time. His influence is indelibly evident in the verse of our contemporaries.

His latest biographer, in addition to having had a good deal of spade work done by her predecessors, would seem to enjoy the further advantage of being able to adopt a more objective view of the poet than his Catholic apologists. Some doubt as to this objectivity, however, is cast by her final sentence: "In the enactment of obedience the poet had placed his destiny in another's hands, and in so doing he was moved by the special guidance, the particular providence, which his profession had fitted him to receive." Yet the tone of the book as a whole is not that of the voice of a devout believer. Thus, in speaking of the suicide of certain of Hopkins's fellow-students and the desperate situation of others, Miss Ruggles writes, with something less than piety, "Their wrecked careers were commentaries on Oxford, on their stars, and on themselves." Throughout, it is rather difficult to see just where the author stands, a fact which does both her subject and herself a disservice. Yet her account is ambiguous only in its *point d'appui.*

She offers a careful account of Hopkins's school days, his life at Oxford under the warring influences of Jowett, Liddon, and Pusey, his conversion, the difficult period of his novitiate, and the weary years of routine work in Chesterfield, Glasgow, and Liverpool, when life was, as he once confessed to Bridges, "as dank as ditch-water" and had "some of the other qualities of ditch-water." She shows us Hopkins enduring with mournful courage the misery of being "Fortune's football," as he put it, compelled repeatedly to blow up "the bladder of resolution big and buxom for another kick of her foot"; and she dwells sufficiently on his trials when teaching in the uncongenial environs of Dublin, where he spent the five wretched years with which his life drew to a close. If on his deathbed his last whisper was, "I

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am so happy," it would seem to have been the happiness of one who joyfully accepted release from the burden of a dejection almost too heavy to be borne.

It is in dealing with this aspect of his personality, the psychopathic nature of which she recognizes, that the author shows herself most helpless. "What was the primary spring of his despair—if indeed it may be called despair?" she asks, almost at the close of her book. "What were the lesser tangential causes contributing to it? To what degree was the state of mind contingent on his external circumstances? To what degree did it take its somber tone from the color cast by his temperament upon these circumstances? How much of his repining was that of the mystic unanswered? How much of it was the more commonplace discomfiture of the neurotic unrelieved? The answers to these questions," she concludes, "are the prerogative of the individual student." But Miss Ruggles is herself such a student, and it would seem to be something more than her prerogative to offer her own answers. It is an obligation which she quietly repudiates. Nor does her cluster of queries include one that seems inevitable to the present reviewer. Hopkins, as Miss Ruggles cannot avoid emphasizing, was a man with the keenest sense of his own selfhood, and one of the chief springs of his poetry, contributing largely to its peculiarities, was his awareness of what he liked to call the "inscape" of every person, place, and thing, the pattern that makes for the essentially individual character of a work of art or nature, as "air, melody . . . in music and design in painting," or the mixture of strength and grace that represented Christ to the poet. It was his concern for individuality that helped to make for Hopkins's devotion to Duns Scotus, though Scotist doctrine was not precisely smiled upon by his fellow-Jesuits. Is it not plausible, then, that one of the deepest sources of the poet's malaise was that his passionate self-awareness, seeking expression now in verse, now in penciled sketches, and again in music, was being perpetually trodden under by the strict rule of an Order which demanded a self-abasing obedience? The curious kinship between Hopkins and Whitman, which Miss Ruggles explores with skill and delicacy, is further suggestive of a cause of the Jesuit poet's difficulties. In any event, our author, though offering all the evidence at her disposal for an answer to her questions, fails to attempt a reply.

To tell the story of a poet's life, even when poetry was his avocation rather than his profession, involves an examination of his work, and with this Miss Ruggles deals competently. She might perhaps have had more to say about his influence on a later generation, and dealt more amply with the critical insights revealed in his letters and notebooks, but within its limitations her discussion of Hopkins's writings is admirable. Yet if she is sensitive to the beauties and singularities of his manner, she is strangely blind to certain lapses in her own style. Thus she speaks of his sympathy with Scotus as a "hobby," and sometimes permits herself such infelicities as the remark that "artist's blood flowed on both sides of the Hopkins family." How Hopkins himself, exercising his sharp wit, would have commented on that sentence!

This is not the definitive life of the poet for which his admirers have been waiting, but it is unquestionably the most acceptable yet published.

BABETTE DEUTSCH

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Louis Waldman

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DANCE

STRAVINSKY'S "Danses Concertantes," which I now have heard three times with Balanchine's choreography, is patently the work of a master of his craft—the craft of putting sounds together; the craft, further, of putting them together for dancing. Its usefulness as sound-track for the choreography is in fact the only value the score has: what is so masterfully contrived is arid and horrid and not worth listening to for its significance as music; but at point after point it presents the choreographer with something—an ostinato figure, let us say, or a melody—which, though synthetic and sterile as music, lends itself to translation into dance movement—specifically into the delightful episode of three dancers with joined hands intertwining endlessly, or the equally delightful *pas de deux,* into which Balanchine translates the two details I have mentioned. ("It is," wrote John Martin down his upturned nose, "as completely antagonistic to movement as any score within memory, lacking the sustained dynamics which are the very basis of dance. Mr. Balanchine has done a clever, somewhat mathematical, job of choreography, almost totally devoid of dancing.")

On the other hand, the sumptuousness and elegance of Berman's black-and-white scenery and the bright colors and sharp patterns of his costumes are something one exclaims over for themselves, before one notes how the scenery creates a living atmosphere for the movements and how these are pointed up and made brilliant by the costumes. One instance of this was pointed out to me by Edwin Denby: in each of the four groups of three dancers the two girls have only their torsos clothed in color, with their arms bare and their legs in flesh-colored tights; but the boy is in solid color from cap to gloves and shoes—with the result that standing or moving between them and holding them as they fling arms and legs about he is a stable mass that keeps them from flying off into space.

One might say, after "Danses Concertantes," that by acquiring Balanchine's services as choreographer the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe had taken a long step toward rehabilitation. It is a step concerned primarily with repertory: there will be an increasing number of first-rate new ballets which should result in the gradual elimination of the rubbish the company has offered the public as novelties recently. But it may affect other things that have been wrong. For example, I would expect Balanchine, who has great feeling for music, to press toward getting it treated with respect by the dancers and the management—that is, toward having it played in correct tempo by an orchestra of sufficient size and quality; and in this he will be seconded by the new conductor Balaban. Certainly, as a man concerned with dancing Balanchine will campaign for discipline and precision—which is to say sufficient rehearsal; and already "Swan Lake" and "Coppélia" show evidence of the restudy which other works are badly in need of. And he will want the management to stop trying to operate the company with an insufficient number of great dancers for the leading roles of its repertory.

But the première of Balanchine's "Bourgeois Gentilhomme" leaves me with a fear of what the bad conditions in the Monte Carlo company may do to him before he can do anything to them. What they caused to be presented to the public and press was something that had been rushed and pushed to production before it was completed and ready—before the choreography had been thoroughly learned and absorbed, before it had been securely joined to the orchestral performance of the music, before Berman's magnificent costumes had been properly fitted to the dancers' bodies, before his magnificent scenery had been properly lighted, and—as if that were not enough to destroy the effect of the ballet—with the second-line dancer who had replaced Franklin in the leading role having to walk through the performance because of an injured foot. That way the Monte Carlo management will destroy Balanchine's prestige with the public and his usefulness to the company.

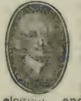
B. H. HAGGIN

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

"The Gentleman from Massachusetts:
Henry Cabot Lodge"

BY KARL SCHRIFTGIESSER

Reviewed by Odell Shepard



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Letters to the Editors

Mr. Matthews's Pity Is Misplaced

Dear Sirs: The two recent articles by Herbert Matthews in the New York *Times*—one on the lynching of Carretta and the other on the execution of Caruso, the latter embellished with photographs of the scene—seem to me very alarming for the future relations between Europe and this country. To Mr. Matthews, who has not witnessed the sufferings of Europe, the fact that an inhuman Fascist brute tortured hundreds of innocent men, women, and children whose only crime was to love their country and hate Fascism, seems of comparatively little importance. He gives us no descriptions of the way those innocents were done to death (and for that reticence we may be thankful, because such descriptions make your flesh creep); but since he shrinks from describing the violent deaths of good people, why does he choose to devote entire columns to the deaths of two men who deliberately put themselves out of bounds from mankind by breaking every moral law? Do these depraved beasts exert a sort of fascination upon him as a writer, that he seeks to make us weep by describing every little last gesture, the crutches on which the murderer had to lean, and the crucifix—a parting gift from the Pope—which he kissed in a last attempt to save his black soul from well-earned damnation?

If Mr. Matthews feels so strongly about a brute like Caruso, how much deeper ought to be his emotions concerning the families of those poor victims whom Caruso sent to their death by turning them over to the Germans! Isn't his perspective equivalent to a distortion of the truth and a perversion of our sympathies? Millions of worthy Europeans have died at the hands of the Fascists. Are we to forget them and pity their murderers?

PAUL PHELPS MORAND

New York, September 24

Rhode Island Rises

Dear Sirs: For some weeks I have been involved in a desultory dispute with certain of my friends as to whether or not you were displaying a fine disregard for facts—I being on the affirmative side. It began with or just after the article by I. F. Stone which flatly and unequivocally stated that Mr. Wallace would be renominated by your party's convention in Chicago. Your failure to acknowledge the error in that article after it was publicly demonstrated nearly won my case, but I held out for an even stronger proof.

In your issue of August 19, page 200, lines 5-6, you have finally proved the case of your utter disregard and/or distortion of facts for propaganda purposes. I am sure Senator Taft would set you right on the point, but also that he will not so demean himself as to teach you grammar-school history.

Roger Williams, up to and including 12:00 noon EWT today (August 30, 1944), was never "expelled from Rhode Island." Hence I am glad the President's reading is not to be at all curtailed. He may read some discouraging election returns before next Christmas.

FRANK M. ADAMS, JR.

Providence, R. I., August 30

[We are grateful to our correspondent for protecting the honor of Rhode Island, and we shall therefore recommend to Mr. Taft that the President's reading be restricted to material published before Roger Williams was expelled from Massachusetts.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Chance to Think

Dear Sirs: "Don't Call Us G. I. Joe" was an excellent article, honest and accurate. I feel sure that what Lieutenant Spingarn said of the men overseas is true. And, obviously, something ought to be done about it.

But, why overlook the G. I.'s in the states? There are a great many of us here who feel that our minds are becoming atrophied. We are intellectually stale. Camp libraries are overcrowded, noisy, hot, and often lacking in substantial nourishment for the mind.

No one but a genius can study in a barracks, a Day Room, a Service Club, or a Service Club library. (Unfortunately, the chapel isn't too well lighted.)

A great many of us who have never been overseas are paying a (small) price, too, in frustration and discontent. I, for one, feel that if and when I ever get out of the army, I shall want to go off to some solitary, uninhabited island, there to have peace, quiet, serenity, and a chance to think for the first time in two or three years.

The army is the worst damned place for noise I have ever encountered. These G. I.'s talk, talk, talk, talk about nothing of any consequence whatever, hours on end—from reveille to about 0100 hrs. A man who likes to think or study hasn't got a chance. It's a wonder some of us don't go mad and bite people. As for listening to a symphony—it is to laugh!

Isn't it possible for the army to make some provision for those G. I.'s still in the states who'd like to think, study, write? Or are we to go on, seething and boiling in the inward man, until our resentments seek release in some sort of explosion?

I wish *The Nation* would write an editorial on this.

SERGEANT

Somewhere in the U. S. A., August 27

8 BOOKLETS BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

Bertrand Russell, the distinguished philosopher, mathematician, logician and Freethinker, recently said that he enjoyed writing booklets for E. Haldeman-Julius because he is given the fullest freedom of expression. In fact, it is only in essays written for Haldeman-Julius that Dr. Russell can give circulation to the mind-liberating thoughts he feels should be made known to the average person. Most standard publishers are afraid to issue works that are frowned on by the orthodox and conventional. Such a restriction is never encountered in the editorial department of the H-J Publications. In the booklets listed below Dr. Russell offers a feast of reason, information, logic, wit and rollicking humor. We present:

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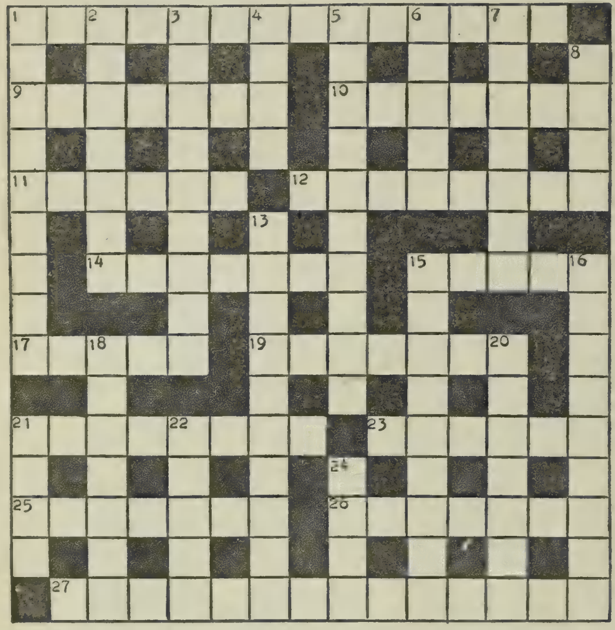
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 84

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Card-players may know it as "The curse of Scotland" (three words, 4, 2, and 8)
9 One of Shakespeare's fairy plays
10 Home of Elaine in Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*
11 Possible second name of Laurence Sterne
12 Brief advertisement about a writer
14 The natural thing to do after accepting a cigarette (two words, 5 and 2)
15 Get on with this: there's a rush coming
17 Make pay accurate
19 Wrote the bit at 27 Across
21 Perhaps you've observed European tourists carrying this bag on their backs?
23 If this balance is at the bank, it is probably on the counter
25 Boasts the world's oldest university
26 Number needed for a crowd (two words, 4 and 3)
27 "Oh! a Baronet's rank is exceedingly nice, but the title's uncommonly ---- -- --- ----- !" (*Ruddigore*), (four words, 4, 2, 3, and 5)

DOWN

1 Cathedral in Paris; university in Indiana (two words, 5 and 4)
2 A Scots man comes up with a twisted nail
3 Mistake of one up in the clouds?
4 "How ---- the busy little bee improve each shining hour, It gathers honey all the day and finishes at four"
5 Fruit the swallows pass (two words, 5 and 5)
6 A slight change of route
7 His ballets, *Coppelia* and *Sylvia*, may be familiar to you
8 If missing, one's choler rises, perhaps
13 One credits the theatrical producer with this
15 Crave hope (anag.)
16 Speaks well of you when you're down
18 Spanish judge
20 Author of the monumental *War and Peace*
21 This girl is a real gem
22 Honeyed words from Argus
24 Rubbish may be shot here

◆

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. [illegible]

ACROSS:—1 BEGIN; [illegible] PAM; [illegible] ARGUS; 9 EULOGIC; 10 REGALIA; 11 ECHOES; 13 GOLLYWOG; 15 SHRINES; 16 DEDUCE; 17 UNDO; 19 ORDAINS; 21 GLAD; 23 ENAMEL; 25 GAS-FIRE; 27 PRUDENCE; 28 SAWNEY; 31 CHARMER; 32 STELLAR; 33 STERN; 34 DID; [illegible] SIKES.

DOWN:—1 BREVE; 2 GALAHAD; 3 NEGRESCO; [illegible] PUCK; 5 MORMON; 6 ANGELS; 7 GOLDWYN; 8 SLANG; 12 SHERMAN; 13 GIRAFFE; 14 LEANERS; 16 DOG; 18 OIL; 20 SNEAKERS; 22 ADULATE; 24 MENELIK; 25 GERMAN; 26 SCARED; [illegible] PECOS; 29 YARDS; 30 USED.

Checking Up

Dear Sirs: It is interesting to notice how a "liberal" magazine stands on an important question. On July 3, 1937, on page 445 of Volume 145, *The Nation* had an editorial called Third Term: Bad Medicine. The following are quotations from this editorial:

> The real question is not how authentic the tradition is historically, but how wise it would be to break it. We agree with Jefferson that to leave the Presidential term unlimited would be to open the gates wide to bureaucracy and despotism. And whatever may have been true in the past, this is not the time to venture on such a course. The dictatorships of Europe have drawn the issue with democratic government. Their emphasis is always on the indispensability of a particular leader. If Mussolini goes, the whole fabric of power that he has built up goes with him. Democracies do not function that way. They seek to draw upon the resources of leadership in the people themselves. Despite the high regard we have for the character, abilities, and programs of Mr. Roosevelt, we feel that no man is indispensable for the future of America.
>
> But suppose that in 1940 the alignment is such that no Democrat except Roosevelt looks strong enough to beat a reactionary Republican. In that event we should still feel the same way. First, because it is always easy to maneuver the situation so that the choice seems crucial. Second, because we regard the precedent of an indefinite Presidential term as bad medicine, even for such a disease. It is medicine that could be used as easily, and much more harmfully, by someone in the near future who really has fascist leanings.

Thus spoke *The Nation* in 1937, but in 1944, having rationalized itself into the "leader" theory of government, it states in its issue of July 24: "But President Roosevelt has been a man whose greatness shines brightest in time of crisis. He is the only possible leader for the next four years."

The Nazi Party never coined a better phrase for dictatorship than "the only possible leader." The editors in 1937 were Freda Kirchwey, Joseph Wood Krutch, and Max Lerner. The editors in 1944 are Freda Kirchwey and associates.

S. D. N.

Washington, July 21

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Wendell Willkie

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WENDELL WILLKIE died at exactly the wrong hour. His job had just begun. Everything he had done in the past was preparatory to what lay ahead. Far from being a man whose career had been ended by defeat and the repudiation of his party, he was, instead, a man whose real career did not begin until *after* defeat and repudiation. When he died, Willkie had reached the end of one road. Ahead lay no clearly marked path, but a political wilderness. He was already attacking the underbrush with vigorous slashing strokes. He died before he had made any appreciable headway.

No one can say where or how far Willkie would have gone if he had been able to push on. But it was easy to see the direction he was taking. He was trying to find the way toward a coalition of the liberal forces in American political life.

Plenty of progressives were suspicious of Willkie's motives. They couldn't believe that a man who had served as a utilities executive and fought the TVA and run for President on the Republican ticket could practice what Willkie has been preaching with growing vigor and political coherence ever since 1940. They said he was ambitious; they thought he had something up his sleeve.

Well, I believe Willkie was ambitious. But I've noticed this: ambition only becomes a vice when it is lodged in somebody you disapprove of for some other reason. In yourself or your son or daughter ambition is just one of those qualities that have been the making of America. Willkie's ambition was as evident as his charm and his immense vigor. He wanted to be President. But when a man who wants to be President, who has already run for President and, though defeated, received a bigger popular vote than any other Republican candidate, winner or loser, had ever received—when that man risks his chance of a second nomination on his ability to convince the people of the toughest isolationist state in the country that they must favor international cooperation, then his ambition takes on aspects of heroism. Wendell Willkie was a high-hearted gambler against long odds. If we had more such in politics, the future of this country would look less precarious.

Wendell Willkie could have had the Republican nomination this year if he had played the game by the conventional rules; if he had played it the way Dewey did. Willkie chose a different way. He didn't want to lead an unregenerate Republican Party through a campaign planned to circumnavigate the great issues dividing the country. When he proved to his own satisfaction that the party would not follow him, he dropped that fight and took up another one.

What Willkie wanted was a progressive movement in this country which would draw its mass support from both old parties. He was convinced that the Democratic Party was destined to pass into the control of its most reactionary elements and become rapidly weaker even if Mr. Roosevelt was reelected. He believed the Republican Party was already firmly under the domination of the Old Guard. He saw a probability that new coalitions would be forged in the heat of the terrific political conflicts ahead. Already the reactionaries of both parties in Congress have formed a working alliance on most fundamental issues. The progressives too, he believed, could be drawn together if events made the need of such a realignment obvious and if leadership were available to seize the opportunity and turn it to account.

I didn't know Willkie well and certainly he confided no secrets in me, but I feel sure, none the less, that he hoped to build such a political movement—and that he hoped to lead it. Whether he could have succeeded in this venture, no one will ever know. But even the effort would have had an invigorating, cleansing effect on the political system of this country.

Where Willkie found the vision that led him to his final magnificent gamble, I don't know. Perhaps in the anguish of a world struggling to be free—a world he gave himself time to look at and think about and, at last, to identify himself with. But I believe the vision was genuine. And I bitterly regret that he could not live to bring it nearer to reality. His death is a tragedy for America.

The Shape of Things

THE CIRCLE ABOUT GERMANY CONSTRICTED again last week, and in the west there were hopeful signs that the circumference was being punctured. With promises of success around Aachen, in Greece and the Balkans, in Hungary, and in Lithuania, the Allied cause appears brighter than it did after the failure at Arnhem. Saturday's break-through north of Aachen followed four days of bitter fighting in which General Hodges's troops widened and deepened their original penetration at Uebach. Allied pressure farther south, between Metz and Nancy, and farther north, in the Nijmegen salient, prevents the Germans from moving reserves to the point of the break-through, and they will find it difficult to deliver the sustained counter-attacks which alone can hope to close the gap again. Once the present difficult terrain is traversed, the crossing of the Rhine will become the chief Allied problem. Its eventual crossing is inevitable, but the real problem is the race against time—to build up superior strength in men and material before winter closes down. Meanwhile the Germans have continued their rapid evacuation of the Balkans, speeded by the British in Greece and threatened with being cut off by the Russians and Tito at Belgrade. Here the question is not whether Hitler can hold the Balkans—he has virtually lost them—but whether he can get his troops out to the north in time to take part in the decisive battles on the borders of the Reich.

* * *

THE RUSSIANS ARE PUSHING RAPIDLY toward the southern border, having advanced through the Carpathians and on to the Hungarian plain. With their troops at the end of very long lines of communication, they are presumably having almost as many supply troubles as the Anglo-American forces in the west; but they are now in ideal country for a swift war of movement, and we may see a drive northwestward to Budapest, Vienna, and the weakly-defended south of Germany. The clearing of the Reich's outer positions also continues on the northern sector of the eastern front, where four days of battle last week won the Red Army a broad break-through and deep penetration of the enemy lines in Lithuania. The very fact that Goebbels and Himmler are exhorting the German people to prepare for guerrilla warfare seems to indicate that they may expect the end of organized resistance to come suddenly.

* * *

THE LANDING IN GREECE WAS ACCOMplished not by the Allies but by a few thousand British troops, and it is possible that American troops did not participate because of general recognition among the great powers of Britain's "sphere of influence" in Greece. Moreover, a great part of the country had already been liberated by the Greeks themselves. The Greek underground, one of the best-organized in Europe, has claimed that if material aid had been sent by the United Nations, it would have cast out the Germans and Bulgarians entirely. It becomes apparent that the aims of the invasion are primarily political rather than military. British diplomacy has consistently supported the return of King George II to the throne, despite the antagonism which the Greek people have indicated toward him and his regime. An assembly elected in Greece last March under the auspices of the Greek underground has discarded the concept of monarchy. The flags displayed in the towns and villages through which the British are now passing no longer bear the royal insignia but are the flags of the republic. The demand of the people everywhere in Greece is more for democracy than for bread. The next few weeks will prove whether democracy in Greece is to be reestablished without the Greeks' being forced to fight for it.

*

THE TAUNTS OF THE POLISH LUBLIN GROUP mingling with the recriminations of the Polish government in London provide a ghoulish backdrop for the funeral pyre of the defenders of Warsaw. The capture by the Germans of General Komorowski, leader of the Warsaw partisans, puts a period to the incredibly gallant resistance, which lasted sixty-three days. Some assert that "General Bor's" order to rise was premature and was issued without consultation with Moscow or London. But with the Moscow radio exhorting the Warsaw populace to revolt and with the spearpoint of the Red Army touching the outskirts of Praga on the right bank of the Vistula, who could foresee that the German panzer divisions would send the Russians reeling back, leaving the Warsaw rebels isolated? Some say that the Russians deliberately refused supplies, for political reasons. This we do not believe. It is more likely that the scattered disposition of Komorowski's forces made it impossible to drop supplies by parachute with any assurance that they would not reach the enemy. On the other hand, we do not believe that Komorowski precipitated the Warsaw uprising solely to gain a political advantage for his faction. Politics, miscalculation, and the fortunes of war have combined to bring about a tragedy of inconceivable magnitude. The division among the Polish people must not be allowed to generate a split in the United Nations. As for the men, women, and children who died in Warsaw, their only fitting memorial will be a united and independent Poland.

*

ALARMED BY THE PRESENCE IN SOUTHERN France of some 45,000 Spanish members of the *Maquis*, Franco has appealed to his British friends to come to his aid. Intense pressure is being exerted upon General de Gaulle through the Allied representatives in France to dissolve the Spanish units, and Ambassador Hayes seems to be playing an important role. The Falange Radio became almost hysterical over the week-end, alternately flattering and threatening the De Gaulle government. We can understand Franco's panic now that his "comrades in arms," the Nazis, have been removed from the Spanish frontier. But we cannot understand the behavior of the British and American governments. The Spaniards of the *Maquis* are part of the F. F. I. To ask De Gaulle to proceed against them is to bring the French resistance forces into open conflict with the French government at the very moment when unity in France is most urgently needed. As we go to press, a United Press cable from San Sebastian reports that two American divisions are expected in Biarritz to "maintain order" on the French-Spanish frontier. We have seen many contradictions in this war for democracy, but none would compare with the spectacle of American soldiers fighting Spanish Republicans in defense of a dictator who is an enemy of the United States.

*

SENATOR BALL'S ATTACK ON GOVERNOR Dewey's foreign-policy statements as vague and evasive came on the same day that Minnesota Republicans were engaged in meetings designed to heal party rifts and guarantee a G. O. P. vote sufficient to overcome Mr. Roosevelt's 1940 plurality of 48,000. There is no doubt that Ball's statement improved the President's chances. Midwestern Republicans hastily massed their heavy guns to answer. Governor Thye and the Minnesota national committeeman denounced their Senator, and there were reports that he would be read out of the party. Senator Burton, Republican co-sponsor of the famed B2H2 resolution, retorted that, so far as he was concerned, Mr. Dewey was sound on foreign policy. Cynics suggested that Mr. Ball desired Governor Dewey's defeat as part of Harold Stassen's projected 1948 campaign. The fact remains that the Minnesota Senator had little to gain and much to lose by suddenly "bolting" the Presidential ticket. His integrity on the foreign-policy issue is widely respected. When he says that he finds nothing in Governor Dewey's statements to convince him that the Republican candidate would fight vigorously for a foreign policy offering "real hope" of peace, some people are going to listen.

*

AL SMITH'S CAREER ENDED IN 1928 WHEN the country denied him the Presidency, for reasons based on bigotry and hypocrisy—he was a Roman Catholic and a "wet"—in favor of the dull, high-collared Herbert Hoover. Smith was embittered by that defeat and he had a right to be. Thereafter the man who had been born in the slums and by his gifts of intelligence, realism, and humor had risen to become one of the nation's great governors fell into bad company. The defender of the plain people began hobnobbing with du Ponts and joined the Liberty League. Under the impetus of a personal feud with his precocious successor, Franklin D. Roosevelt, he became a violent opponent of the New Deal—which was the spitting image of the deal he had given New York during his four terms as governor. But it is kinder, and fairer, too, if you "look at the record," to remember Al Smith in his brown derby—the red face, the smile with the cigar in it, the homely, whiplike, and always amusing retort to privilege—rather than in the top hat that never really suited him.

The Real Subversives

WHEN Sidney Hillman was before the Special House Committee to investigate campaign expenditures, he challenged that body to look into the activities of such groups as the so-called American Democratic National Committee, Gerald L. K. Smith's America First Party, Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government, the National Economic Council, the United Mothers of America, the Anglo-Saxon Federation, and the National Association of Manufacturers. Hillman wanted to know why "the well-heeled activities of these agencies of reaction excite no comment and provoke no inquiry," while "political activity by labor excites such torrents of abuse." Much to the committee's credit and everyone's surprise, that challenge has been accepted. Representative Clinton P. Anderson, Democrat, of New Mexico, chairman of the committee, has turned the spotlight on those rightist and often subversive movements at which Hillman pointed.

Many millions of dollars are being spent through these organizations for the defeat of Mr. Roosevelt, and through them the Republican National Committee can evade the limitations that the law places on campaign expenditures and the publicity it requires. Perhaps the most striking result of the Anderson committee's activities is the indictment of Edward A. Rumely, executive secretary of Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government. Rumely declined to produce the committee's subscription list or disclose the names of its backers. The indictment has served again to call public attention to Rumely's extraordinary story. Here is a convicted German agent, a man who was found guilty of using the Kaiser's money to buy up American newspapers for pro-German propaganda in the last war. Protracted appeals kept him out of jail until 1924, when a commutation of sentence by President Coolidge reduced his sentence to one month in jail and restored his civil rights. A man with a record of this kind enjoys close and confidential relations with some of America's richest men. He organizes constant propaganda against the President, whom the Nazis hate even more than the Kaiser hated Wilson. When termites of this kind can operate with impunity in the United States, is it any wonder the Nazis were so contemptuous of the democratic capacity to resist them? We hope that Rumely will get the treatment in the courts that he deserves and that the committee will also ask the indictment of Joseph H. Kamp, who has likewise declined to give it access to the books of the Jew-baiting, Nazi-serving Contitutional Education League.

We are also indebted to Chairman Anderson and his committee for the revelation that Henry Ford's Man Friday, Harry Bennett, contributed $2,000 to the expenses of another of these native and imported fascists, Gerald L. K. Smith. Detroit labor leaders have long suspected that some of the automobile manufacturers were subsidizing this would-be Hitler as their counterparts helped finance the Führer in the Reich—and for the same reasons. It is interesting that Smith refused to name any of his other supporters. The Anderson committee is providing a glimpse of the rats who gnaw at the foundation of our society and of some in the upper brackets who aid and abet them. We hope it will not stop until they are all driven into the light of day.

New France

THE speech by General de Gaulle in Lille should dissipate any doubt about the position of France. It proves above all that France has a policy of its own and is determined to follow it instead of being led by the hand by the other great powers. The policy was not improvised under the pressure of popular emotion. Anyone who reads again the articles by Jules Moch published in *The Nation* in May of this year will see the great similarity between the plans reported by the Socialist leader and the last speech by the head of the French Provisional Government. In adopting a position against cartels, in initiating a New Deal for France, the Provisional Government is putting into effect a program fully elaborated in Algiers by the Committee of Liberation and the Consultative Assembly in cooperation with the representatives of the movement of resistance inside France. That fact gives greater meaning and strength to every one of the recent acts of the French government. The government may still be called "provisional," but the policy formulated by General de Gaulle is not provisional. Should France move in any direction, it will move forward, not back.

This is a fact whose importance extends far beyond the frontiers of France. Let us suppose that under the pressure of the British Tories and conservative elements in Washington, the Anglo-American Allies should try, as they have tried before, to prevent the deep changes already perceptible in almost every European country. Lacking a rallying point, the nations of Europe, "one by one," to use a favorite expression of Mr. Churchill, would encounter the greatest difficulty in resisting such pressure and pursuing a really progressive policy. Russia might sympathize with this movement, and yet not push its support to the point of endangering that collaboration among the United States, Great Britain, and itself which has become the key to the whole Soviet foreign policy.

The moment France took the road indicated by De Gaulle, the situation changed entirely. France transformed itself into a rallying point for all European progressive tendencies. Already the sympathies of the Spanish Republicans and of the Italian leftists are drawn toward France, as articles in the Spanish exile papers and the Italian press clearly show. The effect on the handling of the German problem cannot be ignored. A progressive France will be looked upon quite differently by the German people from the France of the twenties and thirties, when its industrial magnates were always ready to work with their counterparts across the Rhine, against the real interests of both the French and the German people. It will no longer be the Comité des Forges and the Ruhr barons who determine Franco-German relations.

That the Provisional Government feels itself strong is proved by its having called communal elections for the month of November. But in any case, even if De Gaulle should be overthrown, he would certainly not be replaced by Camille Chautemps or General Giraud but by someone farther to the left than himself. That is what makes Washington's attitude so absurd. In a cable from London to the New York *Times* on October 3, Raymond Daniell described the efforts of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden at Quebec to convince the President that De Gaulle's government should be recognized at once. "But Mr. Roosevelt," writes Mr. Daniell, "remained unconvinced. Therefore while Britain and the United States agree to exchange ambassadors with the Italian government, Washington and London will be represented in Paris by special representatives to the French Committee for National Liberation with the technical rank of ambassadors."

All of that is, to use a French word, very *mesquin,* very petty, but at the same time it is a major political blunder. Part of the damage which the international position of the United States has suffered as a result of the Administration's French policy can never be repaired. But persistence in the error may lead to disaster. On the eve of the Presidential election we ask again for immediate and full recognition of the government of General de Gaulle, both in the interest of France and in the interest of the good name of the United States.

The P. A. C. at Work

BY I. F. STONE

Chicago, October 6

IT WILL take the greatest outpouring of working-class votes in the history of Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and the smaller Ohio industrial cities to counterbalance the rising anti-New Deal tide in the countryside and carry Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio for Roosevelt. For labor, more is at stake than the reelection of the President. With the emergence of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, labor is in politics as an organized force. If Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio go to F. D. R., despite the trend toward Republicanism, then the automobile workers, the steel workers, the rubber workers, the electrical workers, the packing-house workers will have proved as potent in politics as in collective bargaining. They will have stirred the fears and they will command the respect of the politicians, and the effect will be visible in the state legislatures and in Congress. Should Roosevelt lose these states, however, the politicians will figure that the newer C. I. O. unions cannot deliver their votes at the ballot box and that labor can safely be kicked around. What the worker does at the polling place this year will ultimately make itself felt in his pay envelope.

The next few days will decide the outcome of the election in this area. By the time this appears on the newsstands final registration figures should be available. They must run far above 1940 in the urban and industrial areas if Roosevelt and labor are to win. So far the P. A. C. seems to have done its best job on registration in Detroit, its poorest in Cleveland. The final registration total in Michigan's Wayne County (Detroit) in 1940 was 722,000. On October 5, with thirteen more days of registration, there were 700,000 voters registered and 53,000 soldier-ballot applications. These two figures overlap, since many soldiers who applied for ballots are already on the registry lists. The P. A. C. drive in Wayne County has been taking on momentum ever since the close of the automobile workers' violently factional convention. It looks as if final registration in the county would be high enough to give the Roosevelt forces a chance at victory on Election Day.

The registration figures do not look bad in Chicago. On October 3, with seven days to go, there were 1,807,252 registrations in Chicago as compared with a final registration of 1,918,103 in 1940. Cleveland has the widest margin to overcome. On October 4, 453,000 voters had registered, as compared with a final registration of 640,000, but there were five days of registration left. As of October 4 Dayton and Youngstown seem to have made a better showing than Cleveland. The registration in Youngstown was 81,000 as compared with 103,883 in 1940. Dayton promised a far heavier registration than four years ago. On October 4, 137,337 voters had already registered in Dayton, as compared with a final registration of 144,000 in 1940.

This much must be said for the P. A. C. in Ohio. Republican-controlled election boards are making registration as difficult as possible in that state. By comparison, the P. A. C.'s task is easiest in Chicago, where most of the municipal and county jobs that feed the Kelly machine are at stake in this election. For the first time since 1936 the Board of Election Commissioners in Cook County on October 10 will open every polling place in the county for registration instead of using fire stations. The difference is enormous, since there are only 157 fire stations but 3,804 polling places in Chicago and 221 in the rest of the county. In Detroit the city election commission is sending employees authorized to accept registrations to industrial plants when a minimum of 100 new enrolments is guaranteed. In addition, on October 16, 17, and 18, the last three days of registration, the commission's offices will be open till 8 p.m.—on other days they close at 4:45 p.m., too early for most workers—and there will be fifty auxiliary neighborhood registration stations open from noon to 8 p.m. A vigorous effort by the P. A. C. is all the more necessary because the anti-Roosevelt forces in many rural and suburban areas are also running "get out the vote" campaigns. In rich Evanston, Illinois, where the colored maids and one liberal capitalist and his family seem to supply the only Roosevelt votes, I saw a registration leaflet put out by the Evanston Republican Club headed, "Sidney Hillman and Earl Browder's Communists Are Registered. ARE YOU?"

I am inclined to think that the P. A. C. will do a pretty good job in the election in this area. It has branch organizations in every industrial county, and organizers in most of the precincts as well as the wards of Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland. In Michigan factional differences within the automobile workers' union seem to have had much less effect than was originally feared. In Cleveland, and in Ohio generally, the P. A. C. itself is subordinate to Labor's Joint Committee for Political Action, which represents not only the C. I. O. but the A. F. of L., the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the Ohio Federation of Telephone Workers, an independent union. The personal influence of Phil Hanna, secretary of the Ohio Federation of Labor, and of that grand old progressive, A. F. Whitney of the Trainmen, played their part in the achievement of this labor unity. The Ohio Federation of Labor indorsed Roosevelt, and the one sour labor note in the state comes from a source with past financial links to Bricker. The labor paper run by Breidenbach in Dayton has been attacking Sidney Hillman as "America's No. 1 disruptionist" in editorials widely reprinted by the anti-labor press of the Middle West. Bricker's campaign-expenditures report for 1940, when he ran for Governor, showed two payments to Breidenbach—$3,127.12 for salary and expenses, and $12,091.19 for "expenditures to other sources."

In Cleveland I found both the old-time progressives and the labor movement sour on Mayor Frank J. Lausche, the Democratic candidate for Governor. He is far superior to his rival, Mayor James G. Stewart of Cincinnati, but no prize progressive. Lausche fancies himself as a Slovene Lincoln, already has his eyes on the Presidency, and wears his hair rumpled à la Willkie—but the resemblance between the two men is tonsorial only. Louis "America-Will-Be-Starving-by-Next-Winter" Bromfield thinks him "the best thing that has happened to the Democratic Party in Ohio in twenty-five years," and Cleveland's unanimously anti-New Deal papers are passionate about him. I heard Lausche speak at the state convention of the Democratic Party in Columbus and can report that he said nothing which might alarm the Cleveland Trust Company. Except for a reference to "our Commander-in-Chief, Franklin D. Roosevelt," Lausche eschewed all controversial topics. As Mayor, he has been eminently satisfactory to Cleveland's bankers, and should he win in 1944 he would be a good ace-in-the-hole in the Democratic Party for the moneyed interests. He looks like the Common People's Friend but is safely housebroken. One of his mentors is Paul Bellamy, editor of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*. The *Plain Dealer* was for Newton D. Baker in 1932, supported Roosevelt "with some misgivings" (its own words) in 1936, swung to Willkie in 1940, and is now for Dewey on the ground that "the only possible outcome of his [Roosevelt's] policies . . . is state socialism, followed inevitably by some form of fascism." I add wrily that the editor responsible for this succinct echo of the Chicago *Tribune* is the son of the utopian Socialist Edward Bellamy, author of "Looking Backward."

The only Democratic candidate in either Ohio or Michigan waging a New Deal campaign is William G. Pickrel, who is really slugging away at Senator Taft. His chances are not too good, but it would be a blessing if he could send Taft back to the affluent corporate law practice and directorships of Taft, Stettinius, and Hollister. In Illinois Scott Lucas has a good chance of re-election against Richard J. Lyons, the Chicago *Tribune* candidate, whose acrid "nationalism" has led some ten downstate Republican papers to come out for Lucas. The attention of progressives will be focused in Illinois on the energetic fight Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas is making for Congressman-at-large against the unspeakable Stephen A. Day, George Sylvester Viereck's friend.

In both Ohio and Michigan Republican legislatures enacted a separate ballot law as a safeguard against another Roosevelt landslide. This may hurt the President in Ohio, where Lausche would have brought many normally anti-New Deal votes to the Democratic ticket, but it will help him in Michigan, where Governor Harry F. Kelly is expected to run far ahead of the rest of the Republican ticket. Many will vote for Kelly on the state ballot and Roosevelt on the federal. Another factor that may help Roosevelt in Michigan in a close election is the America First Party. G. L. K. Smith received 30,000 votes as an independent candidate for the United States Senate in 1942 and will draw votes from Dewey rather than from Roosevelt. There is some fear in Michigan that the Michigan Commonwealth Federation may cost Roosevelt a few votes through spoiled ballots. It will have one Congressional candidate on the federal ballot, several on the state. I am told there were 18,000 spoiled ballots in the primary, or more than twice the number of votes by which Willkie carried Michigan in 1940. A few thousand spoiled ballots might make a crucial difference on November 7. I'm sorry I have no space left for the Congressional fights in this isolationist region, and want to close by pointing to two weak spots in the campaign to get out the Roosevelt vote. Working-class women are not registering and voting in anywhere near the proportions of women in the upper brackets, and many Negroes, all too fresh from the South, are reluctant to register and vote.

Britain's Tories Steal a March

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

London, October 4, by Cable

A GENERAL election in this country, Winston Churchill told Commons yesterday, is "not imminent but it's what you call impending." The widespread opinion is that it will follow almost immediately the end of the European war, and while more optimistic forecasts of that date have been revised lately, only the most pessimistic see Germany still fighting next summer. In any event there is a revival of political interest here, and cynics regard a number of recent government actions as designed to accumulate material for the election campaign. They point to an increase in service-pay proposals for demobilization and, above all, to the new social-security plan which has just appeared, nearly two years after Sir William Beveridge's famous report.

Next to Churchill's personality and record as a war leader, this scheme seems likely to be the mainstay of the Tory appeal to voters. It is one well calculated to put the opposition on the spot, since the labor movement hugged Beveridge so uncritically to its bosom. Now, to the Tory claim that the new plan is "better than Beveridge's," Labor orators can only retort that it isn't quite so good. They are not in a strong position to attack, for instance, its contributory scheme, which will bear hard on those with the lowest incomes—a feature which it shares with the Beveridge plan.

In at least one respect the government's White Paper improves on Beveridge, who suggested old-age pensions of fourteen shillings for a single person and twenty-five shillings for married persons, rising over a twenty-year transitional period to twenty-four and forty shillings. The government's proposals are for standard rates of twenty and forty shillings at the outset—a bird-in-hand which will appeal to the present generation of pensioners, who are incidentally the ones whose votes count now. Unkind people are hinting that this is the reason why they are treated better than voteless children. The government's family-allowance plan provides five shillings per child except for the first, whereas Beveridge suggested eight. It is claimed that the difference will be more than wiped out by benefits in kind, notably free milk and free meals for all public-school children. The White Paper estimates that £60,000,000 annually will eventually be spent on this part of the program, but it will be a long time before it can be put into full operation owing to the present lack of facilities.

Meanwhile critics declare that the proposed cash allowance is inadequate both from the point of view of relieving poverty and from that of stimulating an increase in the birth rate—a consideration which is thought to have weighed powerfully in converting Tories to the principle of family endowment. In a statement specially prepared for *The Nation* Miss Eleanor Rathbone, an independent progressive Member of Parliament who has devoted years to pioneering for children's allowances, declares that "the position is really alarming. We have already 2,000,000 fewer children under fourteen than in 1914, but 2,500,000 more people over sixty. Unless there is a speedy rise in the average size of families we shall soon begin to lose about a quarter of our population every twenty-eight years or so. The security and prosperity of our nation will be endangered. Beveridge prophesies that by 1960 we shall be in a panic about our population. But panics are of no use. At a crisis the supply of munitions can be accelerated, but it takes at least nineteen years to produce an adult citizen. A plain promise of an extra five shillings will induce parents, especially the more thoughtful and ambitious, to have more children."

Here, then, is one point on which Labor critics are likely to fasten, probably with the support of the more progressive and imaginative Tories. Another weak spot in the government's scheme is the limitation of unemployment benefits to thirty weeks, after which the unemployed man goes on public assistance and the hated means test is applied. Thus the great plan to abolish poverty retains a lingering flavor of the old Poor Law. An even more vulnerable feature of the proposals is the rejection of any attempt to link rates of benefit to the cost of living. In view of the potential inflationary situation in this country, this might mean that after war-time controls have been relaxed, the proposed increases in benefits would be swallowed up by a rise in prices. Thus, as the *Tribune* insists, the government must guarantee the purchasing power of benefits by maintaining whatever controls are necessary for stabilizing living costs.

Points such as these can be effectively debated in Parliament, but on the hustings details don't count very much, and the important fact will be the acceptance by the Tories of the principle of security from the cradle to the grave. Of course since Labor is in the National Government it can claim equal credit for the plan. Indeed, Labor members of the Cabinet may assert with justice that but for the fight which they put up from the inside, the plan would be much weaker. But again this is a difficult line to reconcile with attacks on the scheme as thoroughly inadequate. That is one reason why a good many Laborites, especially those holding government positions, privately are doubtful of the wisdom of fighting the election at all, believing that it would be wiser to continue the coalition through the early years of peace. However, the party executive will advise the conference to be held in December to make a bid for independent power at the next general election, and undoubtedly the rank-and-file sentiment strongly favors this course. In fact, it is questionable whether the party could survive a prolongation of the coalition government in which it is a junior partner. The fate of the Liberals after they agreed to maintain a war-time alliance with the Tories in 1918 has not been forgotten. And quite aside from partisan sentiment, the prospect of the continuation of one-party government without an effective opposition is not alluring to those who are concerned with the vitality of British democracy.

Well-informed party members to whom I have talked during the past few days, while favoring an independent policy, are frankly gloomy about the outcome. They believe the trend of opinion in this country is markedly to the left, but they see little hope of capitalizing on this trend without a much bolder program than the present leadership seems willing to provide. It is no longer possible to compete with the Tories on social reform. That battle has been won by and large; only mopping up remains. Now is the time, according to this school of thought, to refurbish the weapons in Labor's neglected Socialist arsenal; to take the line that social security, full employment, and other post-war hopes will prove Dead Sea fruit as long as the profit system retains its priorities. One famous Socialist writer to whom I spoke suggested that an effective campaign could be built around the single dramatic issue of nationalization of the land. The desperate need of housing in this bomb-torn country makes this a matter of real urgency, and the government's halfway measure for securing access to the land required, now being debated in Parliament, seems likely to produce more lawsuits than homes. But this subject must be reserved for separate treatment.

[*This is the first of the articles which Mr. Hutchison will cable from England during the coming weeks.*]

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE SOVIET FORM OF GOVERNMENT is firmly established. Perhaps the most striking fact in Russia today is the general support which is given the government by the people in spite of their starvation.—WILLIAM C. BULLITT. Certainly, the destructive phase of the revolution in Russia is over. Constructive work has begun. We saw this everywhere. And we saw order, and though we inquired for them, we saw no disorders.—LINCOLN STEFFENS, *October 4, 1919.*

THE PRESIDENT'S BREAKDOWN, with the consequent collapse of his trip on behalf of the treaty, will call forth regret everywhere—even, we believe, among those whom he has been denouncing as cowards and pro-Germans. No one in American history has had heavier burdens, or lived under a more terrible strain. . . . We hope for him a speedy recovery so that he may continue to present his side of the case in the best possible light.—*October 4, 1919.*

THE PAST WEEK HAS SEEN the defeat of the Shantung amendments to the peace treaty and of the Fall amendments as well. . . . There is still one more amendment to be voted on—the Johnson amendment relating to the British votes in the League of Nations. After that is out of the way . . . the struggle will come over the reservations. There is a growing determination on the part of Republicans to stiffen these reservations and even to increase their number. Meanwhile, time is passing, and time fights on the side of the "irreconcilables" who desire the complete defeat of the treaty.—*October 25, 1919.*

WHATEVER ELSE THE WAR DID, it certainly accelerated the breakdown of the industrial order out of which it sprang. The economic imperialists who made it perhaps counted the outcome a victory if they lived in London or Paris or New York, a defeat if in Berlin or Vienna, a disaster if in Petrograd—but the more discerning even among them already perceive that the struggle sapped the foundations of industrial autocracy in victorious and vanquished states alike. . . . The task of the future is to make industrial self-government efficient.—*October 25, 1919.*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: Léon Barthou, "Le Traité de Paix"; James Branch Cabell, "Jurgen"; Calvin Coolidge, "Have Faith in Massachusetts"; O. Henry, "Waifs and Strays"; Sinclair Lewis, "Free Air"; H. L. Mencken, "Prejudices: First Series"; William Dudley Pelley, "The Greater Glory"; Bernard Shaw, "Heartbreak House, Great Catharine, and Playlets of the War."—*October 25, 1919.*

The Pope and the Peace

BY G. A. BORGESE

TWO parallel peace plans were proposed early in the war, one by the Western democracies, the other by the Roman church. The basic tenets of the first were listed in the Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic Charter and in Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, those of the second in the Papal proclamation of the Five Points.

Both plans were sketchy, and noncommittal on specific problems. Both stressed, however, a set of general principles, not novel by any means, to which the civilized mind was invited to give once more the general assent it had given them long since. The main concordance between the two programs lay in the pledge that after the war all nations should be restored to safety and sovereignty "within their own boundaries" (Atlantic Charter, point 6; Papal point 1) and that economic opportunity should be equally available to "great or small, victor or vanquished" (Charter, point 4; Papal points 2 and 3). There was also agreement, although not embodied in definite proposals, that there should be some kind of universal law—the "permanent system" of the Atlantic Charter, point 8—designed to avert the calamity of a third world war (Papal point 4).

But the discrepancy, although manifest in omissions rather than admissions, was no less deep than the agreement was broad. It was twofold, too. In what concerns the shape of things to come, the Atlantic Charter and, much more emphatically, Roosevelt's third inaugural insisted on a universal age of rational emancipation, with the four freedoms valid "everywhere." No concept of this kind was apparent in the Papal thought. A reference to one of the four freedoms, that of "worship," can be read into the fifth Papal point ("there can be no place for the persecution of religion and the church"), but it is no grammatical quibble to point out that the two nouns, religion and church, were in the singular. Thus from the beginning a regrettable misunderstanding existed between the West and the Vatican. Even at this moment the bewilderment of such representative democrats as cartoonist Low, dramatizing his bitterness over the ingratitude of the Vatican toward the democracies that fight for the freedom of worship, is bewildering to anyone who recalls that the freedom of faiths in the equality of democracy is one thing, and the freedom of the one true faith according to the official doctrine of the Roman church quite another.

The second aspect of the contrast was more striking since it affected present and urgent events rather than a fluid future. The main present event was war. Its military outcome was highly relevant to the democracies; hence their pledge to struggle until "final destruction of the Nazi tyranny" (Charter, point 6), together with some indication, albeit less crystalline, of their intentions (point 8) during the transition period between victory and a stable world order. In the eyes of the Roman Curia, on the contrary, a clear-cut military decision was neither relevant nor desirable. The wish and prayer underlying its five points, as well as, inferentially or frankly, every other Papal statement, were for an immediate negotiated peace among all powers, fascist and anti-fascist alike. Had the prayer been granted, its fulfilment would have been a gigantic Munich with a respite to Nazism invigorating enough to defeat the Pope's very purpose of sparing mankind a third convulsion.

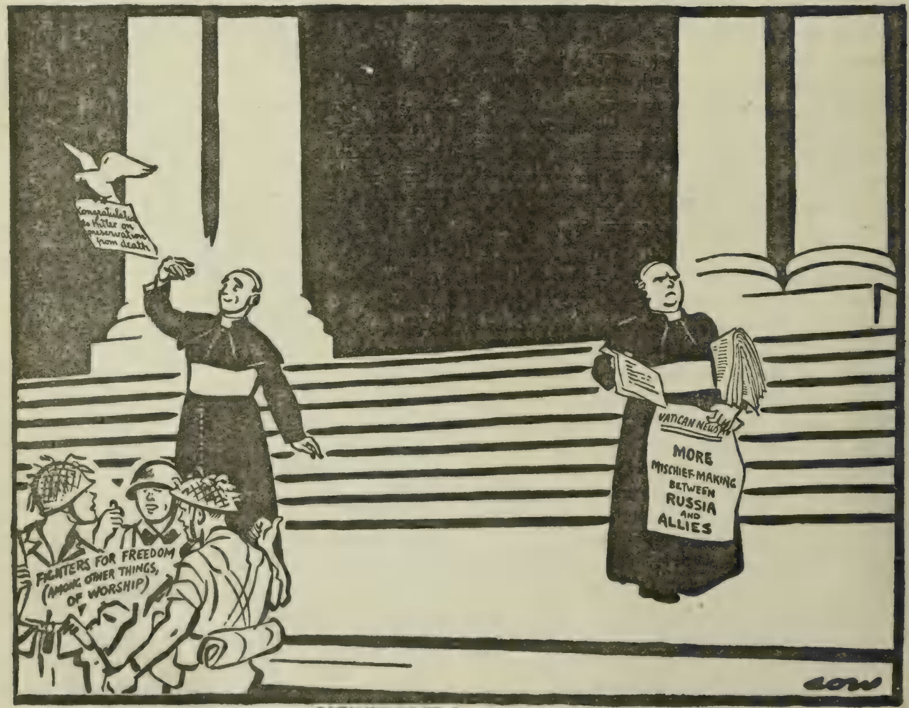
It was imperative, therefore, to expose the slant—authoritarian and pro-fascist—of the "neutrality" of the Vatican, and while criticizing the evasions and pitfalls of the Roosevelt documents, to stand by the peace plan of the democracies as long as such a plan was extant. But its days were numbered. It fell, an early casualty, in the first spell of military success. The White House abdicated at Casablanca; Tory imperialism, seeking perpetuity in a Carthaginian peace, rose to uncompromising candor; unconditional surrender was substituted for the lengthy decalogues that had been recited in the seasons of dubious fortune. One result was that the Papal program emerged gradually as the sole landmark standing in the ideological and ethical desert of the last two years. Hence the political prestige wielded today by the Roman Curia, unequaled perhaps since its medieval culmination, with the paradox of the Lilliputian and thoroughly unmechanized Vatican State growing to be the one great power with which the victors may have to come to terms.

The paradox ceases to be a miracle as soon as we turn to the facts and figures of geo-religion, a chapter of geopolitics. Something less than one-tenth of the Catholic population of the world is housed in the victor countries, with areas of special density in the well-organized Catholic sixth of the United States and in the un-British, if not outright anti-British, Canadian province of Quebec. Some contend that France is a great victorious power of Catholic persuasion. Others submit that France is neither a great victorious power, except by unilateral investiture by the Big Three, nor a Catholic country—unless four years of Pétain have succeeded in eradicating its 150-year-old radical self. Be that as it may, not even a solid France of forty million people counted among the victors would alter decisively the proportions of the alignment.

The overwhelming majority of the Catholic population is distributed between the defeated and the neutrals. The peace plan of unconditional surrender to be followed by an indefinite period of armistice and occupation does not make sense to the defeated—or makes too much sense. It does not make sense to the neutrals, or, for that matter, to belligerents of the Brazilian type. They unanimously see in the absolute rule of the Big Three the end of whatever freedom of initiative and actual sovereignty they enjoyed in a balanced or a competitive world. Consider from this angle the whole range of Atlantic clerico-neutralism, from Dublin to Buenos Aires.

Or consider, from another angle, the case of Poland. A five-year world war was unleashed with the primary purpose of protecting Poland's independence from German conquest. That Roosevelt did not add to his four freedoms the fifth—which is the freedom "of assembly," whose counterpart in international law is national self-determination, and without which all other freedoms are void—may well be explained as mere forgetfulness, a casual gap. The omission, however, was ominous. It waived in advance all ideological objections to the future neo-imperialism that would silently scrap the Atlantic Charter and proclaim loudly the right of the victors to vivisect the vanquished. As a by-product of this development, Poland, nominally one of the victor nations, at the close of a five-year war of liberation finds itself requested to move from the German frying-pan into the Russian fire, with its Western patrons unable to oppose the request either by force of arms or on the authority of principles.

It is quite possible that in the long run the Russian plan will prove to be the best for the Polish people; but what is important, and flagrant, at this moment is that the Russian plan is to be enforced on the ground of sheer military might without any serious reference to a free national choice. Those Poles, therefore, who still insist on a Polish household free of German and Russian overlordship alike, must look to the Vatican, even if they are not regular churchgoers, as the only sanctuary left for the quondam sixth point of the Atlantic Charter, which still ranks first among the five Papal points.


Congratulated Hitler on preservation from death
VATICAN NEWS
MORE MISCHIEF-MAKING BETWEEN RUSSIA AND ALLIES
FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM (AMONG OTHER THINGS, OF WORSHIP)
LOW

NEUTRALITY AT ROME

Or take Italy. Defeat and ruin served well the Fascist craving, criminal and stupid fifty-fifty, for primacy and world empire. There is, none the less, cruel and unusual punishment in the degradation of the whole Italian nation, for this day and an unrevealed number of days to come, to the status of a British crown colony, with less home rule than India and less dignified rajahs in the House of Savoy, besides the aggravating circumstance that the Tory empire, careful not to admit officially the colonial status of the new holding, can contemplate cashing the profits without footing the bills. It so happens, however, that Italy, while thoroughly subjugated to a foreign power, still acts vicariously as a world power through the Italian majority in the Sacred College and the Italian occupancy of Peter's chair. Whether they go to church or not, the Italian people will make as much as they can of this odd opportunity as long as this round of the game lasts.

And take, finally, Germany. Realists of the Sumner Welles school have been anticipating that the German Catholics would hail a German dismemberment along confessional lines. The Catholics shake better-equipped heads. They know that the German Catholics will not burden themselves with national high treason while forfeiting at the same time their living space in the wholeness of Germany and retiring to quaint parochialism along Rhine and Isar. The Germans, therefore, Catholic and Protestant alike, as long as this round of the game lasts, must look to the Vatican as the most articulate and least censorable advocate of their national survival.

All this makes up a stupendous conjuncture for the Papal policy, as "sudden the worst turns the best to the brave." The un-Christian aid and comfort that policy gave to the aggressor nations—in Ethiopia, in Spain, in Czechoslovakia, everywhere—is whitewashed by the Christian assistance it proffers today to the humbled and injured (the vanquished) and to the weak (the neutrals). Moreover, the Roman hierarchy, while lending a strong and decisive hand to the rise of Upper Fascism (Italian), could not help chiding it off and on, paternally, for its amateurish paganism; while countenancing and supporting also the rise of Middle Fascism (Nazism), the hierarchy had to scold it more severely for its less amateurish paganism and racialism. But the third phase of the phenomenon, Lower Fascism (Spain, Portugal, and Hispanidad in Latin America), has nothing in it to perturb the Curia. It is Catholic through and through. It provides a firm terrain for a compact system around which many outlying interests are expected to rotate. Unexpectedly, at least for those who used to scoff at any interpretation of history not rigorously economic, our lay civilization appears cut in three along well-known theological grooves, with "godless" Russia gearing to universal empire the psychological setup of the Eastern church, and Axis Europe plus its natural satellites pooling fears and hopes under Roman sponsorship, while the active presence of Roman Catholic forces in the English-speaking field, only half-heartedly Protestant, is too substantial to be called an infiltration. Those forces are being visibly marshaled toward a just (or soft) peace. The arrow of their will points, beyond the foregone conclusion of the military fight in the Old World, to the fifteen-century-old feud between Romanism and Eastern schism.

Reluctantly but irrevocably the realists that rule the West are rubbing their eyes. Somehow, it was a better time when the city of Rome was Nazi-held and the rulers of the West could slumber on the conviction that the Vatican was inherently a democratic ally, whose more or less pro-Axis neutrality was but a coded message from its gagged captivity. When the Nazi curtain fell they had to awaken to the facts. There could be no fumbling any longer with the Papal declarations stating neatly that the Vatican is nobody's satellite. It is a power on its own —whose weight, made up largely of imponderables, flouts all military pressure.

Hitler vacated Rome early in June. A few weeks later Churchill in person undertook an epoch-making pilgrimage to the holy place. Visibly, the task ahead had grown too big for statesmen of Mr. Myron Taylor's class.

On what lines the bargain should be clinched is self-evident. Consult, for analogies in the past, Elizabeth Barrett's "Curse" on British policy:

Because ye have broken your own chain
With the strain
Of brave men climbing a Nation's height,
Yet thence bear down with brand and thong
On souls of others—for this wrong
This is the curse . . .

Churchill is passionately interested in the liberties and security of his nation and caste. But—or, he may think, therefore—he has no objection to crystallizing all Europe in a clerico-feudal, demo-fascist order, without Prussian teeth in it and with bourbons of all description planted everywhere from Madrid to Vienna and as far east as Russia may think fit. Such a structure, allegedly of steel and concrete, would be likely to absorb and contain the westward push of the "Communist" tide. A proposition of this kind is anything but empty talk for Vatican ears. As for Churchill himself, avowedly and representatively a free thinker, "an empire is worth a mass"; and as Wallaces can be shelved, so can Canterburys be muffled.

There are obstacles, however. One is that much of the Papal prestige has been built on the consistency, heightened by the withering away of the Atlantic Charter, with which the Vatican has upheld, straight through from the Christmas speech of 1939 to the broadcast of

September 1, 1944, the national rights of victors, neutrals, and vanquished alike. The inference is that much of that prestige would cave in if the Vatican were to be utterly unable to deliver the goods. The problem of the neutrals is not forbidding, there being no compelling reason why the democratic blessing bestowed on General Franco should not be extended to South American colonels or why the official policy of Britain should be adamant in exacting from Argentina and its friends a strictly United States interpretation of hemispheric solidarity. But the problem of the vanquished, especially Germany, is thornier. It is not quite clear to what lengths the victors would go in meeting the Papal demand of Italian rebirth and German survival; in other terms, how much negotiated peace they are willing to accept under the flag of unconditional surrender.

The other obstacle is of a social nature. The quid pro quo that the Vatican can offer is support of the cartel-bourbon order that British toryism and some sections of American economic royalism intend to fasten on Europe. Such a proposal runs along the traditional lines of the political church, whose commitments in favor of vested interests and the privileged classes have stood changeless for centuries and now appear more advisable than ever in the present plight of the Papal finances after the downfall of the Fascist lira. Such commitments, however, must be qualified with increasing wariness in the impending world weather. The appeals to Christian charity and alms-giving that mitigated the leisure-class economics of the Papacy in past ages will not do; neither is the honey-and-water *Ersatz* socialism of *Rerum Novarum* likely to prove enough of a medicament for the wounds of Europe. A tentative demarcation line at which the cooperation between clericalism and monopolism should stop has been drawn, with timorous hand, on many occasions, the latest of them being the September broadcast. Should that line be trespassed upon and should meanwhile a native European revolution of the demo-socialist type miscarry under the AMG and the bourbons, the immediate repercussion might be the one the church dreads most—a quick polarization of the European masses toward Russia. Stalin himself might be unable to swerve it.

There are perils also inside the church. One need not be a Communist to take exception to the recent Papal condemnation of Catholic communism—a telltale usurpation of infallibility beyond the pales of faith and morals. Left-wing Catholics, restless in private, have been long-enduring in public for decades on end, contenting themselves with moderate and repetitious trots within a high-fenced *manège* of conformism. This, however, is an age of surprises. A Savonarola, a Wycliffe might cut loose from the bland cavalcade—and jump the fence. The Vatican cannot afford to ignore such risks.

As a conclusion it seems reasonable to surmise that the partnership of Tory democracy and Romanism is a weave of wishes, half pious, half impious, threadbare altogether. Churchill's farewell allocution to Italy at the close of his Roman pilgrimage—a document of notably un-Churchillian perplexity and awkwardness—was a straw in the wind. This does not mean that the affair between *Realpolitik* and political Christianity is bound to be barren. It may bring forth, in muddled seasons ahead, an additional offspring of confusion and corruption.

We know full well, of course, how much of the blame for the whole confusion and corruption lies in the default—ideological, ethical, intellectual—of the victor democracies. But we ought to know no less precisely that our own default, the political helplessness of the intelligentsia, has been part and parcel of the process. Whatever its competence in identifying and castigating the errors and follies of the ruling groups, the democratic intelligentsia has been gravely remiss in arraying collectively its forces, in claiming its share of authority and power, in pointing constructively to the right road and walking responsibly on it.

In the Wind

DR. RALPH COOPER HUTCHISON, president of Washington and Jefferson College, addressed a recent meeting of the Washington Council of Republican Women in these words: "The principle which says you have too many pigs and must kill them, whether you want to or not, is the same principle which says that a nation has too many Jews and kills them for the good of society. The subordination of the individual to the state is applied here, only in a lesser degree. Are we to defeat Hitler only to be subjugated to the same principles?"

IT IS THE OFFICIAL POSITION of the British Colonial Office and the Palestine government that there is no room in Palestine for further Jewish immigration. But the *Journal d'Egypte* reports that the Egyptian Ministry of Social Affairs is considering a request by the Palestine government for 15,000 Egyptian laborers to be used on civilian public works.

THE NEWS IS BETTER from South Africa. A number of typists employed in the government pension office at Pretoria protested against a rule requiring them to address correspondence to Negro pensioners in the same manner as to white ones, using "Dear Sir" or "Dear Madam" and ending "Yours Faithfully." The protesting typists were told that their services were no longer required.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Argentine envoy to Denmark has moved to Sweden, with part of his staff. The Argentine consul in Copenhagen has also gone to Sweden.

[*The prize for the best item received during September goes to Richard Kelly of New York, for the story of how the press handled Norman Thomas's letter attacking the Union for Democratic Action. It appeared September 2.*]

The German Soldier

BY LEWIS S. GANNETT

London, October 1

I WENT out to Brittany last month to see Brest fall. It was expected to fall in three days, and the Germans hung on for three weeks. I had plenty of time, and I used many hours of it talking with German prisoners.

I tried to draw them out, to discover what made them act as they do act. I had some difficulty in recognizing in the cowed Germans in the prisoners' pens the proud Teutons I'd read about, the tough Germans whose effect I saw in and about Brest. I even left a sort of standing order for a so-called "typical Nazi," and I talked to the toughest Germans their guardians could produce, but they did not seem to match the type. Later, when Brest fell, I saw some who looked it, but I couldn't be sure about them. For the officers who had their boots polished and their medals burnished for a formal mass surrender were in a herd; I did not have a chance to chat with them one by one, as I had done with those who gave themselves up earlier. Perhaps that is part of the answer: perhaps the Germans as a herd are one thing and as individuals another.

I talk German badly, but I talk it; I studied in Germany in 1913-14, and saw something of Germany again in 1919, 1921, 1926, and 1935. In September, 1944, I talked at greater or less length with a couple of hundred Germans, most of whom were tired, beaten, disconsolate, prematurely old men in their thirties and forties. I cabled a piece about them, saying that they had convinced me the war would end by Christmas. Then I went back to the front and, in so far as one can watch a war, watched other Germans, presumably just like them, fighting on. You don't see the enemy much in this war, but you hear his bullets and his shells, and now and then you see one of your own men stumble and fall. The Germans at Brest fought long and well.

The Germans were not misinformed about the progress of the war. They all knew that the Russians had reached Warsaw. All except a few who had been isolated in a detached coastal battery knew that the Americans were in Paris. They knew, accurately, what parts of what German cities had been bombed. If I asked a prisoner from Hamburg about the bombings in Berlin, he would refer me to a Berlin man, and the Berlin man would tell what buildings had been hit and what quarters. A man from Leipzig said he had not been home since Leipzig had its worst bombings, but his wife had told him about them. They all knew about Kiel and Cologne. They discriminated. When I mentioned Hanover, they said it had not been bombed. A man from Cassel said his city had been wiped out in seventy-seven minutes, from the air; he had lost his home, his wife, and his children.

They knew the war was lost for them. Only when I talked to officers in a group did I find any who pretended that Germany might yet win. Even they admitted that they could not quite work it out by logic and arithmatic; they said they had "faith."

Why, I asked, did they fight on? Many privates said they had no choice; their officers would have shot them had they surrendered. But more of them talked about German "honor."

I remember the oath every German swears. It was a preface to the Catholic and Lutheran army songbooks I had picked up in captured German forts: "I swear by God this holy oath, that I will give unconditional obedience to the Leader of the German Reich and people, Adolf Hitler, Supreme Commander of the army, and that as a brave soldier I will be prepared at all times to pledge my life for this oath."

Did they not love Germany? I asked. Did they want to see every city destroyed as Cassel and Kiel had been? What good did it do Germany to fight a hopeless war, sacrificing its cities and its soldiers?

They shrugged their shoulders and said that a soldier must obey. Did not all soldiers obey? I doubt that it would have occurred to a G. I. or a Tommy to excuse himself by such a plea.

They had no sense of guilt, and no indignation. They hadn't the remotest notion of national sin. They knew that Germany had been beaten; only in that sense did they feel that Germany had done wrong. Many of them prattled a bit about "the menace of Bolshevism." If I asked who began the war, some would reply that the war was "forced" on Germany. If I persisted, asking who invaded whom, they would shrug their shoulders and say they did not understand the larger questions of history. They had no sense of individual civic responsibility. A quite intelligent Heidelberg medical student calmly dismissed all questions of Nazism and world politics as "beyond his horizon." All that, these German soldiers expected to leave to others. They were sheep. They followed.

A few belonged to a special type: they were Dead End kids, young gangsters, in the army for adventure. I remember particularly one paratrooper from Hamburg. He had volunteered for that risky service at sixteen because he *"wollte 'was erleben."* He wanted adventure, and I imagined him capable of any crime, as adventure. He said he was not a Nazi Party member and rather sheepishly avowed that he had never read "Mein Kampf." I doubt whether he had ever really read anything, and it is probably too late to educate him. He belongs to a lost German generation which will never belong in any sane world and will constitute a perennial problem.

I met precisely two Germans who expressed bitterness against their government. One was on oldish officer who blamed Hitler and said he had blamed Hitler from the start. But when I took out a notebook and asked his name he went white. *"Um Gottes Willen,"* he said, "don't print that! I have a family in Germany; you will kill them! Look," he added, pulling a picture of two blond children from his pocket, "you will murder those children if you print my name and what I said."

Of the other bitter man's sincerity I am less sure. He came from near Stuttgart. He said he had been made sick at his stomach by what he had seen in the village of Gouesnou. There the Germans, in reprisal for "terrorist" (F. F. I.) activities, had seized a group of hostages, variously reported at from thirty to two hundred, and shot them, then sprinkled their bodies with gasoline and burned them. After that, he said, he had seen a German paratrooper trying to rape a French girl, and had protested. The paratrooper drew his pistol; he kicked him in a manner to incapacitate him for rape.

He was arrested, he said, court-martialed, stripped of his sergeant's stripes, and sent to the front line. There he deserted, finding refuge with an Alsatian who put him in touch with the F. F. I. In civilian clothes he joined the Resistance and fought in its ranks for three days before a suspicious Frenchman turned him over to the Americans, who treated him as a prisoner of war. The F. F. I., not usually gullible about Germans, gave him a clean bill of health, and he volunteered to make a broadcast, appealing to his fellow-countrymen to stop fighting. He was the only German prisoner I met who even professed a sense of sin about Germany's misdeeds. The attitude was so unusual it seemed suspicious.

I met no German who said he knew anything of an underground movement in Germany.

Among the captured prisoners were some who had been more or less prisoners in the German army. There were Russians who said, through Poles who interpreted for them, that they had been forced to don German uniforms to avoid starvation in German prison camps, and a few young Russians who had been conscripted on reaching the age of eighteen behind the German lines. There were young Yugoslavs, also conscripts, who spoke German and seemed politically unconscious. The young Poles knew they were Poles and openly jeered at the Germans, even when surrounded by them. I met no avowed Czechs, but several who identified themselves as "Sudetens."

It was in September that I talked with these Germans. Men whose business it has been to question prisoners told me the Germans had been cockier in Normandy, before the great Russian advance and the American break-through. What effect the battles in Holland may have on German psychology is another question.

These talks left me feeling that I understood the German state of mind better, and the German problem less. I see no neat solution for it. All proposed solutions have their dangers. I hope that we may have sense enough not to expect too much of any peace formula we set down on paper. Peace is a process, not a formula.

Immediately, I have no doubt that the overwhelming demonstration of German defeat is essential. I have seen St. Lo and Brest; the Germans will be impressed by similar ruins on their own soil—not merely air-bombed but shell-pitted. They need the evidence of defeat inside their frontiers, the sight of a victorious army marching in the streets of Berlin.

But in the long run the only possibility of "converting" or "reeducating" Germany toward our conception of a peaceful, evolving, democratic world lies in continuing demonstration that ours is a decenter civilization. Some of the proposals for handling the Germans do not work in that direction. And the spectacle of a cold, inhuman, silent army of haters would hardly help.

American soldiers have recently been ordered not to fraternize with Germans in Germany. The order smacks subtly of Hitler's own racial laws against association with people of another "race," the Jews. But there is no force on earth which can stop an American G. I.—or, I imagine, a British Tommy—from playing with the kids he sees on the streets, regardless of their nationality, and the G. I. just naturally smiles at girls, whether mademoiselles, señoritas, colleens, lassies, or fräuleins. His friendliness is a force of nature, like the tides and the sunshine, and second only to his bump of curiosity. He may not call it "fraternizing," but he will find a way to communicate with the human animals about him, wherever he is, even in Germany.

And why not? Who is advising General Eisenhower not to trust the men of the Allied armies? And why? The friendly G. I. is the best propagandist America ever had or can have.

Beyond that I don't know. A little quick punishment of war criminals may help, the quicker the better. Bernard Shaw's dictum about children, "Never strike a child except in anger," may apply to nations, too; there is wisdom behind it. Long, legalistic trials of thousands of "war criminals" will only muddy our own minds, and an honest lynching, like that in Italy, may be a decenter human spectacle than lynching under the forms of law.

The process of reeducating Germany is colossal and baffling. We want, as I see it, to instil into the German something of the G. I.'s skeptical attitude toward prohibitions and dicta from on high—which is a bit difficult under military rule. We want the Germans to become the kind of human beings German Americans have become in our own friendly Middle West. The more I saw of German prisoners the harder that seemed to me, and the more I listen to the rancorous emotional roar of professional German-haters at home the more I fear.

The G. I.'s are curiously encouraging. They fight hard and fraternize brilliantly. They don't subscribe to any racial or national theories, Jew-baiting or Hun-hating. They do what they have to do at the moment, and treat individuals as individuals. They may be politically insulated, a bit lawless, and monstrously homesick, but they are the most heart-warming human specimens ever let loose to startle, puzzle, and possibly convert Allied and enemy countries.

Polls, Propaganda, Politics

Campaign Facts and Controversies

THE value of empirical research is that discussions which would otherwise go on endlessly can be settled by pointing to actual data. This week our column is devoted to presenting some pertinent examples.

1. *Polish Americans and Catholics.* In the New York *Times* of September 28 Arthur Krock had this to say about the "so-called Polish vote": "This vote is supposed to be inclined to Mr. Dewey, who has seemed at times to be openly angling for it, because the President is considered too pliant to the post-war territorial ambitions of Marshal Stalin." In our own column of September 16 we gave evidence that, at least in the New York metropolitan area, 88 per cent of the Polish Americans who have chosen their candidates plan to vote Democratic. It is most unlikely that the situation in other cities is sufficiently different to reduce this figure by 40 per cent, the amount necessary to make the Polish American vote "inclined to Mr. Dewey."

Mr. Krock said also: "Voters in areas largely populated by Catholic families have been reported to headquarters as cool to Mr. Roosevelt, because of his Soviet policies and for other reasons." Special tabulations made by this column during the 1940 campaign showed that on comparable socio-economic levels Catholic groups report a much heavier Democratic vote than Protestant. No complete tabulation is available for this election. But a special poll was recently taken of 3,000 women in northern urban centers, where most Catholics live. Of 1,216 Protestant women, 54 per cent of those who have made up their minds plan to vote for Dewey, 46 per cent for Roosevelt. But among 990 Catholic women, only 21 per cent plan to vote for Dewey and 79 per cent for Roosevelt. This holds for all income groups. Dewey will get the votes of 78 per cent of the upper third of Protestant women, only 34 per cent of the upper third of Catholic women. Roosevelt will get 62 per cent of the lower two-thirds of Protestant women, 84 per cent of the lower two-thirds of Catholic women. As it is known from other studies that husbands and wives vote the same way in the great majority of cases, there seems to be no justification for saying that Catholic families are "cool to Mr. Roosevelt."

2. *Press Politics in News and Editorials.* The newspaper trade paper *Editor and Publisher* took mild exception to our column of September 23 on Front-Page Bias in Newspapers. Further evidence on the point may therefore be useful. This column compared for one week the Drew Pearson column as it appeared in the pro-Administration Newark *Star-Ledger* with the column as it appeared in the anti-Administration New York *Daily Mirror.* There was hardly a day on which the *Mirror's* editors did not cut out sections unfavorable to Dewey, sections which the *Ledger* ran.

Another interesting observation is that identical Gallup polls are sometimes so headlined as to stress expectations favorable to the particular newspaper's candidate. One instance of this is the treatment given a column sent out by the Gallup Poll under the title "Roosevelt Leads in 28 States with 286 Electoral Votes and Dewey in 20 States with 245." The anti-Administration Wisconsin *State Journal* headlined it "Dewey Holds FDR to 20 Vote Lead," but the pro-Administration Atlanta *Constitution* ran substantially the original Gallup head.

In general, our data show that newspapers on both sides arrange the front page and handle feature columns in accordance with the policy of the editor and publisher. The importance of this fact is demonstrated by newly available information about the way the press is lining up in the election: two independent surveys (*Editor and Publisher* and Press Research, Inc.) give Dewey the support of about three-fifths of the press, Roosevelt of one-fifth, with one-fifth neutral or undecided as of August.

3. *The Band-Wagon Theory.* A subject brought up by George Gallup in his release of August 19 is of general interest. This is the, as he believes, false band-wagon theory, which he defines as, "A dominant factor in the way people vote is a desire to be on the winning side." If this theory were true, he declares, "the number of people who plan to vote for Mr. Roosevelt should be just about the same as those who think he will be the winner." To refute this, he cites poll statistics showing that 71 per cent of the people think Roosevelt will be reelected but that not nearly so many expect to vote for him.

We believe that a more realistic definition of the band-wagon factor is to say that *some* people are guided by their expectations of who will win the election. That this is undoubtedly the case has been shown in a study of the 1940 election. People who had not yet decided how to vote were asked whom they expected to win. When the same people were interviewed again some time later, it was found that their final voting decision was very clearly in agreement with their previous view as to the probable winner. As a matter of fact, some of the respondents didn't hesitate to say explicitly that they wanted to be on the winning side. (Detailed evidence will be given in a forthcoming publication of the American Council on Public Affairs, "Votes in the Making.")

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POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

How to Deal with Japan

BY PACIFICUS

FOR the first time there is now a real possibility that the policy of the Allies toward an occupied Japan will help produce a democratic nation capable of solving its economic problems without recourse to aggressive economic imperialism. Discussion of this policy centers in Washington. The United States, which will have been primarily responsible for the defeat of Japan, has been assigned primary responsibility for fixing the terms of the peace by both China and Russia. American troops will form the largest contingent in the occupying force, and the Allied control commission, which, as in Germany, will exercise supreme legislative, judicial, and executive authority, will be headed by an American.

Until recently it looked as if the policies executed by this control commission would produce little better results than the Treaty of Versailles did in Germany. According to plans tentatively agreed upon at Cairo and later, Japan is to be demilitarized, stripped of its colonies, and occupied. The occupation is to continue beyond the enforcement of the armistice or surrender terms. On the subject of the Emperor, the State Department has taken a position midway between the British, who are supporting retention of the Throne as a "stabilizing" factor, and the Chinese, who in a number of semi-official publications have demanded the abolition of the Japanese monarchy. The State Department proposes that the Emperor be kept in guarded seclusion and utilized by the occupation authorities as a rubber stamp. The plans partially recognize that the cult of the Emperor is a factor in Japanese jingoism and call for the shutting down of state Shinto shrines like Yasukuni and Hachiman, which are closely associated with the development of militant chauvinism, but it is argued that if the Emperor is to be deposed, it must be done by the Japanese people themselves, not from without.

The crucial question in judging these policies is of course: what sort of Japan are they calculated to produce? State Department officials say they are trying to facilitate the birth of a liberal Japan capable of living peacefully with its neighbors and assuming international obligations. This may well be the theoretical objective, but if the department carries out its policies without check the *actual* result will be a Japan dominated by its giant monopolies—Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Yasuda, and the two or three others collectively referred to as the *Zaibatsu* ("moneyed group" or "plutocracy").

In recent years the domination of Japan's economy by this *Zaibatsu* has been complete. Contrary to general opinion, the war has tremendously strengthened the great monopolies. All the rich areas conquered by the Japanese armed forces have been parceled out to the *Zaibatsu*. Within Japan proper the Tojo government's man-power and production decrees have driven many small and medium concerns out of business and forced others to "amalgamate" with the trusts. The trusts have become so powerful that Tojo, although he made repeated attempts, was never able to achieve full control over the Japanese economy. In fact Tojo's inability to get along with the *Zaibatsu,* together with the deteriorating military situation, was an important cause of his downfall. It is of tremendous significance that the Munitions Ministry, which was established by Tojo and headed by him in his final effort to gain control of the Japanese economy, is now headed by Ginjiro Fujiwara, a Mitsui man.

If State Department policies were allowed to proceed unhindered, they would play directly into the hands of the *Zaibatsu.* The department persists in regarding Japanese militarism in such a narrow context that to all intents and purposes its elimination would be accomplished by the trial and execution or imprisonment of the several score "military gangsters" who are presumably responsible for Japan's aggression. There has been very little recognition of the fact that Japanese militarism, like German Nazism, is an organic disease, that it is rooted in Japan's past inability to find a peaceful solution of its economic problems.

Men in the State Department's Office of Far Eastern Affairs will explain to you that Japan requires its international cartel ties in order to carry on the trade needed to sustain its dense population. They seem to ignore the fact that the present economic organization of Japan, with its exploitation of workers and peasants, affords an extremely limited internal market and consequently is a constant goad toward aggressive economic imperialism.

It is against this background that President Roosevelt's blow-up at the end of August over the "soft" character of the Civil Affairs Guides for Germany assumes such great importance. These Guides, sponsored by the State and War departments, displayed the same tender regard for German cartels that is characteristic of the attitude of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs toward Japan. When the President rebuked Secretaries Stimson and Hull for their proposed handling of Germany and gave his support to the more severe treatment advocated by Secretary Morgenthau and the Foreign Economic Administration, he also threw a small-sized bombshell into the planning for Japan.

Previously this planning had been divided into two parts—political planning by the State Department and economic planning by the Liberated Areas section of the FEA. Until the blow-up the FEA had been constrained to restrict its economic planning to the limits set by the political planners in the State Department. Afterward, not only was the German section of the FEA given primary responsibility for removing the economic basis for renewed aggression in Germany, but the Far Eastern section was freed from subordination to State Department policy on Japan. It was told to go ahead and plan a thoroughgoing renovation of the Japanese economy. Under the leadership of Lauchlin Currie, the President's liberal adviser on Far Eastern affairs, the FEA economists are tackling the problem at its economic roots. They recognize both the complicity of the *Zaibatsu* in aggression and the primary necessity of agrarian reform in any peaceful Japan.

Although the chances of a sane policy with regard to post-war Japan have been improved, the fight is by no means over. The FEA economic planners recognize a formidable opponent in Eugene Hoffman Dooman, a little-known key figure in the Far Eastern wing of the State Department. Japanese policy planning is nominally headed by Joseph Clark Grew, our former Ambassador to Tokyo, now director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs. Actually, the major role is played by Dooman.

Born in Osaka, Japan, fifty-four years ago, Mr. Dooman has spent thirty-two years in the State Department, sixteen of them in Japan. At the outbreak of the war he was counselor to the embassy, that is, second in command to Ambassador Grew. In some circles he has been considered the department's outstanding expert on Japanese politics. During his long stay in Japan Mr. Dooman acquired a large number of friends among the upper-class Japanese, but despite his extensive connections, or perhaps because of them, he completely missed the significance of the assumption of power by General Tojo on October 18, 1941—just six weeks before the attack on Pearl Harbor. General Tojo represented that group in Japanese military and industrial circles which banked on the effect of the Nazi victories and the success of a well-planned series of surprise attacks on inadequately defended Allied positions throughout the Pacific. The man Tojo replaced, Prince Konoye, was no angel of peace, having led Japan into the war against China in 1937, but he did have a healthy respect for American industry and was not willing to gamble on a long shot. Tojo was swept into power by Hitler's victories and Konoye's inability to get the United States to recognize Japanese hegemony over China.

Mr. Dooman believed that Tojo's assumption of power gave the United States a better opportunity of coming to an agreement with Japan, since it could now deal with the militarists directly, without going through a civilian Premier. American newspapermen cabled this interpretation (Otto D. Tolischus, "Tokyo Record," pp. 271-72), and the Ambassador sent it to Washington as his own ("Ten Years in Japan," p. 460). Meanwhile the Japanese fleet and army deployed for their surprise attacks.

After Mr. Dooman's return from Japan on the Gripsholm he remained in the background for a time. He was opposed to the policies of Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck, head of what was then known as the Far Eastern Division, who favored the transformation of Japan into an agricultural country incapable of waging modern war. After Mr. Grew took Dr. Hornbeck's place as director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Mr. Dooman turned up as his special assistant.

Mr. Dooman is an energetic and able man with extensive experience in Japan, and he is fighting with the dogged perseverance of one who wants to prove that, after all, he was right. Apparently still a great admirer of Prince Konoye, he tells intimates that he thinks the Prince would be a good man for the position of post-war Premier of Japan—appeasement again in the classic style.

[*Readers of The Nation have often expressed their appreciation of Behind the Enemy Line, in which Argus, using German source material, throws light on developments inside Germany. We are happy to inaugurate with this article a similar series dealing with Japan. Pacificus is the pen name of an American writer whose special position prevents the disclosure of his identity. Argus will continue to comment on German events during the final phase of the war in Europe.*—A. DEL V.]

Why the Wehrmacht Fights On

BY KARL O. PAETEL

AT THE time of writing no one can anticipate exactly how fast the American First Army, which has opened a powerful new offensive against the Siegfried Line north of Aachen, will advance. The opinion which prevailed at the beginning of September that the war in Germany "would be over in six weeks" seems now to have been premature. German resistance stiffened as soon as the Allied armies tried to consolidate their initial penetrations of German territory. Two factors have helped the Germans to make a stand. First, Dr. Goebbels's Ministry has exploited everything said or written in the Allied nations about the dismemberment of Germany or its transformation into an agrarian country. Second—and more important from the military point of view—what remains of the Wehrmacht is now under the vigorous and integrated leadership of commanders who are 100 per cent Nazi, unconditional adherents of the party.

But if the commanders are 100 per cent Nazi, hundreds of thousands of men in the German army are not Nazi at all. And if the chance were given to them, they would throw down their arms and go home. Many of them, instead of going home, might even turn their guns against the Nazis. They cannot do that now because the Gestapo espionage in the army has been operating for the last few months with an intensity which cannot be imagined by anyone who has not experienced Gestapo methods. The soldiers are subjected to the same rigorous control as the millions of foreign workers in Germany.

Most discussions of the German army err in assuming that its leaders form a homogeneous body, independent of the National Socialist Party. In reality, there never has been a politically independent army command. True, many different political tendencies have been represented in it. Even after Hitler took power, some officers had sincere monarchist ideals and thought that the Third Reich was only a transitional period before the restoration. But these men were a minority with no popular following and with no chance of winning over other officers to their views. They were elderly men who lived in their memories of the Kaiser's time, when the army was the "upper crust" of national society.

A pro-Russian group of officers composed another minority; under the influence of the former Reichswehr chief, General von Seeckt, they favored a rapprochement with Russia. Some also played with radical ideas, asserting that "the role of the army was not to protect the interests of the rich." After the death of General von Fritsch at the beginning of the Polish campaign the influence of this group diminished rapidly. There was always a far greater number of officers who came from Nazi circles or who had responded to the persistent propaganda of the National Socialist Party.

With each of these groups following its own inclinations and none strong enough to compel a common orientation in the officer corps, it was not difficult for the Nazis to hold the balance of power and to prevent the development of independent thought or of any movement contrary to the interests of the National Socialist Party. Moreover, the Nazis could always claim that Hitler had rendered the officer corps a great service by restoring to it the prestige and social splendor of the Kaiser's era.

And yet a certain nucleus of opposition remained—men who felt that their monarchist hopes had been betrayed, or whose plans had been deranged by the declaration of war against Russia, or simply those, most numerous in the higher ranks, who could not tolerate the military "intuition" of the party leaders. These officers become more and more embittered as divisions which could have been withdrawn safely were left to die or surrender just to serve the mad political strategy of the Führer. It was their dissatisfaction which gave rise to all the theories and reports we have been hearing since the beginning of 1943 about strong political opposition to Hitler in the army. There was opposition all right, but it was not political in a real sense.

The events of July 20, 1944, wiped it out entirely. Since then, the army command has been in the hands of the Nazi Party. The Wehrmacht has become a National Socialist army. And that is why it is now quite willing to carry out the party's policy of resistance to the bitter end.

The victor of July 20 was neither Goebbels nor Göring, no matter how many new functions and titles they were accorded. The victor was Himmler. To begin with, the *Luftflotte Reich* under General Stumpf was put entirely at his disposal, so that he could throw the weight of German aviation against any attempt at revolt, either at the front or inside Germany. In addition, he was enabled to extend his power over the Wehrmacht. His special units, the *Feldgendarmerie*, the *Geheime Feldpolizei*, the *Sicherheitspolizei*—all three in uniforms similar to the army's, all three just a variation of his central police—were given the task of watching every move of both officers and soldiers, day and night, at the front, on furloughs, and in hospitals.

By means of these organizations and through the political commissars, who had been introduced into the army earlier but were only indirectly under Himmler's command, the strictest control was established. The Nazification of the army was accomplished more successfully than the mobilization drive with which Dr. Goebbels was intrusted. The process was aided by the incorporation of units of the S. S. in Arms into larger army units; an S. S. brigade, for instance, with all Nazi officers and as many proved Nazi soldiers as possible, would be incorporated into an army division or corps, where it could serve simultaneously as a center of desperate resistance in battle and a kind of extended arm of Himmler, to make certain that defeatism or opposition to Hitler did not develop.

What elements of the opposition remain have been completely eliminated from positions of authority and are kept under such strict supervision that they have not the slightest chance of uniting or taking action. It is possible of course that all this will change as the Allied armies advance deeper into Germany and the German defense collapses. But in analyzing the military events of the coming months, it must be remembered that what remains of the German army is now a Nazi army; not many officers will follow the lead of Marshal von Witzleben.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Lodge and the League

THE GENTLEMAN FROM MASSACHUSETTS: HENRY CABOT LODGE. By Karl Schriftgiesser. Little, Brown and Company. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. $3.

NO GENERAL agreement about Henry Cabot Lodge has been reached in the twenty years since his death. This, of course, is not because he was remarkably subtle or mysterious, and neither can it be due to any lack of material—books of his, speeches, state papers, magazine articles, letters, votes—upon which a final judgment might have been based. The real reason is that Lodge's name and reputation have not yet escaped from the atmosphere of bitterly partisan debate in which he mostly lived. He is still the vivid symbol of a controversy, in part of his own making, which has not yet quite come to its climax. We still see him from one or the other side in that controversy. To many, therefore, Lodge is even today the gracious and scholarly gentleman, the profound statesman, the disinterested patriot, who was long ago depicted, mostly in whitewash, by his friend William Lawrence, Bishop of Massachusetts. To at least as many others he is one of those "war criminals" to whom we shall never mete out due punishment because they have gone beyond human wrath and justice.

Mr. Schriftgiesser inclines to the latter view. At any rate, he records in abundance the facts of Lodge's career which make that view at least plausible. In addition to a detailed account of the Senate's attack upon President Wilson's League of Nations proposal, he presents the whole development of mind, character, and motive which made it possible, or necessary, for Lodge to lead in that attack. Somewhat chary in expression of personal opinion, he lets the facts speak. They do. His book is not a "campaign document" precisely, but one can see how it might be put to good use in the present political campaign.

The differences between this book and the one by Bishop Lawrence are amusing and instructive. The Bishop knows nothing, apparently, about those long conferences between Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt, then about to die, in which the methods by which Lodge was to attack and defeat Wilson's plan for the League were plotted. But Mr. Schriftgiesser does know about them, and thinks they were important. "The whole broad strategy," he says, "which Lodge, as Captain of the Battalion of Death, carried out in the Senate with miraculous fidelity, was planned almost to the last detail even before the League of Nations had been reduced to paper by the statesmen in Paris. Whatever League the President might bring home, they were ready for it. Whatever form it took, by reservation or amendment they would harry it to its death."

Bishop Lawrence says nothing about the "Round Robin" devised to fight the League proposal by Senator Brandegee of Connecticut and eagerly agreed to by Senator Lodge. He does not see fit to recall the several earlier occasions on which Lodge had asserted his firm belief in international organization. Perhaps he did not know that even as late as 1915 the Senator had said, at Union College: "There is no escape from the proposition that the peace of the world can only be maintained, as the peace and order of a single community are maintained, by the force which unified nations are willing to put behind the peace and order of the world." Mr. Schriftgiesser sees the pertinence of such earlier utterances, and quotes them with telling effect. Thus he condemns Lodge in Lodge's own words, and demolishes the contention of Bishop Lawrence that the Senator from Massachusetts fought the League proposal in a spirit of unselfish and high-minded statesmanship. In place of this he establishes, little by little, the motive of personal hostility. After reading his book one is tempted to say that America rejected the League for no better reason than that Lodge hated Wilson "as only a small man can hate a great one."

Mr. Schriftgiesser does not say that, and of course the actual event was enormously more complicated than such a statement suggests. Lodge was only one member, though the most able and influential, of that "little group of wilful men." Throughout the contest he felt, rightly, that he was executing the wishes of his dead friend Theodore Roosevelt, whose hatred of Wilson has never been questioned. To go farther back, both of these men had been profoundly affected by the ideas of Vice-Admiral Mahan—not commonly regarded as a man of any political influence, but in fact an imperialist and isolationist at once whose pervading effect upon the history of the last fifty years cannot be exaggerated.

So seldom do we have the satisfaction of pointing out this or that betrayer of human hopes and saying, with perfect assurance, "Thou art the man!" With reference to America's rejection of the League, the "gentleman from Massachusetts" is not even a good candidate for that bad eminence. Wily but not wise, arrogant rather than proud, glittering with no glow, Henry Cabot Lodge seems never to have been visited by an idea, even a wrong one, that can be called original. Partly by means of his prestige and his great skill in political and parliamentary chicane, a dreadful wrong was done which has now involved the entire world, but for that wrong he cannot be held wholly responsible. In our effort to assess the blame we ought not to stop short, at any rate, of those politicians and voters who kept Lodge in the Senate for more than thirty years.

We do not often read the life-story of a dead man as we do a tale of mystery, with steadily mounting eagerness to know how it will "turn out." That can happen only when we realize that the life under consideration is unfinished, in the sense that the forces of good and evil which it set in motion, or at least corroborated, are still at work. Mr. Schriftgiesser has presented, accurately and responsibly, a life of that sort. His book is therefore as timely as the morning's news. One would like to put it into the hands of every member of the United States Senate, if only to show once more how long and at what a cost "the evil that men do lives after them."

ODELL SHEPARD

BURLING

Spanish American Mosaic

THE GREEN CONTINENT: A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW OF LATIN AMERICA BY ITS LEADING WRITERS. An Anthology Selected and Edited by Germán Arciniegas. Translated by Harriet de Onis and Others. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

IN MANY ways this book is a model of anthology making. The idea on which it is based—"to present a picture of Latin America as seen by Latin Americans"—will be welcomed by readers no longer content to take their information about the southern continent out of the pill boxes of itinerant journalists. The method is interesting: to choose an editor of intelligence and understanding who is himself a Latin American but familiar with the ways of Anglo-Saxon America, who already has a reputation as an interpreter of one continent to the other; to have him form a skeleton plan that includes man and landscape, history, heroes, the cities, "the color of life," then stretch above that skeleton a series of pertinent excerpts from Latin American writing which bear on those sections, and bridge the gap between pieces with paragraphs both subtle and brilliant which provide liaison and a sense of the whole.

What should result, if the pieces are carefully selected and the cement judiciously applied, is one of those mosaics in the best Spanish tradition, made of words instead of tiling, to be enjoyed both for the beauty of its individual bits and for the scope of the picture they produce.

Germán Arciniegas is one of the few people who could safely be intrusted with so difficult an assignment. Formerly Minister of Education in Colombia, author of two vivid re-creations of early Latin American history which have been translated into English, active in inter-continental affairs, he has the skill and the knowledge which the task demands. His introductory essays are both valuable and charming. His individual bits are chosen from among the best of Latin American writing old and new. Benjamin Carrión is here, and Juan de Meléndez, Erico Veríssimo, Gabriela Mistral, and José Enrique Rodó, Jorge Mañach and Domingo Sarmiento. In themselves the bits are fascinating. Vasconcelos's description of his visit to the great falls of Iguassú, Flavio Herrera's evocation of the trials of coffee-growing, Cespedes's tale of trying to get water for thirsty soldiers in the midst of the Chaco war—these among others give a vivid sense of people, place, and motive.

In paying his respects to the time element Arciniegas took from original chronicles certain material which he had previously reworked in his "Knight of El Dorado." Some of it has been rendered more comprehensible by the present war than it was when he first used it. Pizarro's cruelty to Atahualpa in the sixteenth century is illumined by German cruelty to the citizens of Lidice in the twentieth. On the other hand, Juan de Meléndez's description of the Rose of Lima is less successful in evoking seventeenth-century Peru. To us in 1944 religious fervor that takes the form of self-torture is harder to understand than patriotic fervor that takes the form of torturing someone else.

It is an interesting comment on the kind of gulf dividing the two continents that jungle, pampas, cities, and bits of drama laid in those settings are more real than are the people described and admired. South American heroes still strut in a fashion so different from the strutting of our own that they seem artificial. Verbal fever and ague haunt the prose that praises them, and of the seven "bronzes and marbles" pictured here, only Sarmiento the educator and Dom Pedro the wistful patron of learning come alive for us.

And the mosaic as a whole? It must be admitted that in spite of the editor's great skill the whole still remains a mirage. Perhaps that very failure to create a unit is a measure of the book's validity. For a long time we have been told that South America and South Americans were illusions created by distance, and that on closer acquaintance they would dissolve into Argentina and Argentinians, Chile and Chileans, and so on. Here is an attempt to reverse the process. Here are the lands, their people, their ways. Bound within the covers of a single book, they still refuse to merge. Cemented together by the brilliant comment of a single editor, strained into the English of a single translator (with a few exceptions), even this process has failed to conquer their intransigent individuality.

Two mechanical changes would have helped the reader. The individual pieces need precise dating under their titles. One wants to know, for instance, when José Vasconcelos visited Iguassú, when the Spaniards tortured Atahualpa, when the gaucho outlaw flourished. Today? In 1900? In 1560?

One also longs for another format. Nothing better illustrates the inadequacies of modern publishing than the dress in which this transcendent scrapbook appears. By present-day standards the book is cleanly printed, of a size easy to handle, agreeable to sight and touch. But present-day standards are not enough for the gems herein collected. They call for nineteenth-century display, an ample volume with fine descriptions matched by fine engravings on which the eye may linger. In this plain printed form the reader's imagination must do too much—set and light the stage, move the characters about in time as well as space—without pictorial aid or the flavor of the originals to aid him. These bits cover a dozen countries and were taken from books written and printed over the course of four centuries, with all the change in thought and style and standard which that implies. In translation, and in this format, too much of their savor has been lost, too many of the characteristics that marked their period have been strained away. And if that sounds ungrateful, it is only because the book is so good that one wishes it were even better.

MILDRED ADAMS

A Chinese Critic of China

CHINA LOOKS FORWARD. By Sun Fo. The John Day Company. $3.

TOO few Americans, it is to be feared, will have the interest or the patience to read through carefully this valuable collection of Sun Fo's speeches and articles covering the period since 1940. Those who do will find a man and a mind that is seeking to grapple with the real problems of China and the world. They may not wholly agree with his facts and interpretations as to the West, although they will quite probably be surprised at the incisiveness of his criticism. They may question certain aspects of his approach to specifically Chinese problems, but they will be impressed by his obvious desire for solutions that will promote democracy and social advance in China.

On these last two issues Sun Fo becomes steadily more critical, and even alarmist, as he appraises the trend of events at Chungking and within the Kuomintang during recent years. As president of the legislative Yuan and son of the Chinese Republic's founder, he can speak out more freely than many of his compatriots. Most of the twenty-four speeches or articles here included run back several years. Only two were delivered in 1944, but these are notable pieces. No foreign critic has matched the vigor and candor of the statements in these chapters (pp. 105-122). On the democratic issue Sun Fo deals mainly with the Kuomintang, the Youth Corps, and the "tutelage" problem.

"We know," he declares, "that a party or a political force would easily become the object of revolution if it did not maintain a democratic attitude toward its people, or if it became the ruling caste in the state after it had gained power. Unfortunately, we have in the past assumed unwillingly the attitude and habit of a ruling caste. The suppression of outside criticism against our party, and even criticism by our party comrades, bespeaks this fact. . . . Recently public opinion in Great Britain and the United States has criticized China. Why? Because they fear that China may take the road to fascism, for they feel that the Kuomintang is moving in the direction of dictatorship. . . ."

Turning next to the Youth Corps, Sun Fo inquires why the younger generation is "apathetic" toward this Kuomintang agency. He finds the answer in the kind of training instituted by the corps for its members. "Instead of guiding them to think for themselves," he says, "it has been drilling them to repeat by rote the *San-Min-Chu-I* [Three People's Principles] political creed. Instead of teaching them the methods of democratic practice and leadership, it has been imposing upon them military regimentation. . . . As a result, the people we are turning out from the various training centers become rather like puppets. The first thing they learn to perfection is how to click heels at the mention of, or mere reference to, the Supreme Leader [Generalissimo Chiang]. Heel-clicking may be proper in the army, but it is not the appropriate thing to do among people in a democratic country."

His remarks on political tutelage are no less cutting. "The talk about our people's inexperience for self-government is sickening. I have no patience with such talk." Citing the examples of India and the Philippines, he asks: "Do we desire to degrade China to the status of a sub-colonial country, by insisting that our Chinese people are still unfit for self-government?" He continues: "If this assertion . . . is true, great indeed is the failure of the Kuomintang in its mission of tutelage to train our people for democratic government. We have been at it now for sixteen years. This is a long time as human life is measured. . . . Yet after sixteen years of political tutelage, we say the Chinese people are still unfit and unready for self-government!"

Sun Fo evidently considers the promised constitution, inauguration of which is to terminate the Kuomintang's mo-

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"A Grand Book"—Louis Adamic

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by DOROTHY DUNCAN

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nopoly of power, to be the essential answer to China's political problem. As one of the authors of the draft constitution prepared by the Kuomintang, Sun Fo sets himself to answer criticisms which have been leveled against its undemocratic features. While these pages throw light on the nature of the draft constitution, the text of which is given in an appendix, they do not cover a most vital point. Exactly how will the Kuomintang's relinquishment of sole power be assured? Controlling the machinery of election, the Kuomintang might well perpetuate its power in legal form. Sun Fo is not unaware of this possibility. He warns of the danger of "a bogus record of votes in the future when constitutional government has been enforced."

Only the briefest mention can be given to Sun Fo's equally frank treatment of China's pressing social and economic problems. He links them directly to the political issue: "Village government is now and has been for a long time the private preserve of the corrupt gentry and rapacious landowners. Since the war, the tyrannous grip of these local leaders over the village people has been tighter than ever. Taking advantage of the government measures for the collection of grain and the conscription of soldiers, these people have increased their power for evil-doing, all at the expense of our helpless peasantry, who are the real heroes in this war—for are they not the people who grow the food for the cities and provide the recruits for the army?"

He excoriates the role of hoarders and speculators generally in the crisis which grips China's war economy, but centers his attack on the landlords. "Grain collection," he states, "has not yet reached its saturation point; the system employed in levying and buying needs to be much improved. The share contributed by most of the land-owning class is still too light, while self-cultivators and tenant farmers are bearing too heavy a burden. Landowners as a whole have reaped large fortunes these few years. . . ."

Like his father before him, Sun Fo is anxious to fulfil the Kuomintang's historic pledge of "the land to the tiller." He would have the state take title to all the land and lease it to the cultivator, but does not specifically indicate how expropriation is to be effected. But though all the answers may not be given in his book, the problems are laid bare with an unflinching courage and an unmatched clarity. Lin Yu-tang's rather cynically approving comment in the Introduction anent "thinking heads that dream beautiful dreams for the masses of the people" would appear to be uncalled-for and unnecessary.

T. A. BISSON

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Suggestions for the Peace

THE NEW EUROPE. By Bernard Newman. The Macmillan Company. $3.75.

THE value of blueprints for a post-war Europe largely depends on the *juste milieu* between our own wishful thinking and what is likely to happen anyway. Disregard of coming events and of human nature in search of a peaceful paradise is likely to land us in a fools' paradise. There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of people all over the world are longing for peace and prosperity; it is very doubtful whether there is any short cut to this goal.

This book, which the author calls "a sort of elementary handbook to the peace conference," is primarily concerned with the future frontiers of that turbulent continent. Considering the intricacies of the problem, the ethnic frontiers the author suggests on the basis of the Atlantic Charter are fair and reasonable. If he assumes the probable resurgence of nationalism after the war, he pays little heed to the economic aspects. Mr. Newman believes that "a European Federation is not merely possible, but inevitable." Nevertheless, years of ardent work are necessary before the idea can be firmly planted. In accordance with Winston Churchill the author, after examining the frontiers of thirteen countries, proposes the formation of regional federations: a Western Federation including Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg, a Scandinavian, a Balkan, an Iberian Federation, and so forth. However, as the author himself admits, the German problem is the most vital of all.

There is a great range of views, from those which discriminate between good Germans and bad Germans to those which hold the only good German is a dead one. Every civilized European shares Mr. Newman's desideratum: "Never again shall Germany be placed in a position where she can ravage Europe." But the means by which this end can be achieved are not so easy to agree upon. Germany should be, of course, allowed no army, no navy, no armament industry; Allied garrisons on the Rhine should be permanent; moreover, on "strategic grounds" the Danish frontier should be pushed south, East Prussia added to Poland, and Upper Silesia given to the Central European Federation. All this, the author himself admits, is scarcely consistent with the essential proviso for a permanent peace that "it must be ultimately accepted by Germany." This difficulty the author apparently hopes to overcome by reviving the "provincial patriotism which still exists in many parts of Germany," by uniting the reestablished old German states in a German Federation, but splitting up Prussia into the old provinces of Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Silesia.

This seems, however, rather a circumvention than a solution of the vital problem, which in Germany as elsewhere is aggressive nationalism. According to the author himself this nationalism still pervades Europe. Shoving Germany back into its pre-national structure phase is not likely to alleviate or overcome the national inferiority complex for which Hitlerism is but a berserk overcompensation. Peace cannot be secured by playing hide-and-seek with the idea of nationalism, which is unfortunately not an exclusively German phenomenon. G. B. Shaw may be right in his preface to "The Millionairess" when he says that nationalist patriotism is the "everyday resort of capitalism and feudalism as a red herring across the scent of communism," but no change in the economic system can remove the emotional basis of nationalism. Perhaps some future Cervantes will successfully ridicule the "romantic pompousness" of nationalism, but even then a substitute has to be found for the national emotion as one was found for outmoded chivalry.

Mr. Newman's extremely well-written book is based both on studies on the spot and on thorough knowledge of political geography. Slight inaccuracies occur (Hungary was no "Socialist republic" under Count Karolyi), but those who are going to prepare the peace can scarcely do without this useful guidebook through the European wilderness. Incidentally, since the author was sent to America as a lecturer by the British Ministry of Information it is improbable that his views conflict with official British policy.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Fiction in Review

Brief Mention

AMONG the new fall novels about which you might wish to hear briefly there are several importations. From England comes "Cluny Brown" by Margery Sharp (Little, Brown, $2.50), light-fingered and literate in the English fashion, the pleasant fanciful romance of a servant girl who doesn't know her place. If you enjoyed "The Nutmeg Tree" by the same author, you will probably enjoy this new bit of chaise-longue reading. Miss Sharp is not unrelated to Angela Thirkell, though she is rather lower-drawer; less witty than Mrs. Thirkell, she has the advantage of being fonder of her fellow-man. "The Barricades" by Philip Toynbee (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50), English too, also has the English virtues of liveliness and literacy. Mr. Toynbee's novel is about a schoolmaster who, during an enforced vacation, decides to become an adventurer but instead finds himself involved with a former student bent on joining the Spanish Loyalists. It alternates between an Evelyn Waugh-like sophistication and a curious political naivete, as if Mr. Toynbee were fixed at the first stage of left-wing sympathies. And one is surprised, in these days when one takes the mechanics of story-telling for granted, at Mr. Toynbee's difficulty in suggesting such things as the passing of time or the movement of people in a room.

A young Canadian woman, Gwethalyn Graham, is the author of "Earth and High Heaven" (Lippincott, $2.50), which was serialized in *Collier's* with marked success and is now a Literary Guild selection. A novel about intermarriage between Jew and Gentile, "Earth and High Heaven" speaks up boldly on the subject of anti-Semitism; it also makes the point that Jews, out of their sentiments of inferiority, create many of their own difficulties. It is a point susceptible of larger treatment than Miss Graham gives it, but "Earth and High Heaven" is tasteful and sensible. I think it will be read widely, and that will be a very good thing.

Margaret Halsey's "Some of My Best Friends Are Soldiers" (Simon and Schuster, $2.50), described by the author as only "a kind of novel," is a series of letters from a bright brave New York girl to her brother in the army. In the course of Gretchen's correspondence, Girl meets Boy, loses him and gets him again in the prescribed order; but clearly Miss Halsey's heart is not only in the right but in the left place: her major interest is racial tolerance, and Gretchen's letters are sealed with what we might call PMotions of social love. Miss Halsey's arguments against prejudice are interspersed with the rapid-fire gags made famous by the same writer's "With Malice Toward Some."

Then there is "Lie Down in Darkness" by H. R. Hays (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2.50), a study in suburban evil. Deliberately underwritten, strenuously quiet, Mr. Hays's

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novel of murder among the teacups may have been intended to set up overtones of serious social and psychological meaning. I found it a Hitchcock movie—on just that level of observation and carrying the same vital conviction.

The short stories of Philip Freund, in a new collection called "The Young Greek and the Creole" (Pilgrim House, $2.50), are extremely puzzling. Conceived and written in the grand manner, they fall strangely short of grandeur; they have the touch of the master, yet they are simply not masterly. The fact is that Mr. Freund is so consciously traditional that his stories seem anachronistic, pompous, even false, and his volume raises once more the question of the proper relation of the contemporary writer with the past. For despite his very real gifts, Mr. Freund is the gifted imitator rather than the gifted pupil; he has studied his masters too slavishly, and his mind is on his *ideal* of a story instead of on what he wants to say. The training that a writer like Hemingway, for example, put himself through could be cited as a lesson to Mr. Freund. Just as Mr. Freund seems to have studied Mann or Zweig or Maugham, Hemingway tells us he studied Stendhal. But Hemingway studied Stendhal in order to learn a way in which to say what he himself saw and thought to be true, not to reproduce the effect that Stendhal had got, and the result was a manner so individualized that it, in turn, produced a line of imitators. One wants to tell Mr. Freund that, having studied the teachers of his choice, he must now look at the world with his own eyes, say what he himself sees and feels, and have the courage, if need be, to fall far short of his models. Certainly the stories in "The Young Greek and the Creole" could be much less impressive and "classic" and still be much better.

Finally there is "Green Dolphin Street" by Elizabeth Goudge (Coward, McCann, $3), which won the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer prize of $125,000—and quite properly too. A movie is a movie is a movie, and a novel as long and detailed as "Green Dolphin Street" is hard work.

DIANA TRILLING

The Modern Maid

SIMONE. By Lion Feuchtwanger. The Viking Press. $2.50.

"SIMONE" tells of a fifteen-year-old orphan who lives in a French village with an uncle and "Madame," his stepmother, who bullies the man and tyrannizes over the girl. Simone so identifies herself with Joan of Arc that when she is tried by her betrayers for having set her uncle's hoard of gasoline on fire (to prevent the Nazis getting it), "her own life and the life of Joan of Arc flowed into each other . . . Simone of this moment *was* Joan."

That may be so for Mr. Feuchtwanger. For me, the maids of France and Feuchtwanger bear not the remotest resemblance to each other. The latter strikes me as having "Made in Hollywood" written all over her. The book, in fact, reads like the first draft of a movie script. The characters are so unreal, the story so unconvincing, the atmosphere so un-French that it is almost an insult to France. It's about time authors returned to writing books on paper instead of celluloid.

I shall be surprised if Hollywood is not already at work on "Simone," and even more surprised if the book doesn't become a best-seller.

JAMES STERN

Letters to the Editors

Johannes Steel Distorts the Facts

Dear Sirs: Johannes Steel, in discussing the "tricky problem of what to do with Germany," in his broadcast over station WMCA on September 18 made the following statements (the italics are mine):

> There are in this country, at this moment, a group of German exiles who, although they are certainly anti-Nazis, insist that a strong Germany be reconstituted after the war. These men, who have disagreed with Hitler's methods but *not with most of his aims*, have begun to infiltrate into certain sections of the American labor and liberal movements.
>
> They have used the freedom of the American press to agitate for a solution which would certainly lead to another war twenty-five years from now. One of these men, *Karl Frank, alias Paul Hagen,* has gone so far as addressing himself by letter to a high British government official asking that he be sent to Germany, on his own conditions, for the purpose of bringing to life a *so-called* anti-Nazi movement.
>
> In this letter Herr Hagen, who enjoys American hospitality, has the temerity to attack American officials *who have prevented his return to Germany,* and by implication asks the British government to *intrigue against* and to oppose those American officials who refuse to let him go to Germany to fish in troubled waters.
>
> Needless to say, the high British personage to whom Herr Hagen addressed his letter did not bother to answer him and turned the letter over to Americans interested in this case.
>
> These German liberals, particularly the Social Democrats, are actively preparing to become the cat's-paw for a new German imperialism precisely as they did in 1918 when they became the tools of the generals who remained after the Kaiser had left. . . .

Mr. Steel's statement that I wrote to a high British official attacking American officials and suggesting that the British government intrigue against these officials is completely untrue.

The confidential correspondence to which he refers is a letter written by me to Lord Vansittart after the American publication of his last book. My letter read as follows:

> The Right Honorable Lord Vansittart
> Denham, Bucks, England
>
> *Dear Sir:* May I call your attention to certain passages in your recently published book, "Lessons of My Life." I quote from pages eight and nine: "For nearly a year they [English pseudo-intellectuals] have been flocking to see a play called 'Watch on the Rhine' under the deliberate delusion that just Germans, as portrayed in that play, are flocking back from the security of the United States to fight Hitler underground. No *such thing has ever happened even once.* The German refugees in the United States and here continue to sit pretty, and I do not blame them. They could not anyhow flock back to nothing. The underground movement in Germany has produced no substantial evidence of its existence."
>
> Passing over "Watch on the Rhine" and its literary depiction of underground activity, I should like to point out that you are entirely wrong, both in your categorical statements and in the deductions you draw about underground resistance. Let us take the last point first. The lists of executions of Germans throughout the war years and during the earlier part of the Nazi regime, for political "crimes," furnish eloquent evidence of the existence of underground resistance. If Hitler's secret state police was not aware of it, what reason was there to maintain concentration camps for political offenders and to fill Germany's prisons to overflowing with persons guilty of crimes against Hitler's state? One day when the archives are open, it may turn out that the anti-Nazi Germans could compete with other nations in martyrdom.
>
> You are also wrong in your statement that no refugee ever returned from the security of England and the United States to fight Hitler underground. I can present concrete and personal evidence to the contrary so far as America is concerned. For technical reasons alone, there could have been only a few; naturally, refugees were restricted in their international movements even in the pre-war period. The anti-Nazi movements were poor; they had little political or technical support. (You yourself have given testimony to the effect that appeasers in the Western countries lined up, not with the anti-Nazis, but with supporters of Hitler.) Since the war began, as you with your extensive knowledge of the conduct of foreign affairs in England and, no doubt, in the United States as well, know, it has been virtually impossible for any German refugee to leave either country to go to Germany or a neutral country to carry on political activities.
>
> This very delicate subject cannot be discussed publicly at the present time. That is why I write you this letter. I want to make a personal proposal to you. Hitler is not yet beaten; you are one of the few in a position to test the validity of your own statements. Try to provide for me technical facilities to get into Germany now, and I shall be glad to accept your good services. My only condition is that I shall be a free agent of our own movement, cooperating, of course, with the military and political warfare services of your country. If you will provide the technical facilities necessary to make the journey, I shall go. If it is necessary, have me invited to London to discuss the matter with the responsible authorities.
>
> I might add that I and my associates have persistently requested such facilities from the authorities here, so far without success. I do not wish to miss another opportunity.
>
> October 28, 1943 KARL B. FRANK

I sent my letter to Lord Vansittart through the British representative for political warfare, stationed here, to whom I said in a covering note: "I inclose a copy of my letter for any American joint control service you would find it necessary to inform. Of course, I do not intend to do anything without their permission." PAUL HAGEN

New York, September 25

Reminder to Register

Dear Sirs: I am convinced that there are still many liberals who have failed to register. I think that there should appear a clear reminder in every coming issue of *The Nation.*

JEAN LE CORBEILLER

Cambridge, Mass., September 23

The American Mercury

Dear Sirs: As a constant reader of *The Nation* and a subscriber for many years and also as a Nation Associate by reason of a modest contribution when *The Nation* was in financial difficulties, I wish to protest vehemently against something I still find hard to believe—and that is the advertisement for the *American Mercury* on page 331 of the finest magazine in America.

It is not possible to reconcile the liberalism and straightforwardness, the anti-fascist and progressive policies of *The Nation* with the fascist publication of Paul Palmer, Lawrence Spivak, and Lawrence Dennis, the latter, as I am sure you know, an indicted seditionist, accused of disloyalty to our country.

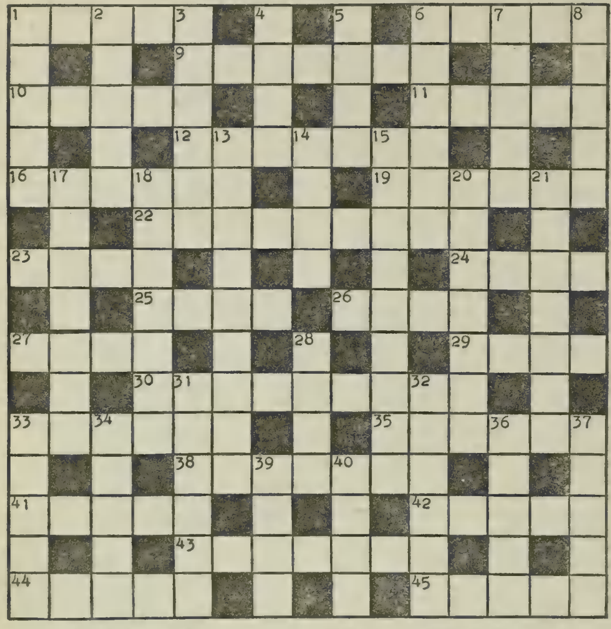
I feel that we "old-timers" of *The Nation*—those of us who read it when to do so labeled us as "pinks" if not downright Communists—are entitled to an explanation. If it is a matter of money needed by *The Nation,* your many readers, I'm sure, would prefer to subscribe it rather than have the guilty knowledge that our beloved *Nation* depends for support on the advertising of such a magazine as the *Mercury.*

If memory serves me right, the *Mercury* has been repeatedly taken to task in *The Nation* for its fascist and anti-Semitic utterances. Why this sudden change of heart? Have you ceased to be the constant fighter against fascism, anti-Semitism, red-baiting, and reaction? If

BURLINGAME

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 85

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Ranks lowest in the British Peerage, because of his bold bad reputation, possibly
6 London's most ancient edifice
9 "Beer, Mac?" (anag.)
10 A mountain pass, I see
11 On the grin
12 Matters of small moment
16 Sergeant Meryll, in *The Yeoman of the Guard*
19 Pointed faithfully over the dim sea, in the Thomas Moore poem
22 Ray Tiller is in The Gunners
23 The baby who swallowed the spoon couldn't
24 Of interest to the ornithologist in Cerne Abbas
25 Dates the ancient Romans kept
26 A great archer
27 Ali sounds sheepish
29 Looks as if it might change to rain in Persia
30 Plight of the plaintiff when his suit was dropped
33 Machine invented by a Briton and a German in the same year
35 Came out from the U. S. side
38 All right in a sheep, but not in a horse (hyphen, 3-4)
41 Fish, with immature interior
42 More people have died here than anywhere else (two words, 2 and 3)
43 English and Portuguese men of title meet and create a dominion
44 Don't wear it on your sleeve
45 Strangely

DOWN

1 Sharp's the word after this
2 He sowed just one wild oat
3 Beverage of the gods
4 A wager to countenance
5 The bird in this cage doesn't sing
6 This puzzle is, we hope
7 A wise man's country, according to Aristippus
8 Where Kitchener's Army practiced?
13 Wink? Not he (anag.)— but has been tipped it (three words, 2, 3, 4)
14 A mineral in ancient alchemy
15 Forcible
17 Mouth water
18 She of the Moated Grange, in the Tennyson poem
20 These protect the pupils
21 Family in a glee
28 You and I are in the Royal Navy, and we don't seem to have done it any good!
31 Man is a better judge of one than any hen
32 I smoke (anag.)
33 The best cheese for [illegible] roll
34 Land in Central Africa
36 A hundred-honor suit might be, at bridge
37 Captain of the home team
39 Walls have them
40 The list of clues does here

◆

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 84

ACROSS:—1 NINE OF DIAMONDS; 9 TEMPEST; 10 ASTOLOT; 11 ERNEST; 12 ASCRIBED; 14 LIGHT UP; 15 ONSET; 17 EXACT; 19 GILBERT; 21 RUCKSACK; 23 SCALES; 25 BOLOGNA; 26 OVER TWO; 27 DEAR AT THE PRICE.

DOWN:—1 NOTRE DAME; [illegible] NOMINAL; 3 OVERSIGHT; 4 DOTH; [illegible] ADAM'S APPLE; 6 OUTER; 7 DELIBES; [illegible] STUD; 13 STAGECRAFT; 15 OVERCHEAP; 16 TOMBSTONE; 18 ALCALDE; 20 TOLSTOI; 21 RUBY; 22 SUGAR; 24 TOSH.

so, I, and I am sure thousands of other disappointed readers and supporters of *The Nation,* want to know of it.

I personally feel that I am entitled to an explanation, either by mail or preferably in the columns of *The Nation.* A reasonable explanation will, I'm sure, clear the air and, more important, clear *The Nation.* JACQUES L. BROD

Philadelphia, September 24

[This is one of several letters we have received protesting against our publication of a paid advertisement for the *American Mercury.* Our position is easily stated. In the days when the *Mercury* was edited by Paul Palmer we considered it pro-fascist and criticized it sharply. Under his direction it printed many articles by known fascists.

When Palmer left, the policy of the paper was changed. It still publishes attacks on Communists and the Communist Party, but it publishes just as many articles attacking fascism and exposing fascist activities, especially in the United States. As the *Mercury* advertisement points out, John Roy Carlson's exposures of American fascism appeared in that magazine long before the appearance of his book "Under Cover." We by no means indorse the *Mercury's* editorial methods, but we do not consider it fascist or anti-Semitic under its present direction and therefore we see no justification for refusing to print its advertisements.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

FRIDAY THE THIRTEENTH LIVED UP TO ITS reputation in Germany. American troops entered Aachen, bringing war to a German city for the first time since the Napoleonic invasion; the Russians took Riga, last Baltic capital remaining in German hands; Tito's forces reached the "walls of Belgrade"; a tank battle raged on the Hungarian plain not far from Budapest; Athens was reported to have been evacuated. The final "total mobilization" of the Reich, already "totally mobilized" two or three times previously, was summoning a fantastic congeries of disabled soldiers, old people, civil servants, and children to front-line service or work on field fortifications; Berchtesgaden itself was reported being feverishly prepared for a long siege. Yet the enemy continues to fight bitterly and well; he has to be pushed forcibly and expensively backward everywhere except in parts of the Balkans. German prisoners from first-class units on the western front showed high morale; said they had been promised more "secret weapons" and an early counter-offensive into France, and seemed to believe it. The Canadians were meeting fierce resistance in their all-important effort to clear the Scheldt estuary and open Antwerp to ocean shipping; Patton's limited attack in the south bogged down; and the Italian front seemed stalemated once more. But a tremendous effort is being made to build up strength for a major offensive in the west, one that will break through the Westwall and sustain the final drive into Germany; and liquidation of the remaining Germans in Latvia will release many Red Army divisions for an offensive against the enemy's center. Even if neither of these blows develops before winter, a Russian winter offensive is a probability to haunt the Germans.

*

LAST WEEK WAS ALSO A BAD ONE FOR THE Japanese, with Admiral Halsey playing the postman who rang not twice but thrice. Halsey's Third Fleet waltzed into Japan's "basic sea area" on the heels of a typhoon. Undoubtedly the Japanese preferred the typhoon. Tokyo's boasts that the Imperial Fleet would do battle when the Americans penetrated these home waters have so far proved hollow; Admiral Mitscher's carrier-based aircraft hit the Ryukyu Islands, southeast of the home island of Kyushu, on Monday, Luzon on Tuesday, and the keystone island of Formosa on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. In these five days the American force destroyed 621 Japanese planes; through Thursday it sank, probably sank, or damaged 227 Japanese ships and small craft. The absence of anything larger than small fighting vessels from the casualty list is notable and indicates retirement of the Imperial Fleet into harbors at home. It is difficult to say what will bring it forth, if it would not come forth to meet this dangerous challenge to the vital supply passageway through the narrow seas between the East Indies and the home islands. (The Tokyo claim that the Japanese fleet had gone into action remains unconfirmed as we go to press.) Perhaps the imminent establishment of an overland link from Manchuria to Singapore is a partial explanation: the Allied situation in China grows worse as the situation in the Pacific grows better. But this daring and almost unpunished violation of the "basic sea area" is a great achievement and gives promise of even greater things to come.

*

HITLER'S DESPERATE EFFORT TO CONTINUE the war into 1945 may fail or succeed depending upon developments in East Prussia and the Rhine region during the coming fortnight. But one thing is already certain: there will be guerrilla warfare in Germany even after the collapse of the regular Nazi armies. Reports from Sweden and Switzerland give some indication of the kind of guerrilla activity the Nazis are planning. The French *maquis* type of resistance, or the Yugoslavian type based upon small groups, is not attractive to the German military mind. The Germans favor the creation of medium-sized units, composed of between 3,000 and 5,000 men, under the command of professional pro-Nazi officers. Since it will be impossible, with Allied armies occupying Germany, for war industries to supply the guerrillas, an enormous quantity of small arms and munitions is now being accumulated for future use. A special "general staff" has been appointed to handle the strategy of the new guerrilla army. The Allied command, in turn, will be confronted with a military problem far more difficult than the customary problems of mopping-up and policing. Moreover, the problem will be not only military but political. The rapidity with which the fight against the guerrillas can be carried to a successful conclusion will in large measure depend upon the utilization of anti-Hitler elements inside Germany. Such elements still exist in spite of formidable repression. They know Nazi methods better than anyone else; they know the people in each locality who may try to disguise themselves as anti-Nazis in order to sabotage the work of the Allied authorities. But to secure the effective cooperation of German anti-Nazis, we must convince them of our intention to destroy National Socialism. In this connection, some of the measures taken by the Allies in Germany are most disturbing. Reporting in the New York *Times,* Drew Middleton has described how Colonel Billings, a divisional military government officer, installed as Bürgermeister of Rötgen, one of the first German towns to be captured, a man named Ludwig Barth, "an opportunist, believed to be pro-Nazi." Surely, this is a bad beginning.

*

IF THE INFLUENCE OF WENDELL WILLKIE was ever in doubt, it has been clearly established by the behavior of his contemporaries since his death. Never was a man's spirit fought over with more greedy partisanship; never was more unscrupulous use made of his alleged opinions. Willkie died without having told the world whether he favored the election of Roosevelt or Dewey. Either he had not made up his mind, since there were so many things he disapproved of in both candidates; or he had made it up and decided not to say anything until later—perhaps not at all. One would think this would be enough to silence any talk except the sort of uninformed speculation inevitable in the circumstances. One would think so, but no sooner was Willkie gone than men who had been his friends rushed forward to tell what Willkie himself had deliberately refrained from telling. Persons whose words have wide currency, Henry Luce, for example, and Drew Pearson, made themselves, unasked, the executors of his mental estate. Some said they knew he wanted Dewey; others, claiming equal knowledge, said he wanted Roosevelt. If Willkie had not come to a final opinion before his death, they all lied. If he had, then some of them lied and the rest betrayed a trust. The whole episode seems to us as ghoulish a bit of political skulduggery as we have run into. As Clare Luce said the other day, "I think it's a rotten shame that before the man was buried his name had to be dragged into politics." This admirable sentiment was expressed just after Mrs. Luce had announced her belief that "Wendell Willkie had no intention of voting for Mr. Roosevelt."

*

THE NATION ASSOCIATES' CONFERENCE ON America's Opportunity to Create and Maintain Lasting Peace, held in New York on October 7 and 8, was a success in every way. Delegates to the number of more than 450, representing eighty-odd national organizations, attended six sessions devoted to talks by authorities in the various fields under consideration and to free discussion from the floor. Speakers at every session underscored the challenge of the coming election, analyzing the basic issues that confront the nation and stressing the responsibility of the individual citizen to meet those issues intelligently on November 7. We wish most earnestly that the entire proceedings could be published and distributed to all readers. Unfortunately, government paper restrictions limit us to a sixteen-page supplement which appears with this issue. In this space it is wholly impossible to do justice to the conference material. We have had to condense heavily the texts of the speeches, leave out the contributions of several invited "discussants," and omit all discussion from the floor. In spite of these limitations we believe the supplement will serve as a useful digest for those who participated in the conference and as a sampling of what they missed for those who could not attend. The conference was the Nation Associates' first major activity. Its success encourages us to go ahead confidently with plans for other similar meetings as events warrant, and for the broad program of political education we have already announced in these columns.

*

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH RETURNS THIS WEEK to his post as drama critic. We are happy to have him back as a regular contributor to our pages. During a year's leave from Columbia University—and *The Nation*—Mr. Krutch completed a biography of Samuel Johnson, which will be published shortly by Henry Holt and Company. Margaret Marshall, literary editor of *The Nation*, who covered the theater in Mr. Krutch's absence, will resume her Notes by the Way as an informal journal which will appear each week beginning with the next issue.

Great-Power Hegemony

THE results of the Dumbarton Oaks conference have been laid before the public for judgment. The submission is accompanied by a warning that "the proposals in their present form are neither complete nor final." But this apparent frankness is far from disclosing either the extent of their incompleteness or the degree of their finality.

Many questions long under discussion have been definitively answered. The general organization will embrace economic and social welfare as well as security. Regional associations will be coordinated with the general organization. There will be no world federation. There will be no world legislature. There will be no world force at the direct and immediate disposal of a central command. The Security Council calls upon the member states to take the measures and supply the forces necessary to stop aggression. But how it reaches decision has not yet been determined; and this leaves a gaping hole in the structure.

Agreement was reached that the Council's decisions would generally require the unanimous vote of the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, China—and eventually France—its permanent members. Any one of these countries could thus impose an absolute veto on action. On the other hand, if all five agreed, only one vote among the six non-permanent members would be necessary to make their decision operative. So privileged a position corresponds of course to the inevitable responsibilities of the great powers, but it reduces to a farce the "sovereign equality" announced as the first principle of the organization. One far-reaching exception was supported by the United States, Britain, and China. Even a permanent member would lose its vote if it were accused of aggression. This proposal the Soviet Union steadfastly rejected, and the voting system was left in suspense.

Moscow will probably maintain its opposition to a rule that would prevent its veto on action touching the Baltic States, Poland, or any other area bordering on Russia. But before we condemn Mr. Stalin, we must ask ourselves whether Congress would have surrendered the American vote in a dispute with a Latin American state, or whether Parliament would have accepted a provision silencing the British representative in a conflict over the Suez Canal. By accepting the proposal, and counting on Congress or Parliament to throw it out, Moscow might have shifted the odium of defeating the most equalizing and democratic clause in the draft. If, as now seems probable, each of the permanent members of the Council is to have a veto even when party to a dispute, then we shall have, not a democratic international organization, but a great-power alliance keeping order, as *it* understands order, in the world. The great powers and they alone will remain judges in their own cause. There are already in the text marks enough of hegemony. Under Chapter XI, for example, a single great power can prevent amendment of the charter, whereas it will take more than a third of the ordinary members at the voting stage, and more than half at the ratifying stage, to veto any amendment pushed by the four or five leaders. Once again, the only sovereign equality is that of the greatest powers.

The orgazination will be hard on the pride of the small nations and harder still on the prestige of those in the middle range. They will urge changes. Should they stay out? Should those of us who detest domination crusade for equality or nothing?

In the world as it is, they, and we, would get nothing. The proposed organization, on the other hand, offers order, backed by power as the League was never backed. It offers economic and social organization with a closer approach to equality. It imposes no inequality which the lesser states do not already suffer in fact.

Structurally, the proposed system is weak. Structure can never replace good-will; but if it is strong it can tide over temporary deficiencies in that commodity. The "United Nations" will depend utterly on agreement among the great powers and will be exposed to all the hazards that affect their relationships. But the way to strengthen the organization and to make it just is to work from within. There, using the rights allotted them, the lesser states can establish an influence in fact which will far exceed their prerogatives in law. Many times in the national domain we have seen the consultative function hardening into a strong share in decision. Moreover, the small nations will find natural support in liberal groups within all countries, whose growing political strength must be exerted without let-up to effect a more just and democratic organization of the peace.

Brookings Popgun

SOME measure of agreement has been arrived at in the post-war thinking of government, labor, and the more progressive section of the business community. They are agreed on the necessity for full employment. They are agreed that where business activity falls short of achieving full employment the gap must be closed by government spending. They are agreed that the federal budget cannot safely be balanced until the full employment level has been reached.

To think in these terms, it is necessary to set an economic target, to figure in dollars the level of economic activity sought. There has been general agreement that we must reach a national income of about $140 billion after the war if we are to achieve approximately full employment. The importance of having a figure of this kind is that it makes planning possible. It enables the business man to estimate the size of the market for which he must strive. It enables the government to estimate the amount of public spending necessary to fill the gap between business activity and full employment. It enables the Treasury and the tax committees of Congress to know when to apply the deflationary brake of higher taxes, balance the budget, and begin the reduction of the public debt.

This whole approach to economic and fiscal policy is still anathema to Wall Street and most of the big-business crowd, as it is to their spokesmen in Congress. They don't like the idea of an economic target. They don't like the idea of planning to reach it. And they certainly don't like the idea of continued compensatory financing—the use of the federal budget as a kind of economic thermostat, stoking the furnace of business with increased spending in hard times. Yet this is the idea put forward now not merely by labor and the New Deal but also by such business men as Beardsley Ruml and such business organizations as the Committee for Economic Development.

If this is kept in mind, it will be easier to understand a recondite little pamphlet on post-war national income recently published by the Brookings Institution. Though this supposed institution of pure economic research bears the honored name of a liberal American business man, it has for many years been the outstanding academic servant of reaction in America. Under the presidency of Harold G. Moulton it has energetically prostituted scholarship in the interest of American finance and big business. The planning and the timing of its economic studies have been in the closest correlation with reactionary drives in Congress and with astute public-relations campaigns to manipulate public thinking.

This new pamphlet on post-war national income stays in the stratosphere of controversy over statistical method and steers away from drawing broad conclusions; these would unmask its purposes. But the subject of national income is handled in the pamphlet in a manner calculated to belittle the size of our post-war problem, to disparage the idea of an economic target, to discredit those public and private agencies which have tried to focus attention on the full employment problem, and to confuse popular thinking on the matter. The first fruit of this deft bit of economic propaganda will be evident when Congress, after the elections, gets down to tax revision. The right-wing bloc is anxious to balance the budget as rapidly as possible without reference to full employment, and for this purpose must cut the ground from under Ruml and the C. E. D. as well as the Treasury and labor. The Brookings pamphlet lumps them all together and tries in specious fashion to disprove the $140 billion figure on which all of them generally agree. Its own figure is $123 billion, but more important than the difference is Brookings's attempt to make any target of this kind seem futile and illusory.

The Brookings pamphlet does not limit itself to fiscal policy. Its implications extend to questions of wages and post-war living standards. If labor productivity has increased during the war—and virtually all engineers and economists agree that it has—then a rise in real wages is necessary to maintain full employment. The business interests for which Brookings speaks want lower, not higher, wages after the war. The Brookings pamphlet would have us doubt a war-time increase in productivity. It goes so far as to argue that after the war "the maintenance of existing wage rates may well be difficult even with some increase in man-hour efficiency." It thinks there may be some reduction in wage rates. The pamphlet summarily dismisses the Ruml estimate that a 50 per cent increase in living standards will be nesessary to operate our industrial plant at full capacity after the war. Brookings figures that an increase of between 6 and 11 per cent in real per capita income would be enough.

The Brookings pamphlet concludes by attacking as a "widespread" but "erroneous impression" the notion that "the war has placed the American people upon a new plateau of national income." Is the enormous outpouring of planes, tanks, and guns a mirage? The economic oligarchs for whom Brookings is flunkey want us to forget the productive miracles achieved during the war. They intend to fight any attempt to achieve a similar full employment of men and machines in peace. The Brookings pamphlet may be an academic popgun, but its discharge is the beginning of a major battle.

Washington Jottings

BY LOUIS FISCHER

MANY persons here are still optimistic about the chances of Germany's complete military collapse before Christmas. On the other hand, China's military difficulties might, it is said, enable Japan to hold out on the Asiatic mainland long after its defeat at home.

Whisper: sharp tension between General Stilwell and Chiang Kai-shek. Report: Donald M. Nelson promised Chiang Kai-shek a big American-aided program of industrialization for China after the war, with a TVA on the Yangtze as key project. En route to Chungking, Nelson stopped in Moscow and saw Molotov. They discussed Russo-Chinese problems. . . . The Sinkiang situation has new explosive possibilities. . . . The Chinese in Washington are too conscious of their Russian problem to talk frankly about it. They are sure that Moscow will ask—at least—for special rights on the Chinese Eastern Railway, which passes through Manchuria, and for privileges in the Chinese ports of Dairen and Port Arthur.

From a White House visitor: the President likes the idea of setting up a number of free ports (Hansa towns) in Germany. . . . Those who read diplomatic dispatches hint that Britain's plan for Germany calls for a united country and industries restored but controlled. . . . Nobody knows just what Moscow wants for Germany.

A justice of the Supreme Court: "No peace can be enforced."

A State Department official estimates that Russia has suffered twenty-one million casualties since June 22, 1941. . . . The same official: "The Franco regime is a hollow shell. We would not object if it were crushed. Fascism in Spain cannot outlast the fall of Hitler."

Radio monitor: charges of "Yankee imperialism" are on the air waves coming north.

A British complaint: "On the one hand, certain Americans accuse us of not intending to throw our full weight into the war against Japan. On the other hand, British plans to prepare for the Pacific war are thwarted by Americans who want to beat Japan single-handed and monopolize the glory and the spoils." . . . Second British complaint: American business is invading markets which were British before the war but which Britain cannot cater to commercially now owing to its concentration on the war.

Whisper: Americans are being trained to take over some Dutch East Indian islands.

A noted journalist: "I hope when the British and Russian troops meet in the Balkans they will know enough to shake hands instead of pulling triggers."

Comment: the President says Dumbarton Oaks was 90 per cent successful. It's like saying, "I have a 75 per cent perfect automobile; it has three wheels." (Or, as a Washington columnist put it, "The egg was 90 per cent fresh.")

Widespread feeling: the President should make a Wilsonian speech soon on what the war is for and where the world is going. . . . Official: a person who helped draft the American plan for Dumbarton Oaks asserts that the United States government wants the right to veto any measures by the new league against an aggressor and agrees with Moscow that a big power may exercise its veto even if it is itself a party in the dispute.

Authentic information: Stalin told Polish Prime Minister Mikolajczyk when they met in Moscow that the Red Army would cross the Vistula and be in Warsaw on August 6. . . . The Warsaw uprising began on August 1.

Poles in Washington are reconciled to the fact that the Moscow-born Lublin Polish Liberation Committee will rule Poland for the Kremlin. They talk of Russian "mistreatment" of the Polish underground and of the possibility of "civil war" in Poland.

From a British official source: the Soviet government was informed in advance by the British Foreign Office that General Bor, hero of Warsaw, would be chosen to succeed Sosnkowski, who was *persona non grata* to the Russians. Moscow expressed its satisfaction. Bor was appointed. Moscow attacked him. Churchill and Eden are chagrined.

Fact: in the last days of September a lengthy debate took place in the House of Commons on Poland. Both sides of the House, Conservative and Labor, showed irritation with the Russian attitude. The American press printed nothing on the debate. The Polish embassy in Washington sent summaries and quotes to the newsmen.

From an economic expert: the de-industrialization of Germany will be almost complete by the time fighting ends in Germany. It will be the combined result of bombings, battles on German soil, the years of wear and tear on unreplaced machine tools, and the transfer of factories into Nazi-occupied territory outside the Reich. . . . Much wagging of heads over Morgenthau's proposal for an agrarian Germany: "He was the last man to father it"; "How did it leak; through him?"

Opinion: the Hull-Dulles agreement was a blunder; foreign policy is the Administration's great asset. The agreement robbed F. D. R. of that asset.

Oft-heard question: Where is the Democratic Party machine? Is it all-out for F. D. R.?

Favorite indoor sport: gloomy analyses of the international situation, which is described as "blue," "black," and "bleak." The only bright spot is France. Official and non-official observers foresee a resurrected, dynamic France assuming the leadership of a reorganized Continent. Both England and America are courting De Gaulle. Compared to Giraud and Darlan, De Gaulle was regarded as a radical. Compared to the French radicals, De Gaulle is now regarded as a stabilizing factor.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

AIR POWER has been pretty well out of the news lately, which is a good thing in so far as it keeps the heads of the airmen from getting any fatter, but a bad thing in so far as it leads us to forget the very great contribution the air arm has made in leading us thus close to victory. The big public interest now is in ground gained and enemy divisions encircled, as far as Europe is concerned; nevertheless, air power is being used in greater strength over Europe than ever before, and in the Pacific its triumphs over Japanese-held islands are paving the way for new amphibious operations which will drive the Japanese from those islands.

Ground forces, naval forces, and common citizens are now receiving large dividends from the investment made years ago by those farsighted pioneers of air power who had to buck such opposition in their lifetime. Billy Mitchell and the others laid the foundations for victory in the air, that necessary prelude to victory everywhere. Our thanks to Mitchell, to the Royal Air Force men who saw England's salvation in a fast, heavily armed fighter and put all their chips on the Spitfire with its great firepower, to the Army Air Corps designers who laid down the Flying Fortress, and to all the others who had faith and gave it wings.

Perhaps the faith was stated over-strongly. The promises of what air power could do, the exaggerated claims for its accomplishments, made many old-line military men mistrust its prophets altogether, and aroused hopes in the public breast which were inevitably dashed, leading to consequent loss of faith. But apostles seldom are skilled in public relations, and possibly if they hadn't insisted so loudly we should not have got the instrument we have today. It is idle to speculate on what the air-power boys could have done if they had been given the instrument their extremists wanted. We can see enough of the war's history now to say that they have done nobly with the means at hand, and it is not selling air power short if we maintain our conviction that air power alone could not have won the war. That argument goes back, presumably, to the day when a midget felled a giant with a slingshot, and it shows good *esprit* when members of a military force contend that their particular arm could win the war single-handed. Obviously, however, a war is won by the concerted striving of soldiers, sailors, airmen, supply personnel, factory hands, farmers, and transportation workers: leave any group out of the team and the team won't function.

The United States team is functioning in top gear now, and the air arm is contributing greatly to the team's success. The battle to achieve aerial supremacy was won before D-Day, but the battle to maintain it continues—fighter patrols to keep intruders from molesting the front-line troops or photographing battery positions and troop concentrations, medium-bomber attacks on enemy airfields to destroy planes on the ground, heavy-bomber attacks on aircraft plants, railway choke-points, and synthetic-gas refineries. Thus the Luftwaffe is diminishing in the air, on the ground, and in the factories, in the continuation of a plan first set in operation in April, 1943. A year earlier the Germans had set their own plan in motion, a plan which called for quadrupling the output of single-engine fighters by April, 1944; by the time of that first American attack on the Focke-Wulf plant in Bremen the Luftwaffe had already doubled its existing strength and its monthly replacement capacity. The Allied counter-plan was successful: ten months later German fighter production was lower than it had been when the expansion plan was put into effect, and after the "black week of the Luftwaffe" in February, 1944, German fighters started staying on the ground.

Two months later came the air invasion of Europe, just seven weeks before D-Day. Since that time the scale of air attack has risen at an almost geometric rate: the Western Allies dropped 37,000 tons of bombs in the last six months of 1942, 86,000 tons in the single month of April, 1944; the U. S. A. A. F. has dropped nearly half its war-time total of 1,000,000 tons since D-Day, and the R. A. F. has dropped over half its war-time total of 683,000 tons (on Europe alone) in 1944. Moreover, the bombs are better aimed, delivered in much higher concentration, thus saturating the defenses, and are falling into an ever-smaller target area, as there is less and less of Europe remaining in German hands.

Air power has paved the way for the Allied armies to invade Europe; it is dropping troops behind the enemy's lines to help break his fixed positions; it is disrupting traffic to the front, bombing factories so that a good many tanks and guns never get into action, and making war a hell for millions of German civilians. In the Pacific it has radically altered naval strategy and tactics, made general fleet actions a rarity, isolated enemy-held islands, and allowed amphibious operations to go forward at a greatly accelerated pace. It is no treason to air power to point out that weather limits its activities sharply, that many bombs miss their targets, that destroyed bridges are quickly replaced, and that a city or strong point has yet to be annihilated from the air. Foot soldiers at Cassino, Caen, Bologna, and Aachen will testify to the last. There are simply some things that air power cannot do—yet. Future possibilities of very long-range bombers with very heavy bomb loads and the development of jet propulsion may change the whole concept of war in a way that makes this particular ex-soldier pray for the success of Dumbarton Oaks. Meanwhile, it is enough to say that air power will not win the war, but that the war could hardly have been won without air power.

The Eastern Seaboard

BY I. F. STONE

New York, October 16

SIDNEY HILLMAN and his co-workers of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee have done a job beyond all expectations. In almost all the industrial areas of the United States registration is running well ahead of 1940. This pre-election survey is based on talks here, in Washington, and in Chicago, and on check-ups by telephone from Chicago to Cincinnati, Detroit, St. Louis, and Madison, Wisconsin, With one exception, a progressive Missouri editor sour on Truman and Hannegan, the pro-Roosevelt forces display a new confidence. The Deweyites are worried. "Almost all the competent observers," the Chicago *Tribune* said editorially on Saturday, "predict that this will be a close election. A few thousand votes may decide it." This from Colonel McCormick is practically an admission of defeat. The changed atmosphere is primarily due to the registration, and even old-line Democratic politicians who find any tie-up with the C. I. O. distasteful admit off the record that most of the credit for the huge and record-breaking turnout is due to the P. A. C. Some sensational turn of events between now and election might possibly change the picture. But as it looks now, if the pro-Roosevelt forces are as successful in getting out the vote as they have been in getting out the registration, we may see the President reelected by larger majorities than in 1940, and his electoral margin may easily prove of landslide proportions.

Four weeks ago the Democrats rather than the Republicans were talking in terms of a close election, and I heard a high official of the Democratic National Committee admit privately that the President might lose. Today one finds presumably hard-boiled party politicians in the East declining to concede Maine, and in the Middle West, which looked pretty safe for Dewey, I found many observers who expected Roosevelt to carry Wisconsin and thought he now had a fighting chance in Indiana. In New York City the registration figures and the New York *Times* indorsement of Roosevelt have left the boys a little giddy. The telling point in today's *Times* editorial for the President is the "nevertheless" which follows its admission that Roosevelt is not "indispensable." Not a few middle-of-the-roaders will agree with the New York *Times* that "nevertheless, when we come down to specific cases in the choice actually before us, we cannot dismiss as unimportant the fact that Mr. Roosevelt has a large first-hand knowledge of the problems that will arise in the making of the peace." Add this "factor of experience" to the successful conduct of the war and the fear of a change while the war continues, and you have Roosevelt's selling point with those opposed to his domestic policies. The danger against which the Roosevelt forces must guard is overconfidence. Registering the vote is not the same as casting the ballots. But the registration makes possible not only a Roosevelt victory but the election of a Congress which will give the President solid support in making the peace.

Outside the working-class vote in the cities, the President's strongest appeal is on foreign policy. Both the Atlantic and the Pacific seaboards are strongly internationalist, and the Middle West is much less isolationist than it used to be. This is the key to the President's strength in the normally Republican sections of New England. Dewey is expected to carry Maine and Vermont, though the President will run ahead of the state tickets in both, with a close vote expected in Maine and a "respectable" Roosevelt vote in Vermont. New Hampshire, with an industrial section in the southern end of the state, is expected to go for Roosevelt again, and the Democrats hope to pick up one Congressional seat there. They believe they have a strong candidate in Fortunat E. Normandin in the First District. The Democrats also think they can pick up one or two Congressional seats in Massachusetts and carry the state for the President. "In Boston," one Democratic politician put it, "the white-collar Irish and the professional Irish are off Roosevelt as they were off Wilson, but the working-class Irish will stay with the President." Registration in Boston closes on October 18. The latest figure I could get was as of October 4, when there were 349,000 registered as compared with 390,000 in 1940. With two weeks to close that gap, registration was expected to top 1940.

Roosevelt will, of course, carry Rhode Island. The President is expected to run well ahead of the ticket in Connecticut, but the Democrats hope to pick up two or three of the six Congressional seats in the state, which are all held by Republicans at present. (The Congressional "hopes" referred to in this survey in almost all cases reflect a long off-the-record talk with a Washington old-timer in close touch for many years with the Congressional picture. He is a Democrat but one of the best-informed political observers in the capital and conservative in his estimates.) Registration is good in Bridgeport, but a lot depends on the Socialist vote. Jasper McLevy is running for Governor, and there may be enough votes for the straight Socialist ticket to affect the result—and help Dewey—in a close election.

The first returns in the New York *Daily News* poll today, a poll with an excellent past record, show a very slight edge for Dewey, 50.3 per cent to 49.7 for Roosevelt. But the first returns cover neither Buffalo nor Albany, both strong Roosevelt cities. Total registration in New York City is only 173,847 under 1940, but with more than 375,000 soldier-ballot applications the total number of New Yorkers who can vote in the election is far above four years ago. Not all of this registration is a pro-Roosevelt factor. Of the five New York boroughs, Queens has the best registration showing. Normally Democratic, it went for Willkie in 1940 and has been a stronghold of fascist and isolationist crackpots. A few weeks ago Democrats were prepared privately to concede New York to Dewey. That is no longer true today. There will be a big Roosevelt majority in Albany, where there is much ill-feeling against Dewey, and in predominantly Polish Buffalo, where Republican State Chairman Jaeckle, the boss of Erie County, has antagonized the Poles. The Democrats think they can elect two new Congressmen in Buffalo, Dombrowski and Barnes. Roosevelt *can* carry New York. My guess is that he will.

Both the Democrats and the labor people with whom I have talked expect Roosevelt to carry Pennsylvania. In Philadelphia County registration is a little below 1940, 1,053,000 as compared with 1,116,000. With the soldier vote, however, the total number of ballots which can be cast is greater than in 1940. The second largest industrial county of the state, Alleghany (Pittsburgh), had almost 710,000 persons registered on September 30 as compared with a final registration of 741,000 in 1940. This year's final figures are not yet available, but the P. A. C. expects it to top 1940 by 30,000 or more. With a heavy vote in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee expects to pick up as many Congressional seats as were lost through the careful Republican redistricting of the state. The committee also hopes to pick up two seats in New Jersey, which looks as close as New York. The Democrats think they have a slight edge in the state. Hudson County (Hague) is expected to turn in its usual majority, enough to counterbalance Republican majorities downstate. The issue may be decided in Camden County, where the P. A. C. has been doing a vigorous job on registration. The figures there are expected to exceed 1940 by 10 or 15 per cent, but the final count is not yet available.

The Democrats expect to carry Delaware and pick up a Congressman there. Congressional prospects are not good in Maryland. Montgomery County has too many anti-New Deal wealthy "Washingtonians"; the Eastern Shore is "Democratic but peculiar"—the latter adjective an understatement; but the state is expected to go for Roosevelt.

The registration figures have made a sweeping change in the political outlook of the Middle West. When I was out there four weeks ago, the P. A. C. was still an unknown quantity and a wistful hope. There was a new confidence there last week. Final figures are not yet available in Ohio, but it looks as if they would be close to or above 1940, without counting 200,000 expected soldier ballots. In Washington it is now thought that Roosevelt may carry Ohio; in Ohio, Democrats and P. A. C.-ers feel sure that he will. "We're sure of Roosevelt," one laborite said; "now we're concentrating on beating Taft." If they get out the vote, the Democrats can pick up as many as seven Congressional seats in the state. Pro-Roosevelt forces are now equally confident in Michigan. Last Friday, with five days of registration left, there were 728,890 voters registered in the city of Detroit as compared with 722,207 in 1940. In addition, about 30,000 soldier ballots are expected. The figures available from upstate are not so good as that. Dewey's birthplace, Owosso, has 8,500 registered as against 7,200 in 1940. The P. A. C. concedes Owosso.

The Republicans in the Middle West now admit that Illinois is doubtful. The registration in Cook County was a surprise to everyone, and it is estimated that there are more than 200,000 new voters on the books. Downstate, Roosevelt is in a better position than he was in 1940. Registration is heavy in Peoria, East St. Louis, Rock Island, Moline, Decatur, and Springfield, and it looks as if the totals would be greater than in 1940. Scott Lucas has much Republican support downstate against the Chicago *Tribune* candidate, Richard J. Lyons, and is expected to run ahead of the President. Stephen A. Day, the darling of the America Firsters, has always run well behind the rest of the Republican ticket, and if Roosevelt carries Illinois, Emily Taft Douglas will probably succeed Day as Congressman-at-large. A Roosevelt victory in Illinois will give the Democrats from two to four new seats in Congress.

Middle Western Democrats no longer concede Indiana, Wisconsin, or Minnesota. In Indiana the industrial counties show increases in registration that run from 15,000 in Marion (Indianapolis) to 30,000 in Lake (Hammond, Gary, East Chicago). Roosevelt lost the state by only 25,000 in 1940. The turnout in Milwaukee, Madison, Racine, and Kenosha explains the changed outlook in Wisconsin. William T. Evjue of the Madison *Capitol-Times*, a grand old Progressive and a fighting liberal editor, expects Wisconsin to go for

Roosevelt. Wisconsin, like Minnesota, has been affected by Senator Ball's courageous refusal to go along with Dewey, and Roosevelt is now conceded a chance to carry Minnesota. Among the Stassenites in the Northwest one hears talk of "Roosevelt in 1944, Stassen in 1948—let's get rid of Dewey now." Unless I and a lot of other people are mistaken, it looks as if they would.

[*Mr. Stone has previously reported on the situation in the key Middle Western states of Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan.* The Nation *has also carried detailed studies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The reports on California, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the border states of Missouri and Kansas in the present issue round up our pre-election coverage from correspondents on the spot.*]

Votes, Jobs, and Taxes

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

NO OTHER issue in the campaign has raised so much smoke and disclosed so little fire as the question of post-war jobs. Both parties have glibly promised that there will be jobs for all if their candidates are victorious. And both have failed signally to tell *how* full employment is to be achieved in the post-war period. Since there were at least fourteen million unemployed when the last Republican President was ousted from the White House, and eight to ten million unemployed under a Democratic President at the beginning of the European war, the American voter might well maintain a Missourian's skepticism until the rival candidates tell more precisely how they intend to see that jobs are assured for ten million demobilized service men and twelve to fifteen million displaced war workers.

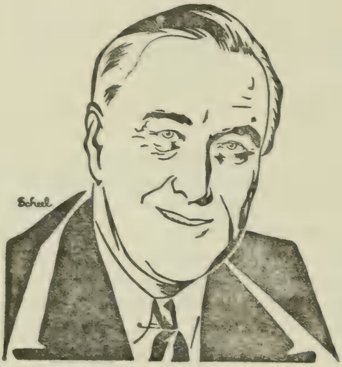
Mr. Roosevelt's general approach to the problem of jobs is of course known. It was tested in the recovery programs of the 1930's, and it is spelled out in some detail in the post-war recommendations of the National Resources Planning Board.

The recovery measures of the New Deal were based, not as Mr. Dewey would have us believe, on the "mature-economy" philosophy of a few rather sensational writers, but on the now generally accepted theories of Lord Keynes, Britain's most distinguished economist. The one consistent thread running through such New Deal measures as the NRA, the AAA, public works, the Social Security Act, the National Labor Relations Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the WPA, NYA, FSA, and CCC was a recognition of the necessity for increasing and maintaining the purchasing power of the low-income groups if the American economy was to operate on a high level. Governor Dewey has shown only contempt for this program. I have searched his speeches in vain for any clear recognition of the necessity for maintaining buying power, for raising subnormal living standards, or for planning public works to supplement private industry's efforts to create jobs. Mr. Dewey even goes so far as to assert that Mr. Roosevelt's approach to the depression of the 1930's was "defeatist" and was based on the assumption that "our task is not to build more goods but to fight among ourselves over what we have."

Just how "defeatist" the New Deal was may be seen from business statistics of the years in question. In 1932, the last year of Republican rule, the Federal Reserve index of industrial production was 58; the index for construction contracts was 28; the index of employment was 77.6. In 1940, before the influence of war contracts distorted the indices, the index of industrial production had risen to 125 (more than double the 1932 level); construction had jumped to 81 (triple that of 1932); and employment had advanced to 104.7. Consumer spending was higher in 1939 than in the boom year of 1929. Industrial profits had also shown spectacular rise; there were less than half as many business failures in 1939 as in 1929. For reasonable people this should dispose of the contention that the New Deal has "ruined" business.

Yet we cannot get away from the fact that recovery under the New Deal was only partial recovery. Mr. Dewey's strongest campaign point to date has been the Roosevelt Administration's failure to deal adequately with unemployment in the late 1930's. Although unemployment was reduced by at least 40 per cent during Mr. Roosevelt's first seven years in the White House, and almost 100 per cent as a result of the war, the record is not a satisfactory one. During those early years Mr. Roosevelt repeatedly compromised on the scope of his projects. Instead of providing jobs for all the unemployed, his public works, for example, never took care of even half of them.

Fortunately, however, Mr. Roosevelt appears to have learned from his mistakes. In any event, the responsibility for our lack of a clear post-war program rests not with the President but with Congress. A year and a half ago the National Resources Planning Board proposed a concrete and comprehensive plan for using the many powers of the government to raise living standards with a view to obtaining the greatest possible use of our resources and the maximum number of jobs. Specifically, it recommended that the minimum-wage idea be expanded to support and maintain purchasing power, that regional plans be set up for backward and depressed areas throughout the country, and that the social-security system be strengthened "to provide a standard of living that is not too widely at variance with what we like to think of as the 'American standard.'" Finally, to make sure that everyone willing and able to work should have a job, the board proposed the establishment of a permanent federal works agency whose duty it would be to provide real jobs, at full wages, for all workers unable to obtain employment in private industry. Other proposals were in the process of formulation by the NRPB, but the entire program was thrown out the window when Republicans and anti-New Deal Democrats in Congress joined forces to abolish the agency.



Mr. Dewey does not tell us how he would have cut down unemployment in the 1930's if he had been President during that period. And in speaking of the post-war period he is vague and confused. He seems to feel, as Mr. Hoover felt before him, that private enterprise if left alone can provide all the jobs required. "Certainly," he declares, the jobs "will not be found in the government itself." In opening his campaign in Philadelphia Mr. Dewey spoke airily about unlimited possibilities for the expansion of private enterprise. "Why, just take housing, for example," he declared. "If we simply build the homes the American people need . . . it will keep millions of men employed for years." He then went on to emphasize the tremendous pent-up post-war need for automobiles as a second great source of jobs.

The naivete of Mr. Dewey's whole approach to the job problem may be seen in the figures and illustrations that he himself chooses. Full employment, at the present level of population, means approximately sixty million jobs, or about fifteen million more than existed in 1939. "Millions" of these, Mr. Dewey says, will be provided in housing. Perhaps so. But it is interesting to note that in 1939, when it produced 515,000 non-farm houses, the housing industry employed only 650,000 in its peak month. After the war, Mr. Dewey says, we shall need to build a million houses a year, or approximately twice the 1939 production. According to my mathematics, this means a maximum of 650,000 new jobs—possibly a few hundred thousand more if indirect jobs are included. But Mr. Dewey skips over the essence of the housing problem—the fact that the private housing industry cannot build houses profitably for the groups that are most in need of new housing. If we are to depend solely on private enterprise, we shall not even approximate a million new houses annually.

Nor will the automobile industry take up the slack. In 1939, a relatively good year for it, average employment was only 394,000. While production in the first post-war years should greatly exceed the 1939 figure, technological advances will undoubtedly cut the number of man-hours per car substantially. Two or three hundred thousand new jobs are about all that can be hoped for in the industry.

Even this expansion in jobs cannot be achieved, Mr. Dewey admits, without some government action. The government must, he declares, provide "an economic climate in which business, industry, and agriculture can grow and flourish." Just what does he mean by "economic climate"? Obviously he is not talking about building up a purchasing power that will support a high level of business. Nor is he interested in public works to buttress and support the laggard construction industries. These are economic theories, dreamed up by economists and New Dealers; they have no place in Mr. Dewey's program of "economic freedom." Although he is never very precise about the kind of encouragement that he believes the government should give private business, Mr. Dewey provides us with a few clues. As a first step in encouraging business to provide more jobs he believes that "our repressive tax laws, which now operate to penalize incentive . . . must be drastically revised." Beyond this he would abolish the "government regulations which discourage and wear down producers in every field," and write laws "that are sufficiently simple and clear that men can know what they are allowed to do."

The latter suggestions are of course pure demagoguery. Everyone, including the New Dealers, is opposed to needless and hampering regulations. Everyone would like to see laws written as simply and clearly as possible. But clarity is not an exclusive possession of either political party. Neither the Republican business men who have studded the war-time agencies nor the Republican minority in Congress have had any better luck than the Democrats in obtaining clarity without loss of accuracy or precision. No measure drafted by a Democrat, for example, has suffered such widespread misinterpretation or produced such confusion as Senator Taft's attempt to write into the federal-ballot law a somewhat gratuitous ban on political activity by the army.

Stripped of verbiage, Mr. Dewey's plan for post-war jobs comes down to a proposal for the revision of our tax structure to encourage business. In his special tax broadcast, delivered on October 3, Mr. Dewey declared that one of the first acts of his Administration would be to "establish and proclaim a consistent national tax policy—one directed toward achieving full employment and a rising national income—one that will assure us of a solvent nation and the ultimate reduction of our national debt."

These are, of course, principles to which everyone can subscribe. But after this tremendous build-up Mr. Dewey lets us down with a crash when it comes to specific proposals. The new tax laws "under which America may once more live and grow" turn out to be nothing more drastic than a partial elimination of the war-time levies and a general reduction in taxes as a means of encouraging enterprise. To do Mr. Dewey full credit, it must be admitted that he advocates the eventual elimination of all excise taxes except those on alcoholic beverages, tobacco, and gasoline. But this wholesome proposal is not implemented by any suggestion for alternative means of raising needed revenues. In fact, after insisting that lower taxes are necessary to stimulate business, Mr. Dewey neatly begs the question of adequate revenue by declaring that it is better to have a low tax rate with a national income of $150,000,000,000 than a high rate with an income of only $76,000,000,000.

If we are to judge Mr. Dewey's economic program solely on the basis of his campaign speeches, we may conclude that despite his invectives against the bureaucrats and New Dealers he really is a mild New Dealer at heart. He has declared himself in favor of security regulation, bank-deposit insurance, support for farm prices, and the Wagner act. His suggestions for the revision of the social-security act are almost identical with specific proposals which were ignored by Congress when President Roosevelt incorporated them in his annual messages in both 1943 and 1944. And Mr. Dewey's tax program, boiled down, appears to differ from Mr. Roosevelt's peace-time tax policies only in being much more vague and in ignoring the necessity for adequate revenues.

A closer analysis of Mr. Dewey's proposals for tax revision suggests, however, that they may not be so innocent or so befuddled as they appear on the surface. Mr. Dewey's recommendations, although stated in vague and general terms, check point by point with those issued recently by the Committee for Economic Development. The C. E. D. program has some merit, but it fits in a little too nicely with the campaign now being waged by big business to abolish or greatly reduce the corporation tax—which is one of the main bulwarks of our present tax system. This campaign is being pushed with great vigor on the wholly unproved and unprovable premise that heavy corporation taxes cut down employment. Actually, a moderate tax on corporation *profits* adds nothing to the costs of production and would appear to have no effect on incentive. Although Mr. Dewey apparently does not consider it expedient to come out openly for the elimination of the corporation tax, his specific indorsement of much of big business's tax program and his constant use of such phrases as "our repressive tax laws" and "penalizing incentive" are apparently meant to convey to business men the impression that he supports their current campaign against corporate taxes. From a fiscal as well as a humanitarian standpoint, this campaign carries great, though largely unrecognized, dangers. If successful, it would not only shift the burden of taxation from the rich to the poor but encourage corporations to hoard their earnings rather than distribute them in dividends, where they would be subject to high surtax rates. A similar tendency toward corporation hoarding was responsible, according to Keynes and other noted economists, for the severity of the depression which followed the boom inspired by the Republican program for encouraging "enterprise" in the late 1920's. Nowhere in Mr. Dewey's speeches have I been able to find any recognition of the grave errors in policy which led to the Wall Street crash of 1929.

In assessing the quality of economic leadership that may be expected from the rival Presidential candidates, we must not forget the remarkable home-front generalship which President Roosevelt has provided during the war. While the President may be criticized for vacillation and weakness, possibly due to inexperience, in some of his anti-depression policies, he has fought vigorously to save America from the catastrophe of inflation. He showed both courage and skill in his long battle against the efforts of special interests—the cotton growers, the farm bloc, the oil interests, and certain sections of organized labor—to breach the stabilization front. His fight for a more adequate tax measure, which would have made possible lower taxes in the post-war period, will go down in history as one of the most long-sighted fights against great odds ever waged by a Chief Executive. The battle against inflation is not yet won. If the

European war extends into 1945, the outcome of the crucial home-front struggle will have greater influence on the prospects for reconversion and full employment than will any of the other developments we have considered.

Once again we do not know where Mr. Dewey stands. So far he has given no indication that he is even aware of the inflationary forces that have been created by the war. And he has been equally indifferent to the perils of deflation arising from a too sudden contraction in government expenditures in the post-war period. His silence on these issues is particularly disturbing in view of the reckless irresponsibility shown by the Republican minority in Congress on questions of fiscal policy. There was a time when the Republican Party was regarded as the party of sound finance. But this is no longer true. The same Republicans who only a few years ago were complaining about the size of the national debt and the threat to the stability of the dollar have supported the farm bloc and other special interests in their campaign to break the stabilization program, and have opposed the President's efforts to increase taxes so as to put war financing on a sound basis.

Mr. Dewey cannot, of course, be held responsible for all the sins of his party. But in the absence of a constructive program for stimulating domestic production, for raising buying power, for encouraging foreign trade, or for providing public employment in the transition period, American voters can hardly be blamed if they put his job promises in the same pot with Mr. Hoover's two chickens.

[*This is Mr. Stewart's second article on the chief issues of the campaign.*]

Russia's Post-War Policy

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Moscow, October 9, by Cable

FOUR American magazines and one book publisher have recently asked me for articles and a book on Soviet post-war plans. This, together with the many discussions on reconversion appearing in the American press, seems to indicate a widespread belief in America that victory is already in the bag and that the time has come to take up the problems of the peace.

No such views are held in the Soviet Union. Soviet newspapers publish no articles on reconversion. Persistent attempts by American correspondents to induce Soviet officials to talk on general post-war plans only provoke the counter-question: "Why can't you give your attention to shortening the war?"

Limited post-war plans are of course available. Architects have plans for rebuilding the destroyed cities; I described them in *The Nation* last August. Factory managers have plans for expanding or contracting production, though these are not given out. Almost every individual has plans for that desperately desired moment when it will again be possible to work for the fulfilment of personal hopes.

The Russians see victory as something very close but not yet won, something still needing an all-out effort. Even now the military decision could be qualified by carelessness, over-confidence, or lack of coordination among the democratic Allies. The time, cost, and conditions of victory are still undecided. And in the Soviet view these are the basic factors determining any post-war reconstruction plans. How many more Russian lives must be spent to conquer Hitler? How completely will the Allies cooperate to uproot Nazi influences in Europe? To what extent can the war-time cooperation of the Soviet Union, America, and Britain be continued as peace-time cooperation? To what extent can the friendship of states along the Soviet border be secured? Only when these things are known can the Soviet people begin to plan full peace-time production, which they all passionately desire. Meanwhile they are thinking about all the possibilities, and sometimes they are worrying lest, though they win the war, they should not quite win the peace.

It is in the light of peace-time needs that all Soviet policy toward the border countries, from Finland to Bulgaria, must be considered. Every intelligent Soviet citizen knows what this policy is; one need not ask the Kremlin. I have discussed it with dozens of persons, and they all say practically the same thing. They have not the slightest desire to Sovietize Finland, Poland, Rumania, or other neighboring states. Most Soviet citizens think their system is the best in the world and that eventually other countries will copy it, but they don't want to hasten the process. They regard American and British friendship with the Soviet Union as infinitely more important to world peace and progress than a Soviet Poland, Rumania, or even France. They know that a socialist revolution in any European country would strain and possibly break American-Soviet friendship. For this reason they have discouraged any immediate move toward socialization in the regions they have entered thus far.

The Soviet Union wants governments in the border states which will be sufficiently capitalist to win American and British recognition—and, incidentally, American financing, since obviously the Soviet Union has no surplus wealth—but which will be at the same time definitely "anti-fascist" and friendly to the Soviets. It wants them to serve, not as a *cordon sanitaire* between the Soviet Union and the Western world, but as a bridge.

At present Moscow is watching the American and British attitude toward Germany very carefully. There is considerable fear lest the Americans "turn soft" and permit the Nazis to escape full retribution for their crimes. Correspondents have just visited Tallinn, where they saw another of the human slaughterhouses which the Nazis maintained. This one was especially horrible because it had been used so recently—many dead bodies were lying around still unconsumed. Old men who had started to run, babies with their skulls crushed in surrounded a horrible funeral pyre. One woman correspondent who has made ten trips to the front told me she could not sleep for three nights after Tallinn.

The prevalent anxiety lest the Western Allies lean toward mercy and forgiveness for Germany has blossomed in two articles in a single number of that highly important weekly *War and the Working Class*, which is run by Trud, organ of the trade unions. Its contributors are scientists, writers, and trade unionists, not government officials, and it is therefore a highly authoritative but unofficial journal of Soviet public opinion. This week *War and the Working Class* includes an article on the strategy of "mercy," attacking recent statements by Sir Cecil Hurst, chairman of the United Nations Commission on War Criminals, and one against the Vatican's foreign policy. Neither article breathes a spirit of revenge or even of hate, but they make it plain that the Russians expect the pledge to bring war criminals to trial and punishment made at the Moscow conference two years ago to be literally and thoroughly fulfilled.

Military victory, in the opinion of all my Soviet acquaintances, is insufficient. Only the thorough extirpation of fascism in all its moral and political aspects can safeguard the future peace. The great drive to increase the productivity of Soviet industry and farming, the successive agreements with the border countries, Soviet insistence on the punishment of war criminals—all these are indivisible parts of that total victory which alone can repay the terrible cost of the war.

The Campaign in the West

California for Roosevelt

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, October 9

IN THE rough-and-tumble, wide-open political arena that is California one prediction seems reasonably safe—that Franklin D. Roosevelt will carry the state in November. Not only is California extremely war conscious, but the President's personal popularity has remained fairly constant since 1932. While extremely disappointed over the failure of the Democratic Party to renominate Henry Wallace, the important independent-liberal-progressive element in the state is solidly behind the President. Worthy of mention, in this connection, is the fact that Bartley Crum, prominent San Francisco attorney and Willkie's campaign manager in the state in 1940, has come out with an emphatic indorsement of the President. The Willkie Republicans in California will generally follow suit.

The major problem, from the outset, has been that of getting voters to register, but thanks largely to the efforts of organized labor this problem has been solved. Figures obtained on October 3 indicate that the registration in Los Angeles County, where the bulk of the voting strength lies, will be close to 1,850,000. This would represent the largest registration in the history of the county, approximately 150,000 larger than in 1940. Nearly 350,000 new registrations have been obtained in the county since the primaries. Of the county vote, it would appear that approximately 1,100,000 will be Democratic, 650,000 Republican, and the remainder made up of the minor parties plus those who "decline to state" their political affiliations. With the ratio 60 per cent Democratic to 36 per cent Republican, it would seem as certain as anything can ever be in a political race that California's electoral votes will go to Roosevelt. Even the Republicans, who have been systematically attempting to sabotage the "registration campaign," concede that the new registrations since the primaries represent predominantly labor, that is, pro-Roosevelt, votes. A major factor in the effort to get the voters to register has been, of course, the active campaign conducted by the C. I. O. What is more remarkable, however, is the strenuous effort put forth by the A. F. of L. I am informed that the A. F. of L. has spent $12 to every $1 spent by the C. I. O. However, the aggressive leadership of the C. I. O. has offset this discrepancy.

Despite the obvious handicap which the Republicans must contend against, there is no defeatism in their camp. They are well-organized, aggressive, and possessed of unlimited funds. Always better financed than the Democrats, they are spending with a lushness this year that indicates a war chest of gargantuan proportions. Pressure is being applied to every possible source of campaign funds, and undeniably the money is rolling in. The Republicans have powerful newspaper support also. According to *Editor and Publisher,* only seven newspapers in the state, with a combined circulation of 251,940, are for Roosevelt, whereas sixty-five newspapers, with a combined circulation of 2,177,182, are actively supporting Dewey.

Of particular interest in California is the role currently being played by our unhappy Governor, Earl Warren. Elected in 1942 as a "non-partisan" candidate, Governor Warren now finds himself in a most embarrassing position. The Republicans are clamoring for his active support; they insist in no uncertain terms that he discard the pretense of non-partisanship and "deliver." But it is rumored that the Governor is not particularly devoted to Dewey. At the Chicago convention he incurred the enmity of some of his chief supporters by declining to accept the nomination for Vice-President. He declined for a thoroughly sound reason—namely, he knew that California would vote for Roosevelt. While he was able to resist the pressure to accept the nomination, he now finds himself unable to get out of the obligation to support the Dewey-Bricker ticket. He shows a remarkable preference, however, for speaking assignments remote from California. This half-hearted support of the ticket is rapidly alienating some of his Republican backing. It is rather amusing, therefore, to witness the heat being publicly applied to Governor Warren by Raymond Moley in the columns of the Los Angeles *Times* (October 5): "Much of the responsibility for carrying California will rest, however, on the broad shoulders of Governor Warren. If he actively campaigns up and down the state and beats the bushes, as he did two years ago, he can win tremendous numbers of votes for Mr. Dewey. Certainly, he is needed here more than in Illinois and Ohio, where the national committee has sent him this week." Broad as Governor Warren's shoulders are, they are not quite that broad. For the Republicans are discovering that Warren has only one major political loyalty, and that is to his own political fortunes.

An important factor in the campaign in Los Angeles County has been the work of the Hollywood Democratic Committee, representing the employees of the motion-picture industry. This committee has no official connection with the Democratic Party but it supports all liberal, progressive, and pro-war candidates. Utilizing the talent at its disposal, the committee has conducted an extremely effective campaign. Efforts of some of the anti-labor and reactionary elements in the industry, not a few of whom have pronounced anti-Semitic tendencies, to break the hold of the Hollywood Democratic Committee have been ridiculously ineffective. These anti-Roosevelt elements put on a typically Hollywood show at the Coliseum meeting staged for Governor Dewey. With Cecil B. De Mille directing the performance, most of the trained seals of the industry were on hand to do their bit at the special instigation of L. B. Mayer and associates. It was this "talent show" that attracted the thousands of Angelenos who attended the meeting. Governor Dewey's speech provoked only faint applause. One of the appalling aspects of the campaign in Hollywood has been the spectacle of leading Jewish figures in the industry lining up with reactionary, crackpot anti-Semites to defeat Roosevelt. When reproached on this score recently, one Jewish producer said, "Oh, well, these boys won't be anti-Semitic after November—it's just politics."

Los Angeles County voters will probably retire a number of Congressmen in November—they very effectively retired John Costello in the primaries. At this writing it seems likely that Representative Ward Johnson, Republican, will be replaced by Clyde Doyle, a Democrat, in the Long Beach district; that Ned Healey, Democrat, will replace the red-baiting anti-labor Norris Poulson in the Thirteenth Congressional District; that the liberal Archibald Young has a reasonably good chance of defeating Representative Hinshaw (Pasadena Republican); that Representative Tom Ford, New Deal Democrat, will be succeeded by the actress Helen Gahagan, whose liberal activities are well known; and that Ellis Patterson will win easily over Jesse R. Kellems (Republican) in the Sixteenth Congressional District. If these predictions are sustained in November, the southern part of the state will have greatly improved the character of its representation in Congress.

A remarkable feature of the current campaign, particularly in the Thirteenth Congressional District, has been the grass-roots, neighborhood-by-neighborhood character of the effort. Without minimizing the role of the P. A. C., it is my impression that the organizing work has been largely spontaneous. The campaign is being waged by an army of aroused housewives who are ringing doorbells, telephoning incessantly, and plotting into the wee small hours. Tireless in their efforts, these women are fighting with almost no funds. In my experience in Los Angeles, which dates from 1922, I have never witnessed anything quite like it. It is particularly remarkable in a community notoriously made up of "newcomers" and "outsiders," where in the past there has been little neighborhood solidarity.

Criticism of the National Democratic Committee in general, and of Robert Hannegan in particular, has been widespread in California. One of the ablest and most experienced Democratic leaders in the state said to me recently that in his twenty-five years' experience in California this was the "most ineptly and stupidly managed Democratic campaign" he had witnessed. Virtually no assistance, financial or otherwise, has been provided by the National Committee. Despite this fact, however, California today would vote for Roosevelt by a substantial margin.

Wisconsin and Its Neighbors

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Milwaukee, October 10

A FEW weeks ago the Republicans in the North Central states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Indiana were entirely confident of winning for Governor Dewey. In each of these states the situation has now changed—though Indiana must still be rated "safe" for Dewey, barring a sustained last-minute Roosevelt drive.

The pre-election picture is almost identical in the three states: the farmers and small towns are for Dewey, and the industrial centers are for Roosevelt. The new hope for the President arises primarily from organized labor's belated success in its registration campaign. For this and other reasons, Republican master-minds have developed the jitters. Minnesota was upset by Senator Ball's denunciation of Dewey's foreign-policy evasions. The G. O. P. leaders in Wisconsin decided they needed a Dewey speech in industrial Milwaukee; they also requested, oddly enough, the organizing help of one of Harold Stassen's bright young men. Republican regional headquarters began to worry lest the Indiana organization should fail to appreciate the dangers of the rapidly developing P. A. C. registration drive.

The situation adds up, therefore, to an extremely close vote in each state. Though Dewey had previously been rated a favorite, the Roosevelt-Truman ticket is now gaining; independents and other "silent" voters may decide the issue either by the way they mark their ballots or—perhaps—by failing to mark them at all.

In Wisconsin the major question is who will get the Progressive Party vote. The Progressives took a beating in the August primary, receiving barely enough votes to keep the party's place on the November ballot. Two years ago they elected their candidate for Governor, but today the fight appears to be between Governor Goodland, the Republican nominee, and former Mayor Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee, the Democratic, with Goodland strongly favored. In the Senatorial race Senator Wiley, Republican isolationist, is challenged by Representative Howard J. McMurray, Democrat, and Representative Harry Southoff, Progressive, with McMurray having the better fighting chance.

The Progressive convention this year, under Senator La Follette's influence, refused to repeat its 1940 indorsement of Mr. Roosevelt. The best guess, however, is that most Progressives will vote for the President in preference to Dewey. Mr. Roosevelt is indorsed by the Progressive Congressional candidate in the First District and is supported of course by the internationalist group which backed his pre-Pearl Harbor policies.

Organized labor in Wisconsin has long been a powerful force, and it was educated to a high degree of political intelligence by the elder La Follette and Dan Hoan. This stood Roosevelt in good stead when local blunders by the C. I. O. Political Action Committee almost produced a serious split.

The P. A. C.'s Milwaukee leadership, in defiance of outside advice, rushed into the Democratic primary with indorsements and—worse yet—apparently tried to include doctrinal union politics. It attacked both Hoan and Andrew J. Biemiller, running for Congress in the Fifth District, whose old-time Socialist connections did not please some of the left-wing P. A. C. doctrinaires. When the P. A. C. again blundered by attempting to put over one of its defeated candidates as Democratic state chairman, Dan Hoan blew up—and the fight was duly reported in hostile newspapers. Common sense finally restored the United Labor Committee, composed of all union groups, which in 1940 was largely responsible for Roosevelt's 78,000 plurality in Milwaukee County—a plurality that beat Willkie's 53,000 outside the county. Milwaukee registration is now ahead of the comparable 1940 figure.

A bad situation has developed in the Fifth District, where the notorious isolationist Louis D. Thill, who was purged in 1942, may make a comeback. Mr. Roosevelt is far stronger than the Democratic ticket generally, and it is hard for candidates to reach his coattails since Wisconsin has a separate Presidential ballot. On the state ballot, as one local observer puts it, the voters habitually "scratch like hell."

The Minnesota Republican machine, intrenched in state power, had about decided it would obtain a small Dewey majority—overturning Roosevelt's 1940 plurality of 48,000—when Senator Ball upset their apple cart. Some ordinary voters even in Ball's home town were inclined to consider the Senator's statement erratic and unfortunate, but the G. O. P. leadership showed signs of fright and anger. One result may be the revival of foreign policy as an issue in Minnesota. Democratic candidates in Wisconsin and Indiana, if they attempt to exploit the Republican anti-preparedness and anti-security record, have an uphill battle, but the independent vote in Minnesota may be influenced by Ball to reexamine Dewey's brief pronouncements on foreign policy.

If that happens, it will be Roosevelt's second advantage. The first is the registration campaign in the Twin Cities. The union membership of Minneapolis and St. Paul can decide Minnesota's vote in the Electoral College, and it is much more active than the Democratic state committee. Even with the old Farmer-Labor Party remnants added, the organization is weak.

The President is the only Democrat conceded much of a chance. Governor Thye, running for reelection, is likely to win a big victory; the state delegation in Congress, with one exception, is already solidly Republican.

In Indiana there is intense anti-New Deal sentiment. The state voted for Willkie four years ago. Farmers north of Indianapolis fear the P. A. C., resent "regimentation," and are generally against the Administration. They liked Dewey's rear-platform speeches, on his return from the Oklahoma City speech, promising to sweep the New Dealers out. The new factor—the only one which creates any doubt about the state—is the sudden surge of registration in the industrial centers.

This has stimulated even the Democratic organization, which is not nearly so weak as in other Middle Western states. Governor Schricker, running for the Senate, is extremely popular personally, and he has conducted his state administration well despite the handicap of a Republican legislature.

The result is that in Indiana the state Democratic candidates are conceded a better chance than the President. Schricker's Republican rival for the Senate, Homer E. Capehart, was a major instigator of the abortive "grass-roots" anti-New Deal conference in 1938; in this campaign he is caricatured as a juke-box manufacturer. Senator Samuel D. Jackson, who was appointed by Governor Schricker to fill out the term of the late Senator Van Nuys, is the Democratic candidate for Governor, and his vote is expected to run close to the Schricker total. The situation of the Republicans was not improved when their convention chose as national committeeman a former Klansman, Robert W. Lyons, who was forced to resign by public reaction—including a courageous attack by Indiana's Republican Representative Charles M. La Follette of Evansville.

Democratic spellbinders profess to believe that the farmer is slowly drifting back to the Administration, but if the President carries the state, in defiance of advance surveys, the reason will be partly Republican failure to get the 75 per cent farm vote with which Dewey is credited and partly a truly unexpected outpouring of labor and independent votes.

Border States

BY MILBURN P. AKERS

St. Louis, October 10

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT may defeat Thomas E. Dewey in the state of Missouri. If he does—and at this writing it is by no means certain that he will—the victory will be solely that of Roosevelt the commander-in-chief; not that of Roosevelt the Democrat, as it was in 1932, or of Roosevelt the liberal, as it was in 1936. It will not even be that of Roosevelt the international statesman, as it was in 1940.

In a contest between Roosevelt the Democrat and Dewey the Republican the President would undoubtedly be defeated, for the Democratic Party in Missouri is in a sorry plight. He would be defeated in a contest between Roosevelt the liberal and Dewey the conservative, for liberalism, never of a hardy growth in this half Southern, half Midwestern state, has been confounded by the recognition accorded the St. Louis Hannegans and the Kansas City Pendergasts. He would be defeated in a contest between Roosevelt the advocate of world collaboration and Dewey the 1940 isolationist-nationalist and the 1944 devotee of the Gallup poll's revelation of declining Midwest nationalism.

If the President does win, the vote will be cast as an expression (1) of confidence in his conduct of the war, and (2) of the hope of thousands of parents that they are protecting their service sons and daughters against the dangers involved in changing commanders in the midst of war.

These imponderables are factors with which present-day political analysts are unacquainted. They have not been present in a Presidential contest since 1864. They make political prognostication—an inexact, uncertain science at best—utterly worthless where volatile states are concerned. And Missouri, contrary to popular belief, is volatile. In eleven Presidential contests between 1900 and 1940 inclusive, Missouri has given its electoral votes to the Republican nominee five times and to the Democratic nominee six times.

Ignoring these imponderables and considering only past performance, manifest trends, and the relative strength of rival organizations, one is forced to the conclusion that Missouri will go Republican on November 7. But in the same breath one adds that it might go Democratic if the party's strategists could better dramatize the commander-in-chief role.

Here are the facts which indicate that Missouri is headed toward the Dewey camp:

President Roosevelt carried the state in 1940 by a majority of 87,467. That was far below his 1936 majority of 413,152 and his 1932 majority of 460,693. Attrition, if it has proceeded for the past four years at the same rate, would more than wipe out a majority of 87,467. It would, in fact, give the state to Dewey with several hundred thousand votes to spare, unless the irreducible minimum of Democratic votes was reached, or approached, in 1940.

Since 1940 the Democrats, as a party, have not fared very well in Missouri. Much of their ill-luck is attributed to the attempt by the St. Louis Democratic organization, headed by Chairman Hannegan, to steal the Governorship that year. The Democratic nominee, strictly an organization man, was defeated, though the rest of the ticket won. The vote was close. So a Democratic-controlled legislature, responding to the wishes of the St. Louis bosses, tried to nullify the election of the Republican candidate by a bit of trickery. The liberal St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the equally liberal St. Louis *Star-Times* crusaded against such action. The citizenry was aroused. The attempted steal was thwarted finally by a Democratic state Supreme Court which unanimously rejected the political trick of a Democratic-controlled legislature.

The following year the St. Louis bosses lost control of the City Hall. In 1942 a Republican legislature was elected. The Republican nominee won the only statewide office at issue that year. Republican nominees have won all special elections held since 1940.

The Missouri electorate shuddered when Robert E. Hannegan, chairman of the repudiated St. Louis Democratic City Central Committee, was advanced to the national chairmanship of his party. It shuddered again when Senator Harry S. Truman was nominated for the Vice-Presidency. The evils of the Kansas City Pendergast machine, which gave Truman his political start, were still fresh in its memory. In fact, when the Senator won reelection in 1940 by a majority of 54,399 votes, his running-mates, with the exception of the defeated candidate for Governor, won by majorities exceeding 100,000. It is said that Senator Truman has gained new respect through his chairmanship of the committee investigating the conduct of the war. That may be so, but since his standing in 1940 was some 30,000 votes below that of President Roosevelt and some 50,000 votes below that of most other Democratic nominees, it is difficult to see how his candidacy can add anything to the President's strength in Missouri.

Another factor must be considered. Missouri has had a Republican Governor since 1940. That means that both in the state and in the St. Louis City Hall a payroll machine is now functioning in behalf of the Republican Presidential nominee. In 1940 the Democrats had that advantage.

It is only because of the imponderables arising from the war that Missouri belongs in the doubtful category. Its irreducible Democratic strength may be large enough to bring a fourth-term victory if there is any considerable potency in the commander-in-chief argument. That is where Missouri differs from neighboring Kansas. In Kansas the irreducible Republican vote is undoubtedly larger than the irreducible Democratic vote. In Missouri the political benefits of the commander-in-chief role would have to be, for example, but 25,000 or so votes to give the state's fifteen electoral votes to Roosevelt. In Kansas the increment from the commander-in-chief role would be insufficient for victory unless it exceeded 75,000 votes.

Having stated that none should try to predict the outcome of the election I shall now do so, fully aware of the many opportunities for error. I believe that in Missouri the commander-in-chief role will be sufficient, despite many contrary influences, to carry President Roosevelt through to another victory; in Kansas it will not be strong enough to take the state's nine electoral votes out of the Republican column into which they found their way in 1940.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

CODE BY CODE, the NRA has brought together industries for "self-government" on a vertical basis. It becomes all the more imperative, therefore, that the A. F. of L. should free itself from ancient subservience to craft concepts and begin to transform itself on industrial lines. Only thus can organized labor, unskilled standing side by side with skilled, make common cause against organized capital. This is the basic issue with which the A. F. of L. convention of 1934 must reckon.—*October 3, 1934.*

THE SUDDEN RESIGNATION of the Samper Cabinet on October 1 leaves the Spanish Republic confronted by the gravest crisis of its history. . . . It is doubtful whether President Alcalá-Zamora can form any government which can command general support. Yet failure means that civil war is inevitable.—*October 10, 1934.*

WITHIN THE BOUNDS of its immediate objective the TVA looms impressively. . . . The whole region affected directly or indirectly by the TVA can rejoice over a voluntary reduction in recent months of power rates by private utility companies amounting to $16,000,000 a year. . . . The reduction in five years will equal the sum already allocated to the TVA.—RAYMOND GRAM SWING, *October 10, 1934.*

SHORT OF AN OUTBREAK of actual hostilities, no news from the Far East could be more disquieting than the recent appearance of an official pamphlet, published and widely circulated by the Japanese army, urging a vast increase in armaments together with a drastic reorganization of the nation's economic structure. . . . It is possible that the appearance of the pamphlet may indicate that the reactionary elements at last feel themselves strong enough to challenge the bourgeois-parliamentary system which they have so long denounced. Should this be true, the danger to the outside world can scarcely be overstated.—*October 17, 1934.*

ESCAPE from the bughouse of so-called civilization! CONTACTS, correspondence club for the mentally marooned, connects you with over 1,100 members who are debunked of most of the pretty fables morons are fed. Unusual books loaned. Send 3c stamp. (ADVT.).—*October 17, 1934.*

PERHAPS THE MOST NAIVE of the many panaceas which are being brought forward as solutions of our economic difficulties is the old-age pension scheme devised by Dr. F. E. Townsend of that most remarkable of states—California. —*October 24, 1934.*

IF THE OPPONENTS of Upton Sinclair have left any stone unturned to prevent him from becoming Governor of California, we have not heard about it. . . . The Republican Attorney General has instigated actions in Los Angeles County to strike from the registration rolls 100,000 or more names, most of them from downtown working-class districts. The burden of proof rests upon the registrants, and it is physically impossible to hear anything like 100,000 cases before election day.—*October 31, 1934.*

The Negro Waits to See

BY WALTER WHITE

AS NOVEMBER approaches, the Presidential race seems to be too close for partisans of either side to take comfort. For a variety of reasons, internal and external, no racial or economic bloc in this year's elections is more undecided, nor does any group have a better chance to swing a reasonably close election, than the Negroes. They do not want to be a racial bloc; they would prefer to vote as citizens, as individuals. But the Negro has been forced to think and to vote racially by the discriminations to which he is subject, by the coalition of Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats in Congress, and by the new awareness of race which the war has created throughout the world. The political lynching of Wendell Willkie by the Old Guard Republicans and of Henry Wallace by the equally Old Guard Democrats was fought more consistently and is resented more deeply by the Negroes than by any other group of voters.

But let no one believe that the mass of Negro voters are thinking in terms of "a plague on both your houses." They are not talking about going fishing on Election Day. The Associated Press prediction of a sharp slump in the number of votes this year does not apply to Negro voters—except those in the armed services, who, because of the connivance of Republicans with Southern Democrats, will not be able to vote. The Negro has been too deeply stirred by continued discrimination in the midst of a war for human freedom and is too apprehensive about the post-war situation to stay home on Election Day. He will vote, and with certain concrete aims in mind.

Negroes don't expect too much from either party. They know that whatever they get they will have to fight for. They know also that their chances of success depend in considerable measure on general social and economic progress. These considerations will influence their votes next month.

They want full political equality—the same right to vote as white men, the right to run for elective offices and to be considered for appointive offices.

They want full civil equality—equal access to the protection of the law, and an end to Jim Crow in transportation, hotels, restaurants, recreation and entertainment, and all public facilities. They want an end to restrictive housing covenants—this could be made a condition of federal financial assistance—and they don't want any so-called "equal but separate" accommodations; separate accommodations are by that very fact unequal.

They want full equality of educational opportunity—access to the same schools, and equal pay for Negro teachers at all levels.

They want full equality of employment opportunity—the all too familiar spectacle of the Negro college graduate working as a messenger boy or a dishwasher must go. This is a responsibility of management and of organized labor as well as of government.

Negroes know that federal action is essential in all these fields. They know that the states have demonstrated their inability or unwillingness to take effective action. They know too that the modern technique of those who don't want a thing done is not to say they are against it but to say, "Let the states do it."

Some progress has been made since 1940. It has been due almost entirely to pressure by the Negroes themselves, and it has strengthened their determination to continue the fight. The Supreme Court decision in the case of *Smith* v. *Allbright* has opened the Texas and Arkansas ballot boxes to Negroes in primary and general elections and has promised an end of disfranchisement throughout the South within two years. It has enormously stimulated political consciousness and a sense of political power among Negroes in seventeen Northern and border states which together have 280 electoral votes. If Negroes vote *en bloc* they can determine the choice of President and Vice-President, Senators and Representatives, in almost 150 Congressional districts.

Against terrible odds, in the face of the prejudices of many employers and even of some unions, the Negro has battled his way into industry. Mass action brought the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices into being, and mass pressure has had to be exerted continuously to prevent sabotage of that agency. Riots and anti-Negro strikes in Detroit and Philadelphia and Lockland, Ohio, have embittered but not discouraged the Negro in his fight for a job. They have strengthened his resolution, because he knows that after "the war for democracy" is won he will have to face more determined opposition than ever in many areas of the United States. He knows that the crude diatribes of the Rankins and the Hoffmans alike are designed to recruit members for anti-Negro, anti-labor outfits like the Ku Klux Klan.

Negro voters are embittered by the continued humiliation, physical violence, and death visited upon Negro soldiers in the South; by the blunt refusal of the Department of Justice to act in cases like that of Private Edward Green, who was killed by a bus driver in Alexandria, Louisiana, on March 19. The War Department declared that "considering the testimony of all the witnesses and the circumstances surrounding the case, the conclusion is inescapable that there was no justification,

THE *Nation*

America's Opportunity to Create and Maintain Lasting Peace

Excerpts from Addresses at The Nation Associates Conference, New York, October 7, 8.

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1. THE ELECTION AND AMERICA'S FUTURE

The Challenge of the Election

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

I AM HAPPY to open this first conference of The Nation Associates. The warm response to our invitation shows how keenly aware people are of the immensity of the stakes tied up in the Presidential campaign under way. We all realize what we are up against. And realizing it we are concerned to understand in all their difficult detail the problems that face us, so that we may act with intelligence and courage as citizens of the most powerful democratic nation in the world.

The problems singled out for consideration at this conference are those of international political relationships, internal economic relationships, and those human relationships involved in differences of race, religion, and political persuasion. Within this broad area I want to touch briefly on a single theme: the need of electing a Congress which will support the President in launching and defending the peace.

Most of us here probably favor an amendment authorizing the ratification of treaties by a Senate majority or, at most, by a majority of both houses. But the chances are that no such change can be made before the time comes for the United States to agree—or refuse—to join a new association of nations. And in that case, thirty-three Senators, if the entire membership is present during the vote, can prevent our participation—can, indeed, vote down any treaty of peace.

How many isolationist Senators the next Congress will include depends on us. According to an estimate by James Loeb in the *New Republic* of 61 incumbent Senators whose terms will continue after November, 14 are classified as isolationists and 12 as doubtful. Of the Senators who are running for reelection, 7 are considered isolationists and 5 are doubtful. My arithmetic is weak but I can do simple addition and subtraction. If all the doubtful Senators who remain in office should vote isolationist, we would have 26 lined up against American participation and only 7 would have to be elected. But perhaps the doubtful should be given the benefit of the doubt. Let us assume that six of the twelve will vote for participation; that will give us twenty oppositionists already in—a figure that indicates the desperate need of defeating the twelve with bad or checkered voting records who are standing for reelection.

Unfortunately it looks as if several of these men stand a good chance of election. And so it is not enough to work for their defeat. We must work just as hard to defeat the isolationists who are running for the first time. In some cases these contenders are difficult to classify, having established no clear records which can be examined. But assiduity on the part of the voters will overcome this difficulty. A few flat questions on his position regarding international affairs should be put by civic and voters' organizations and newspapers to every Senatorial candidate, old and new. And let us not allow for equivocation. Let us pin these men down. Every one of them, believe me, will say he loves peace and thinks the United States should have a hand in keeping it. What we must watch out for are qualifications that nullify general commitments.

In these sessions we shall have a chance to debate the actual structure of the peace that will be made or wrecked by the members of the next Senate. We shall discuss the form a world organization should take; the question of the balance of power between small and large states; the crucial relationship between the success of any world organization and our government's policy toward the political forces struggling for power in every country. We shall discuss the relationship of empire to peace. But these problems are purely intellectual if we cannot assume that this country will accept the basic obligation to deal with them which is implied in our participation in an international security plan. Acceptance of that obligation is a prerequisite to all improvements, small or revolutionary.

We are citizens of a democracy. The decisions we must make are as final and unarguable as the decisions made by dictators where democracy does not exist. It is in the full realization of our immense power and our staggering responsibility that we are gathered together in this conference. Let us use the discussions of these sessions to make our citizenship more effective—and our vote more intelligent on November 7.

Congress and the Peace

BY HON. FIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA

Mayor of the City of New York

ONE of the fundamental problems Congress will have to face is concerned with our welfare and the welfare of the world. Some countries have not had enough to eat. We have had surpluses. Other countries have had surpluses. And people will not go hungry any more. That goes for our own domestic economy, and that goes for people in other lands throughout the world. Therefore, Congress will have to face this in cooperation with other countries, first those in our own hemisphere and then beyond.

Congress will have to provide a pool of so-called surpluses. I say so-called surpluses because we really do not know how much surplus of any given commodity we have at any given time. We know how much surplus we have had of commodities above and beyond the purchasing power of our people. But that does not mean that all of our people were properly and sufficiently fed or clad or housed.

In order to determine what surplus exists, we must first ascertain what domestic need is. Not by purchasing power, because that may fluctuate, but by the actual need of every man, woman, and child in the country.

For instance, let us take wheat. We know how much bread a person should have, and a child should have. Take that amount and multiply it by the population and you will have the required amount of wheat that we really need. Beyond that you have your surplus.

And the same reasoning can be applied to dairy products and cotton. If our children had all the butter and milk they required for good health, if they had the clothes they required for warmth and self respect, there would probably be no surpluses today. But if we use our full productive capacity and meet these human needs we shall have surpluses. Then the problem is to decide the best way of exchanging them for the surpluses of other countries. I propose that after this war Congress should make it a first aim to create a sort of National Surplus Commodities Corporation for the pooling of surpluses. And there should be a corresponding corporation for this hemisphere to handle its total surplus products. This would go a long way toward eliminating want and bringing about international stability.

Now, that is up to Congress. The program of Congress, the leadership, must be provided by the Executive and negotiations carried out through the State Department. But all of that is so completely new and requires such drastic changes in our economic habits that it will demand an intelligent approach on the part of Congress and legislation to give force and to give effect to any such world plan.

I fear very much that, after the war is over, we shall go back to our old thinking habits. I have lived through such a period. I was in Congress before the last war. I was in Congress after the last war, and we all saw the trend. Last time, unfortunately, we did not know enough. This time, we have the experience of the previous war. And just as sure as we are sitting here, unless there is a satisfactory arrangement for the exchange of food and goods and commodities, so that people of all countries can live decently, we are going to have trouble again.

Just stop to consider that the war is costing us now an average of $288,000,000 a day. Give me four days of that and what we can do for housing in our country! Give me one day of that and what we can do for public health, for five years, six years, maybe ten years! Give me one day of that, or give me two hours of that, and what we can do for education in our country!

Don't you see how we failed in the past? Don't you see how it is possible to correct mistakes of the past? Don't you see the opportunity the next Congress has? I would sooner be a Congressman from a third rate city than Mayor of a first class city.

What the Negro Hopes For

BY HENRY LEE MOON

Former Regional Racial Relations Adviser to the Federal Public Housing Administration

WHAT the Negro hopes for in the post-war world is simple and obvious. His hopes may be summed up in a phrase—full equality and the end of Jim Crow. In this, the race is united as never before. Indeed, the attainment of that goal is today more than a mere hope. It is now the grim determination of all elements within the race.

We must have the right to work, to be upgraded, to occupy any position for which we may be individually qualified by training, experience, and skill. In the field of politics, the Negro expects those political rights guaranteed to every American by the Constitution. Denial of political rights imposes a status of second-class citizenship, which the Negro is no longer willing to accept. Finally, and urgently, we must have equal educational opportunity. Our children must have facilities and instruction equal to those offered to other children of the nation.

Our struggle must be for equality with meaning. Such equality requires the raising of the social, economic, and cultural levels of the common people throughout this country. In a word, that means we must have a new society in which poverty can be abolished and racial conflicts eliminated. If we are to end job discrimination, we must first achieve full, stable employment. Then there will be no mad scramble for jobs; no need to exclude large bodies of workers because of race, sex, creed, or national origin; no fear of insecurity. Were there decent homes enough for all the people of America, it would be impossible to crowd Negroes or other racial minorities into the back alleys and filthy slums of our great industrial cities. Our slums and blighted areas could be cleared.

Despite the bitter opposition of entrenched reaction, President Roosevelt's program of social legislation has contributed immeasurably to the advancement of the common people of this country. The New Deal has not only recognized the need for raising the economic, social, and cultural levels of the masses of the American people, but it has also been aware of the special disabilities under which the Negro minority lives. Discrimination in employment has been curbed. Negro personnel has been appointed in many agencies to see that Negroes enjoy full benefits of the legislation.

It is for this reason that I believe the majority of Negro voters will recognize the need for reelecting President Roosevelt and giving him the kind of Congress that will enable the Administration to go forward in this drive for equality of opportunity.

What the Jew Hopes For

BY STEPHEN S. WISE

President of the American Jewish Congress

REMEMBERING that the Jew today is homeless, suffers from actual political, physical homelessness in all the lands of the earth, excepting our own country, the Soviet Union, Britain, liberated France, and the satellite countries as one after the other they begin to be freed, what is our hope? What are the possible solutions of the Jewish problem?

Well, there was Hitler's solution, extermination, and he has done a mighty good job. But I think it is rather generally felt, excepting by fascists in our country and in all countries, that extermination is not the most decent solution of a problem.

Now, there is another attitude towards the problem of the Jew, and that is to assent to a wrong done to the Jew, as witnessed, I am sorry to say, by the non-organization in any real sense of rescue and of migration. I know there is an attempt at rescue, and I should be most ungracious if I failed to acknowledge the admirable service of the War Refugee Board under the leadership of Mr. John W. Pehle. But it is all too little and it is all too late.

There is one door that could be opened, but it is virtually shut. There is no more than a trickle through that crevice, namely, the door that opens into Palestine. I am not speaking of the White Paper. I assume that is as dead as Methusaleh or as Munich but, after all, the doors to Palestine are not open. At present, it has become almost too late to make the opening of those doors meaningful and effective. There are still some thirteen or fourteen thousand certificates even under that wretched White Paper, that wretchedly unjust White Paper, thirteen or fourteen thousand places which could be filled.

Here is the Jewish hope: that after the World War, the United Nations, with the approval and cooperation of all the nations of civilization, will declare that Palestine is to be a Jewish National Home, and that that Jewish National Home shall take the form of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

My people deserve reparation from a Christian world, if there be a Christian world, a Christian world which ought to say to us Jews, "Of course, you Jews are going to have equality of rights and opportunity everywhere, because we of civilization have come to know that the anti-Jew is the anti-democrat." If we lived in a Christian world, anti-Semitism would cease to be an effective weapon of fascism, but as long as we live in a world which is Christian in name and Christ-less in truth, anti-Semitism will remain one of the most deadly, effective weapons of fascism, of every anti-democratic hope and yearning and passion in the world.

Small Business After the War

BY GEORGE J. SEEDMAN

National President, American Business Congress

THE first thing that small business needs is cooperation from government, big business, the farmer, and labor. Through cooperation we can find the meeting ground where the just interests of each group can be coordinated without injustices to any group.

Second, we must have representation by a genuine spokesman drawn from the ranks of small business on every government board or agency dealing with the problems of the businessman.

Third, we expect our government to take an active and continuing interest in our well-being. If the necessities of business life are denied to small people by those in control of the necessities, then our government must make those necessities available to us.

Fourth, we must be protected against financial disaster resulting from war dislocations. We must have the same safeguards and quick financial settlements for the smallest subcontractors as for the largest prime contractors.

Fifth, we seek the control of monopolies and we urge by the effective use of our anti-trust laws the destruction of every tendency toward monopolies which threaten our democratic system.

Sixth, we must have effective assistance from our government at the proper time. We cannot condone tardiness in bringing corrective action if that tardiness results in the liquidation of thousands of small businessmen.

Seventh, we must have equitable taxation so that small businessmen are permitted to retain in their business sufficient cash reserves to tide them over the difficult periods of reconversion to a peacetime economy.

Eighth, small businessmen must be able to secure justified money loans for a sufficient period of time and on terms permitting profitable use of such borrowings.

Ninth, small businessmen must have access to the guidance which big businessmen can afford to buy in management, financing, manufacturing technique, personnel training, labor relations, merchandising, and sales promotion.

Tenth, large-scale unemployment and economic depressions in the United States must be averted if the small businessman is to increase his span of life.

What the Farmer Hopes For

BY PAUL SIFTON

Director of Labor and Public Relations of the National Farmers Union

WHAT do farmers hope for in the post-war world? What do they fear?

First, I think all farmers, even big farmers, hope for peace, lasting peace. Some farmers hope for a peace of cooperation among nations, a peace that will last because it is based upon economic, political, and social justice. Other farmers, fearing the wartime cooperation among the United Nations will melt away when peace comes, are prepared for a return to pre-war conditions, to high tariffs, to an isolationist imperialism in which we would sell but would not buy.

Second, many farmers hope that full production and employment can be carried over into the post-war. Some others would like to continue full production but would prefer to have some unemployment; it would be easier to get more labor at lower wages.

Members of the National Farmers Union, on the other hand, hope and work for a post-war in which full use will be made of all human and material resources, full production, full employment, fair distribution, and full consumption. Our president, James G. Patton, has proposed legislation to insure a post-war national production level of $200 billion a year.

Third, we hope that the successful TVA will be used as a pilot operation for the nation, in the Missouri, Arkansas, Columbia, St. Lawrence, and all the other river valleys of the nation. By genuine regional administration, we will by-pass the futile debate over state and federal rights, powers, and efficiency.

Fourth, most farmers want some stabilization of prices, wages, and profits. We hope, and will continue to insist, that farm production goals be based on an adequate diet for all our people, plus reasonable foreign needs and markets for our foods and fibers.

Fifth, we hope, and will continue to insist, that credit at reasonable rates and terms, and with up-to-date technical assistance when necessary, be made available to all farmers, to returning veterans, and to farmers' cooperatives by such agencies as the Farm Security Administration and the Banks for Cooperatives.

Sixth, we hope, and will insist, that farm people achieve parity of living with other groups, in income, in new housing, electrification, health, medical care and hospitalization, social security, and education. The first step, long overdue, is the divorce of the Extension Services from private farm organizations.

Seventh, finally, and dependent upon our success in achieving the national well-being described above, we believe that cooperation in the international field will give us lasting peace, a peace in which mankind, instead of fighting over artificial man-made scarcities, will share the natural abundance which now, for the first time in all history, is available to everyone—if we can learn to live with abundance and like it.

Labor's Stake in the Post-War World

BY JAMES B. CAREY

Secretary-Treasurer, Congress of Industrial Organizations

WE RECOGNIZE, and certainly the C. I. O. emphasizes, that the worker is the basis of the whole American economy. Today, according to Treasury figures, we have 64 million wage-earners of all categories in the United States, but there are 21½ million getting less than $1,000 per year. There are 44½ million getting between $1,000 and two thousand dollars a year. In other words, 70 per cent of the wage earners of the United States are getting less than $2,000 a year even during a period when war has forced our economy to operate at high levels.

Labor has made some progress, however. The C. I. O. is doing a job with Negroes and women and wage earners in general, doing a job in the interest of the entire nation, and our demands for the future are modest. We expect to receive a minimum wage of 65 cents an hour acquired by legislation, and, in addition, by the economic strength of the workers in this country.

We expect, in addition to that, to increase the wages of all the workers and give our businessmen the confidence that they need through a guaranteed market resulting from a guaranteed annual wage at high enough levels to keep our industries in operation.

Now, our people are talking full production and full employment and providing job opportunities for the veterans returning from the military areas in the world, and for women. But I for one, am not too certain that we are going to have the idealistic world we have been talking about one day after military hostilities cease, because we have an important job to do on the political front. The wage question today is a political question. The reconversion question is political. The question of unemployment pay for displaced war workers is political.

In 1942, 22 million fewer people voted than had voted in 1940. And the smallest percentage of voters in 1942 was from the industrial workers. We got just what we deserved and afterwards, when we analyzed that vote, we decided to do something about it. So we organized the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, and we told our people to roll up their sleeves and get their hands a little dirty, but to see to it that this time the workers go to the polls and vote.

Labor knows there is a hard fight ahead—first to push the war to a speedy, victorious close and then to put as much brains, energy, work, and resources into the war against poverty, depression, and unemployment. Labor knows there will be just as hard a fight to prevent future wars as there has been to win this one. That is why this election is of such vital import.

[*The brilliant address on* The New Europe *presented by Charles A. Davila, former Rumanian Minister to Washington, carries such a challenge that it will be reprinted in full in a coming issue of* The Nation.]

2. FOREIGN POLICY AND WORLD ORGANIZATION

The Basis of World Order

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Professor of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary

THE two basic requirements for world peace are order and justice. Minimal order in the world can be established only by the preponderant power of the great nations who now have the effective strength to bring the war to a successful conclusion. This order can be made just only if it is prevented by constitutional forms from becoming oppressive to the small nations.

Thus the two basic requirements of peace—order and justice—demand in the context of current events a stable three- or four-power accord on the one hand and on the other a broader accord of all the nations. Idealists are afraid that the great powers may achieve a partnership at the expense of the small powers and thus fasten a super-imperialism upon the world. But there is a greater danger that they will not reach a significant accord at all. To do so, they must arrive at agreements on how the continents shall be organized which will obviate the fears that one side is trying to organize the world against the other. If they are to succeed in doing this at all they must do it by drawing the smaller powers into the accord. A genuine European agreement, for instance, cannot leave out France. There is therefore less danger that the powers will organize a super-imperialism than that they will reach only superficial agreements which will fail to guarantee a stable peace.

The difficulties are primarily not juridic but political. When Russia makes the seemingly absurd demand at Dumbarton Oaks that each of the great powers shall have the right to decide whether or not it is to be defined as aggressor, this is ridiculous from a juridic standpoint. What it means politically is that no basic accord has been reached on the whole organization of Europe; and Russia is afraid that she might be declared the aggressor by her former partners in her dealings with Poland and the Baltic states. Thus the impossible juridic demand is in fact a revelation of a deep chasm of mutual mistrust between the great powers.

The real difficulties in arriving at a basic accord between the great powers as far as Europe is concerned are profound. One difficulty is political. A creative solution of the European problem would tend to raise up Europe as an entity (with France as the probable center of European power) against the three quasi- or non-European powers who now control the world. The other difficulty is economic. A creative solution of the European problem requires a degree of social control of property which the prejudices of the rich Anglo-Saxon powers abhor; but it requires something much less than communist totalitarianism. The fear of the rich democracies of the revolutionary and democratic ferment in Europe has been amply evidenced by our policy; and it gives Russia a tremendous advantage over us on the Continent. For Russia intends to harness this revolutionary temper. On the other hand Europe is sick of tyranny. Its abhorrence of tyranny would give democracy a great advantage if the Anglo-Saxon powers had the imagination to recognize that impoverished Europe cannot be rebuilt in the image of the great victorious powers.

The primary hazard to a stable peace from our perspective thus arises from the economic and political power impulses of the great nations. These power impulses do not threaten the world with super-imperialism, however. They threaten the world with the anarchy of rival imperialisms. If these impulses are held in check a stable world is possible.

From the American perspective the second great hazard to a stable peace comes not from the power impulses of the great nations but from the irresponsible idealism of American liberals and internationalists who are already asserting that we must not underwrite a peace unless it is a good peace, by which they mean a perfect constitutional system. They do not see that our irresponsibility is one of the chief causes of the difficulty between the great powers. We are attempting the most difficult task mankind has ever faced; and we cannot expect to do more in our generation than to lay minimal foundations. The task will become quite impossible if the nation which now has more power that any other, throws itself and its power into the world community in times of crisis and withdraws its power irresponsibly after the crisis. The mark of maturity among men and nations is willingness to assume continuing responsibility. Those of us who see the great perils of American power impulses must not allow our apprehensions to drive us into the camp of irresponsible nationalists who have opposite reasons from our own for seeking to evade international commitments.

America's Responsibility for World Peace

BY MANLEY O. HUDSON

Judge, Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague

THE problem of preventing a third world war presents itself to our generation as a staggering challenge. Unless we would fritter away the great opportunity of our time, unless we are willing to lose a peace bought with such toil and sacrifice, we must mobilize the intelligence of mankind in organizing the world of States to safeguard the security of all peoples.

We shall proceed, of course, with serious limitations. Chief of them, perhaps, is the fact that we must act before the healing of the rifts which the war has produced, while we ourselves are in the grip of war psychology. In the years following 1919, most of us were only too conscious of the serious consequences of war psychology on the

Treaty of Versailles. Yet few of us now seem to appreciate that our current effort may suffer in a similar way. It may be of some help to us to take note of the fact, to foresee that our prevailing ideas will undergo many changes in the years to come, and to realize that we cannot hope to foist on the future the conditions which now obtain.

Another limitation with which we must strive is perhaps as serious. The world will not stand still tomorrow. No generation can bind its successors in a straitjacket. Each generation will insist, as ours insists, on meeting its own problems in its own way.

We in the United States shall have made a great gain if we can be spared from another partisan struggle such as that which paralyzed our action in the 1920's. To a large extent, our chief political parties are now united upon a general objective of international organization. To preserve that unity must be a prime consideration of our present-day effort. It can easily be dissipated, and we should not ignore the possibility. Difficulties will arise not so much from avowed opposition as from apprehensions of fanciful dangers. And it may be well to remind ourselves, after our experience of twenty-five years ago, that no one nation may be able to get all it wants in international negotiations, even if its people are unanimous in the desire.

I think we may now lay it down that there will be no general international organization in the near future unless the people of the United States are willing to take part in it in a measure commensurate with our power and prestige. Once we have taken a decision to that effect, a host of issues which we have debated over the last quarter of a century will vanish overnight.

The Problem of Security

BY GRAYSON KIRK

Professor of Government, Columbia University

NEW factors which have entered into our modern world have changed the basis of national security. The course of this war has demonstrated how important a factor a nation's industrial power is in its military potential. The ultimate defeat of Germany and Japan rests firmly on the combined industrial strength of the United States, the British Commonwealth, and Russia. Never before in the history of the modern state system has so much power been concentrated in the hands of three states. These changes have a definite bearing on the security position of small and non-industrial states and have rendered obsolete certain factors which previously were considered important aids to national security. As long as power remains concentrated in a solid organization of the three or four major industrial states which now constitute the core of the United Nations group, the national security of the United States is guaranteed. If this pool of power is dispersed, then the national security of the United States may be threatened by a possible recombination of power directed against her.

When we think of the framework within which intelligent planning for post-war security can be carried out, we see that it is equally impossible to return to a purely national basis of security or to the loose international arrangements represented by the League of Nations. Equally unrealistic is it to think of the complete dissolution of national entities in the structure of a super-state. However ideal "a Parliament of man, a federation of the world" may appear, we are not headed for it in the immediate future. There are also serious difficulties involved in resting a structure of world peace upon a framework of economic, moral, and legal sanctions or upon a policy of general armament limitation. They may play some important part in a system of international controls but they cannot be counted on to prevent acts of aggression leading to the outbreak of general war. There must be provision for the quick application of force under the direction of the world organization against an aggressor nation. This use of force, however, must not be divorced too far from national security interests.

Ultimately the problem of world security rests upon basic unanimity between the great powers. A serious divergence of political viewpoints or ambitions is likely to result in the end of world order. It must not be anticipated that a world organization as such will automatically keep the peace among the great powers. There must be political adjustments among them. The positive guarantee of security in the long run must be the emergence of a world society.

The Basis of World Security

BY G. BROMLEY OXNAM

Bishop of the Methodist Church, New York Area

OUR foreign policy must be based upon a frank recognition of the fact that the world is one, that the human family is one, that the common good must be supreme. The fundamental ends to be achieved must stand out in clear relief. If as democratic people we hold personality to be of supreme worth then we must be willing to use such forms of social and economic organization as give evidence of making the greatest contribution to personality. It simply will not do to make our foreign policy the tool of those interests who insist that the capitalist answer is the only answer, and therefore prefer the Darlans, the Bagdolios, the Francos. A foreign policy that seeks to preserve the privileges of the few at the expense of the good of the many is doomed to failure. The world house must be a home for all the children of God.

Since differences arise constantly, institutions established to settle differences must be in constant operation. It is not enough to have representatives of nations meet once in a decade and draw up conventions that they pledge themselves to observe. Just as international action to banish disease and to preserve health calls for international health agencies continuously at work, fighting plague here, struggling against typhus there, and all the while pursuing measures in research and preventive medicine; so, too, international action must be constant in dealing with such questions as stable currency, access to raw materials, transportation and communication, and labor standards. Upon the solution of such problems, peace depends. And solution calls for agencies continuously at work. Peace is a continuous process.

Consent is equally important. Coercion will not do, except as the community enforces law established to promote the general welfare. Government must rest upon the consent of the governed, and draw its just power from that consent. If peace is to be maintained, law must be established; and the law must express the consent of the people. No nation, or group of nations, can long dominate the world. If international anarchy is to give way before world law and order, a universal association of nations must be established. And decisions of the universal association must be based on consent. This, too, foreign policy must recognize.

All this assumes that the nations really belong to a larger entity, namely, the world community. Just as the nation has to be organized so the world must be organized. Just as law must govern in the nation, so it must govern in the world. Law does not govern in a nation, unless the citizens work together for the common good, respect the law, and obey it. It will not govern in the world unless there be continuous cooperation in which the factor of consent is basic.

The nation must recognize that just as the individual is subject to the law of the nation in which he lives, the nation must be subject to the law of the world of which it is a part. If the citizen refuses to obey the law of a democratic community, the community enforces the law in the interest of the common good. There can be no orderly community based upon the principle that each nation can do what it pleases. The nations of the world are responsible for world law, and when one nation refuses to obey that law, it becomes the concern of the world association.

Owing to serious paper restriction it has been found necessary to limit ourselves to significant excerpts from the main speeches. Several important contributions to the discussion have had to be omitted. For example, in this division, we have had to leave out Agnes Smedley's remarks on the internal situation in China, Dr. Albert C. J. Simard's remarks on the future of France, Ray Josephs's discussion of our South American foreign policy, and Lawrence Rosinger's contribution on our Far Eastern policy. These omissions we deeply regret. It will, however, be possible for any reader to secure mimeographed copies of any speech given at the conference. In addition, The Nation *plans to print in full in future issues the speeches of Charles Davila, Grayson Kirk, Philip Murray, Boris Shishkin, Charles H. Houston, Eveline M. Burns, David L. Podell, and Archibald MacLeish.*

3. ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WORLD PEACE

A Fiscal Program for High Employment

BY BEARDSLEY RUML

Treasurer, R. H. Macy & Co.; Chairman, Federal Reserve Bank, New York

TODAY most business men agree that the elimination of mass unemployment is the first requirement for the post-war period. The demonstration of what we and others are able to produce under the rules of a wartime economy is unanswerable evidence of what machines and men and organization can accomplish if their technical capacities are given full rein. We must now find means whereby private enterprise may do its part in achieving high production and high employment.

As a step toward agreement on long-term policy, I have suggested for discussion a nine-point post-war federal fiscal program.

First, no public spending for its own sake and no projects merely because they support purchasing power in general. Let us base our budget estimates on the efficient and economical carrying out of worthwhile activities to accomplish our national purposes.

Second, let us lower tax rates to the point where they will balance the budget at an agreed level of high employment. We do not want a deflationary tax program at times of less than standard high employment. Taxes should be reduced where they will do the most good in creating demand and encouraging private enterprise.

Third, having set our tax rates to balance the budget at high employment, let us leave them alone, except as there are major changes in national policy. When employment goes beyond an agreed level, or if, with high employment, we have a boom in prices, let us hold the surplus or use it to reduce the national debt, not as an excuse for further tax reduction.

Fourth, let us hold onto the principle of progressive income taxes and estate taxes as the best way of reversing the tendency of purchasing power to come to rest. Let us reduce the rates on the individual income tax to stimulate consumption and to make possible investment in new enterprise on a business basis.

Fifth, let us plan our public works, not to balance the whole economy, but to help toward stabilizing the construction industry. Our objective should be to provide in this basic industry continuous activity within agreed limits throughout the year and over the years. This would require advance planning of public works—federal, state, and local—scheduling, and the holding back of a large reserve of optional projects.

Sixth, let us neutralize the social-security programs as far as their fiscal influences are concerned. Since their beginning they have been highly deflationary. For old-age security, let us set our rates and benefits so that they come somewhere near balancing; and for unemployment insurance, let us set our rates so that intake and outgo balance at defined high levels of employment.

Seventh, let us keep the important excise taxes for the time being, and get rid of the rest. If employment and production lag overmuch, let us get rid of these too, except when they have some social purpose, since they are deflationary. We need no general sales tax for fiscal policy purposes, now that the individual income tax is on a current basis.

Eighth, let us arrange our lending abroad, whether for stabilization, relief, or long-time reconstruction, so that it will support rather than contradict fiscal policies adopted to strengthen our domestic economy.

Ninth, and indispensably, let us press for a reorganization of the parts of the federal government that have to do with fiscal policy and administration. We want clarity in policy, consistency in administration, and cooperation between the executive and legislative branches. We shall expect that necessary cooperation of fiscal policy and monetary policy at the federal level will be attained easily along the way. Having gone this far, we will then want to study more intensively the problems of coordination among federal, state, and local governments, since all public expenditure and tax policies affect national fiscal policy itself.

Plans for world economic relationships have recently received a great deal of government attention and public discussion. For the success of all these international plans, a high level of employment and production in the United States is everywhere conceded to be indispensable. With high prosperity, we shall require large imports of raw materials, and we may even welcome the economic advantages of lower tariffs on foods and manufactured goods. With high prosperity, we shall be less greedy for foreign outlets to take up low-cost excess capacity and we shall be more willing to see our exports directed to the world's essential needs.

We must succeed at home if we are to succeed abroad. Our great contribution to world peace and freedom can only be made if we are able to use our unparalleled advantages in establishing here, at home, a high standard of prosperity and democracy.

Planning Full Employment

BY ALVIN H. HANSEN

Professor of Political Economy, Harvard University

WHAT kind of a program do we need to lay out in order to give us any assurance that we can maintain full employment and can master these terrifying depressions? I think probably some of us have given the impression, in our enthusiasm in stating a goal, that the task is an easy one. I do not believe it is an easy task. We shall have to learn a great deal in order to achieve our goal.

A full employment program requires that, on the one side, we must strengthen private consumption and also enlarge the area of community consumption expenditures; on the other side, it requires that we must engage in large-scale and small-scale development projects, public investments, federal, state, and local, in areas that will increase our productive power and, in turn, enlarge the sphere for private investment. This is essentially what I mean by a compensatory and developmental fiscal program designed to maintain full employment.

We know now, as a result of the war experience, that we have reached a stage in technique and productivity which a few years ago no one believed possible. All of us had our sights too low. Mr. Ruml has spoken about our tremendous productive power. He has spoken about the fact that a high level of employment means a national income of about $140 billion.

We have suddenly realized this enormous advance in productive capacity. We did not know we had it in 1940. It will be a very considerable task to raise the standard of living of this country to match our productive capacity. In part, it means raising wages as rapidly as productivity will admit. That means without price inflation, without increasing costs to a point where prices must be advanced. As productivity goes up, wages must go up. They have, in fact, been rising roughly as productivity has risen for a hundred years.

There is also another important factor in raising the standard of living and that is through community expenditures of various kinds. For instance, we should spend money to improve educational facilities; we are very backward in this country, in large areas of the country. Health is another important field in which public expenditure will help raise the standard of living commensurate with our productive capacity. Social security is still another.

Then let us take a look at the investment side of the problem. It is very encouraging that eight governors from the Missouri Valley region sent a resolution to President Roosevelt, asking him to transmit it to Congress, calling for the setting up of a Missouri River Authority along lines similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority. It is just common sense to establish an authority that will control those waters so as to give prosperity to the upper states and prevent damage from flood to the lower states. That is only part of the program, for the electric power that can be developed, the cheap power, will in turn foster and stimulate industry and private investment throughout the entire region.

Another equally important field is urban development and housing. It will be of particular importance after the war. A large-scale development in this field would give us a high level of construction which we know from past experience is one of the best ways to maintain full employment and a high level of income.

I am convinced that we could raise our total productivity more by a twenty-billion-dollar public-investment program than we could by a twenty-billion-dollar private-investment program, and the public-investment program would, moreover, have the effect of enlarging very greatly the area of profitable private investment.

Planning and Socialism

BY I. F. STONE

Washington Editor, The Nation

I AM not going to talk formally, but I would like to put forward a few very simple propositions that I hope will provoke discussion. The first and the simplest and the basic one is that world peace depends on full employment in the United States. If we do not achieve full employment here, then the disillusion of returning veterans, the animosity of capital toward the makers of social reform, their power over the press—all these things will be used to turn us in the direction of imperialist adventure, particularly in the direction of a war with the Soviet Union. The job of preserving world peace begins at home, with the job of creating full employment.

My second proposition is that we have one very important asset in this. That is the recognition by both major political parties that the creation and maintenance of full employment is a governmental responsibility.

Now, that idea is new in American politics; it was not here in 1932; it was not here in 1936. It began to make its appearance in 1940. It is here with us full-fledged in 1944. Whether it is mentioned sincerely or insincerely, whether it is a rhetorical flourish or campaign promise, the fact is that both parties are pledged to full employment and will be expected by the public to keep those pledges.

I want to offer a third proposition. That is, that by and large both Mr. Dewey and Mr. Roosevelt are right about each other. That is, if you take the main charges of the two candidates and add them together, you will find yourself with a very important fact, a great big fact. The President is right in his criticism of the Republican Party, in saying that laissez-faire methods—what we call laissez-faire—despite, mind you, a large volume of foreign lending, failed to achieve full utilization of power and resources in the '20's and led to a disastrous depression, a world depression in the '30's.

Now, Mr. Dewey is right when he says that the President failed to create full employment after 1932. That is perfectly true—that the combination of public works, relief spending, deficit financing, social security—those measures proved inadequate. They did not provide full employment. If there had not been this war, we should probably have seen another world-wide capitalist collapse, beginning in our own country.

Our next proposition is this: That full employment—and this is a proposition which in the present framework of public opinion, with the Dies Committee operating, government officials cannot say, nobody can say except people that happen to have a job like I have and are able to say what they think without worrying about the Dies Committee—that full employment cannot be achieved without some large measure of socialism. We have to get used to this terrible, dreadful word "Socialism." We have to get used to saying it right out loud. First, at night, with the windows shut, all alone, stand up and say "Socialism," first a little quietly and then louder.

This is very well understood. Even the rather conservative or British point of view, the British White Paper, recognizes the necessity for measures of socialism, not just government intervention in the shape of regulation or peripheral activity, or of spending to build mausoleums or marble out-houses, or general government activity in the economic field. Of course, what we are talking about is "private enterprise" forever.

The liberated peoples of Europe do not want what they call private enterprise. They are going to fight very hard, certainly in France, to nationalize the great basic monopolies that helped to betray France, and they are going to maintain private enterprise in the very limited sphere in which it can actually be expected to operate, and operate effectively. I think you are going to see a mixed economy there in which fresh traditions of individualism, the great traditions of the French Revolution, will be combined in a very wholesome way with the ideals of Socialism.

I want to say this: The obstacle to profitable government spending—and by profitable I mean government spending that creates wealth, that creates goods, that takes idle men and puts them down sanely and rationally beside idle machines and says, "Make something"—the great obstacle to that is the fact that planning is the bogy man, what with Socialism. The press, the Dies Committee, the agencies of education and propaganda are scared to death of it and made us scared to death of it. We have to learn to use them, talk about them, to apply them if we are going to create full employment.

The task of public education is your job and mine.

When the Soldiers Return

BY LIEUTENANT CHARLES G. BOLTE

Chairman, American Veterans Committee

THE attitude of veterans toward jobs is simple: they want them. This may not seem a very profound or important statement—everybody talks about it, everybody admits it's true, all the correspondents tell us that the post-war question uppermost in every soldier's mind is economic security. Yet I think it is self-evident that the reintegration of war veterans cannot take place successfully unless the veterans get jobs. If they don't get jobs, there's going to be trouble—bad trouble. This is not said by way of a threat; it is simply a statement of fact. Insistence on full production and full employment does not, I hope, seem like special pleading for veterans. The fact is that most servicemen—and women—do not look forward to becoming veterans; they look forward to becoming civilians, that is to say, citizens.

Any man who has been to war and seen the tremendous output of American goods, produced in American factories by American workers, is not likely to be satisfied with anything less than full production and full employment. One of our members, a sergeant in France, wrote us last month: "We are not fighting simply for the 'old order of things,' as some national advertisers would have us believe. It was the 'old order of things' which insured us unemployment in the millions, slum areas in large cities, tattered cotton-picking sharecroppers, people hungering for food while crops were being plowed under at the request of the government. If we can produce plenty for a mammoth military machine in wartime then we can certainly produce plenty for an economy of peace. The latter is what we want, what we can do, and we must notify our legislators, now, that that is what we want, not a return to the 'old order of things'."

Some soldiers will undoubtedly come home and be dismayed by the changes they see—partly because in their memories they reconstructed an America that never was, all honeysuckles and sweater-girls and free Coca Cola. But once they get over the shock of such change as the war has wrought in America—and God knows it's little enough compared with what's been wrought in the rest of the world—they will be ready to accept change, so long as it is change in a forward direction.

This desire to be a normal citizen again runs very deeply in most American servicemen, who are anything but a militaristic lot and are fighting hard mostly so they can get home. One of our members wrote us: "I hope we will act more as citizens of the world than as veterans of the American armed forces." Our committee has always tried to make it clear that it was not interested in driving a wedge between veterans and any other group. In fact, through our Bulletin we have campaigned actively against the efforts of certain special interests to drive a wedge between veterans and labor. As just one instance, we reported extensively in a recent Bulletin on wartime wages and strikes, quoting facts and figures: we concluded that "this is certainly no silk-shirt era for the average worker," and that "man-hours lost through strikes are only eight one-hundredths of one per cent—which means eight hours lost out of ten thousand." Actually, I don't know that it was necessary to document the strike story: anybody who is outside the United States during this war can see the fantastic flow of material that pours onto the beachheads around the world, and he knows that somebody must be producing the stuff.

Furthermore, I think those who hate labor and hope to see returning veterans go to work on labor unions are bound to be disappointed; organized labor, after all, has supplied 2,500,000 men to the armed forces, and the rest of the veterans will hardly turn on their late comrades, who will face the same problems of economic and social readjustment.

These problems will have to be met aggressively and immediately. The armed forces can do more than they are now doing in the way of reorientating the servicemen to civilian life. Government and industry can do much to rehabilitate, retrain, and re-educate them. State employment training schemes such as the Connecticut Plan, and community job-placement schemes such as the Albert Lea Plan, should be studied and put into effect by other states and communities. Individual efforts should be concentrated on treating the returned serviceman as a normal human being, not showering him with sympathy if he comes back wounded, not plying him with questions unless he wants to talk, and letting him loaf for awhile, collect himself, make love, and sleep late in the morning. The important thing is to bend every effort towards helping the veteran restore himself as a usefully productive member of society.

The Reconversion Problems of Small Business

BY DAVID L. PODELL

General Counsel, Smaller War Plants Corporation

NOW what steps has the government taken in relation to reconversion? In the early stages of the war there developed a tendency to concentrate war purchasing and procurement in the hands of our giant mass-production industrial institutions in an effort to speed up war production. When that tendency was observed, a campaign was undertaken by several of the agencies of government to spread the work. Over a million subcontracts resulted, some of them fanning out from the prime contractor into a series of successive tiers of subcontractors. Our war production today is bound up in a network of contracts and subcontracts reaching into every corner of the land and affecting over 70,000 plants. Unless properly safeguarded, mass cancellations on termination of the war would not only create confusion and delay but might freeze the capital funds of many thousands of these plants.

The Contract Settlement Act anticipates that business embarrassment by providing, first, that all war contractors, whether prime or sub or sub-sub, are entitled to fair compensation in the event of cancellation. Secondly, it provides for substantial partial payments to be made expeditiously on account of the claim. Thirdly, it requires quick loans to be made by the government agencies, within thirty days of the date of application, for a substantial part of the claim. Fourthly, it provides for the speedy removal of inventory so as not to clog up these plants with materials and equipment which may prevent the resumption of civilian production. Finally, it directs Smaller War Plants Corporation to furnish assistance, make loans and guarantees, and otherwise facilitate small business concerns in speedy settlements of their claims. Several agencies are at work and have been at work for many months in getting themselves prepared to cope adequately with this huge task.

Then, there is the Surplus Property Act with a special section devoted to the protection of the interests of small business concerns. That law requires that our surpluses be sold in small lots so as to be within the reach of small business. It provides for sales on credit. It authorizes our corporation to purchase for purposes of resale to small business concerns and provides safeguards against the creation of monopolies in the disposal of government war plants. It authorizes our corporation to finance the purchase and acquisition of war plants by small concerns. The government agencies involved have been busily preparing themselves to cope with that task, which entails the sale and distribution of an estimated 100 billions of dollars' worth of surplus property.

Let me say that while it is not the intention of our corporation to engage in the surplus business, we do believe that it can render a real service to the small plants of the nation in providing them with modern machinery and equipment, renovating their plants, facilitating them in the acquisition of modern plants, and providing them with merchandise and materials so that they can resume civilian production as soon as conditions permit. Then, too, we hope and expect to render a service in securing the widest possible distribution of goods and merchandise equitably among large and small businessmen and to help fill some of the bare shelves of our smaller distributors.

Labor's Fight for Democracy

BY PHILIP MURRAY

President, Congress of Industrial Organizations

WHAT we want is a live and functioning democracy. What we want is a job for every able-bodied person who wants to work. What we want is capacity operation of the factories, mills, mines, and stores. The C. I. O. does not contend that only government can produce jobs for all, just as we do not believe that unbridled competitive business can do so. Nor does labor have a royal road for easy achievement of these desirable ends. We contend that each group has a contribution to make, and that there must be teamwork on the part of labor, industry and government in organizing production around on over-all national plan and component industry plans. Labor, management, and government get together successfully to produce the weapons for victory. We can stick together to build an enduring prosperity.

Now we have extended our fight for democracy from the workshop to the polling place. We are not intimidated from organizing politically to campaign for the ends which we believe are right. After all, the current slander against the Political Action Committee is not so great as the malicious campaign carried on in 1937 and 1938 against the organization by the C. I. O. of the great masses of industrial workers. We managed to survive that.

Our enemies are complaining because we are effective. Even though they dislike our convention resolutions about political and legislative objectives, they really didn't begin to worry and rant until we started an organization to make those resolutions mean something in actual achievement.

I will stake the Americanism and patriotism of the members of the C. I. O. against any of their detractors and defamers. The C. I. O. will yield to no one on its record for advancing the cause of democracy. In its struggle for a better life for millions of workers, in its fight to eradicate racial discrimination, in its struggle to make the peace fulfill the desires of men of goodwill, who is showing—day in and day out—a greater concern to preserve and extend the things which have made the United States a great nation?

The Crisis Ahead

BY BORIS SHISHKIN

Research Director, American Federation of Labor

WE HAVE already reached the turning point in wartime production and employment demands. We passed the peak of maximum activity —not this month but eleven months ago. Sharp reductions in many phases of war production are ahead. After victory in Europe we are likely to have at least 11,000,000 disemployed within a few weeks. Of these we can at best expect to develop jobs, through partial reconversion and partial resumption of civilian activity, for 7,000,000 workers within a year of V-E day, if the war with Japan still continues during that year. And after the final victory is won we shall have further demobilization and further curtailment of war activities with further unemployment. If we are prepared to expand production to new heights, if we safeguard the buying power of the mass of the people and prevent it from falling below the high wartime levels, we could assure continued employment for all. But we are not prepared and we have no working plans. If we continue to let things slide, if we reject all government aid and guidance to industry and workers in assuring a balanced transition, it may well be that after the war we go back to the pre-war level of productive activity. That prospect is a prospect of disaster. For, if we go back to the 1939, the pre-war level of production with skills and technology and with the plant capacity developed in the war, we are certain to have at least 20,000,000 unemployed.

Woodrow Wilson, speaking four months after the armistice, a quarter century ago, said that "the forces of the world do not threaten, they operate. The great tides of the world do not give notice that they are about to rise and run; they rise in their overwhelming might, and those who stand in the way are overwhelmed."

When I indicate the prospect of the coming depression toward which we are headed unless we act, I sound the warning, not in the way of a threat. I sound the warning for the prospect of mass unemployment as a real one—not imaginary. I sound it not because it is inevitable, but because it is not too late to change our future course.

[*The full text of Mr. Murray's, Mr. Shishkin's and Mr. Podell's speeches will be printed in coming issues of* The Nation.]

4. THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Anti-Semitism as a Fascist Weapon

BY NORMAN M. LITTELL

Assistant United States Attorney General

IN RECENT years we have tiptoed gingerly along the greatest abyss of history. We still stare down into it with mixed feelings of relief at our narrow escape and horror on seeing those who did not escape.

Not since the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the spread of Greek learning into the western world opened the door of modern history—indeed, not since the dawn of the Christian epoch brought the light of day to a brutal pagan world—has humanity witnessed such a spectacular and disorderly retreat of the human spirit into the dark ages. In that long span of history, we had toiled tediously up out of the shadows of human nature into the sunlight and perspectives of that measure of civilization which we have today. The fruits of those efforts are all about us in countless moral restraints and human practices which collectively form a solid bulwark of habit and conduct quite ample to frustrate, if not completely overwhelm, latent impulses toward primitive brutality.

The shock of this generation is the realization that our inheritance is insecure, that its greatest virtues are based upon self-restraint arising from generally accepted concepts of humanity and justice, and that these virtues are fragile indeed before brutality and animal self-assertion, once these latter forces have been permitted to get out of their cave where centuries of civilizing thought and progress have forcibly confined them.

Hitler first seized this great opportunity for the charlatan. He picked the Jew and made him the world's greatest scapegoat. There were old prejudices to rely on—differences of race and religion centuries old, and new ones arising from the fact that the Jew, recently emancipated from political disenfranchisement and the European ghetto, had adapted himself quickly to modern business opportunities.

The Jew was a natural victim, a convenient instrumentality for attacking any free social order, for the master minds in the school of destruction recognized immediately the powerful disrupting effect on any social order once it can be seduced into oppressing even one minority. A leading Nazi put it in 1942, "The Jewish question is dynamite with which we blast the forts where the last liberalist snipers have their nests. . . . You will see how little time we need in order to upset the ideas and the criteria of the whole world simply by attacking Judaism."

Hitler's imitators are still sowing the seeds in America. They range from those who have been already convicted and sent to the penitentiary to Gerald L. K. Smith, the most prominent of the current rabble-rousers, and to others in higher places seduced into abandoning the basic American pattern of tolerance for the illusory promises of the New Order—just as Hitler had boasted.

We must stand squarely across their path. We must recognize attacks upon minorities for exactly what they are—instrumentalities of destruction set loose in a free world whereby Hitler hopes to win even while he loses. We have enormous resources and great advantages on our side. We have untapped reservoirs of human good will needing only to be awakened to the issues of the day. It is to the prejudices of this great mass of our people that the haters have appealed; it is to the deeper resources of their consciences and the altars of justice in the heart of every man that we must appeal. Here are the deep and everlasting sources of power.

The Negro Soldier

BY CHARLES H. HOUSTON

Member of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices

I WANT to speak particularly on the subject of the armed forces. Here, after nearly three years of war, Negroes are still insulted by the Navy's barring all Negro women, except those now passing for white, from the Waves, the Marines, and the Spars. We have officers in the Army and the Navy; but there is still not a single Negro lieutenant in the United States Marines. The Army puts Negroes in uniform, transports them South and then leaves them to be kicked, cuffed and even murdered with impunity by white civilians. In places, Negro service men do not have as many civil rights as prisoners of war. In at least one Army camp down South for a time there was one drinking fountain for white guards and German prisoners, and a segregated fountain for Negro soldiers. And Negroes know that just as soon as the shooting stops many Americans will give the same Germans, Austrians, Italians, Rumanians and others who were trying to kill them preference over Negroes who were defending them, simply because these Germans and others are white.

Many white service men are talking about what they are going to do to put the Negro in his place as soon as they get back home. Many Negroes are getting to the point of disgust and desperation where they had just as soon die fighting one place as another. Meanwhile enemy propaganda is carrying the stories of racial dissension in the United States to all corners of the earth, and the colored peoples of Asia, Africa and India are getting an eyeful of how white Americans act abroad.

I advocate immediate enlistment of Negro women as Waves, Spars and Marines; assignment and promotion of Negroes in all the armed forces strictly according to service, experience and merit; and the organization of non-segregated combat units on a volunteer basis. The administration of the G. I. Bill of Rights and all other veteran rehabilitation program must be administered impartially with absolutely no discrimination.

The American color bar unless speedily removed will be the rock on which our international Good Neighbor policy and our pious claim to moral leadership will founder. The moment the peoples of Asia, Africa and India become convinced that our true war aims are to perpetuate the old colonial system with the white man's heel on the colored man's neck, and that we are fighting Japan merely to substitute European imperialism in place of Japanese imperialism—that moment we might as well begin preparing for World War III, and World War III will not necessarily be to America's advantage. The Negro problem gives the United States the opportunity to practice what it preaches, and it is time the country awakens to the fact it is guaranteeing its own salvation by making a substantial down payment on the Four Freedoms at home.

[*The text of Mr. Houston's speech will be printed in full in a future issue of* The Nation.]

The Subversion of America

BY FRANK KINGDON

Educator and Commentator

I HAVE been asked to say why or how democracy—American democracy—is being subverted. I think the answer is very simple. It is being subverted in so far as we do not practice it. It is not a question of somebody coming in from the outside to give us some Hitlerian propaganda, or somebody organizing a committee to sell us on our own prejudices. The fact of the subervsion of our democratic processes begins with the life and conduct of each of us.

Our difficulties begin not by the absence of virtue, but by the perversion of our virtues. It is a very good thing to be an American; it is the greatest thing in the world to be an American, but when the word "American" becomes an exclusive word, becomes tied down to the restriction of privilege in terms of an accident of birth, or an accident of accent, then the poisoned word "American" becomes a danger and a disease.

Exactly the same thing applies on the religious basis. So often I hear people saying that this is a Christian country and that they are standing for Christianity. Now, I happen to think that it is a great thing to be a Christian in the sense of trying to follow with all one's heart the teachings of the Man of Nazareth, for there never were teachings that reached out with such consummate and inclusive warmth to take to themselves all the hearts of all men everywhere. However, when one uses the word "Christian" as an exclusive word, as a word of hate and of persecution and death, then the word "Christian" becomes the feeding of a poison into the blood stream of our life.

When somebody talks about the problem of the Negro, it isn't the Negro who is the problem. It is you and I who are the problems. When somebody talks about the problem of anti-Semitism, it isn't the Jew who is the problem, primarily. It is those of us who are not Jews who are the problem. We have created the situation.

Comment

BY HENRY EPSTEIN

Former Solicitor General for the State of New York

MY INTEREST in this discussion is on behalf of a person whom I shall call "Ginsburg," who is satisfied to remain Ginsburg, who is content to live in the community where he is, who has a little business there and is satisfied to make a living out of it, who has a son, or sons, in the armed services fighting for the country that he thought afforded him equality, rather than tolerance.

Now, when Ginsburg is confronted with open assaults upon his children, when he finds that his own place of worship is the subject of vandalism, his first contact is with what agency of government? It is with the police. And I suggest that the indoctrination of the American police in the cities with democracy is one of primary importance.

Now, his second contact is with the schools which his children attend. I suggest that we need a crusade to teach the schools something about the practice of democracy in action.

His third contact, for purposes of that goal that we seek to achieve, may be with veterans, his own children returning, or the millions of others. One of the crying shames of this war and our participation in it is that we have failed miserably to indoctrinate tens of millions of Americans with the true practices and spirit of democracy.

BY DAVID SHER

Chairman, National Community Relations Advisory Council

I AM REMINDED often that there is a difference between anti-Semitism after Hitler and anti-Semitism before Hitler, and that we ought to devote our attention to an attack upon that characteristic kind of political anti-Semitism which presents a present threat to our society, and to neglect those traditional forms of bigotry with which we have managed to exist for such a long time.

I am always profoundly disgusted by that kind of an approach, not only because I cannot accept it as an idea, but because I think it is futile.

Out of the development of political anti-Semitism, however, there has been one significant phenomenon that I think can be turned to this fundamental purpose which is so transcendently important. It has been noticeable in Europe that, just as it was a sign of Axis identification for nations to adopt anti-Semitic measures, so it is now a sign of Axis abandonment for nations to rescind their anti-Semitic measures. I am not under any illusions about the nature of all of those acts. However, I think that we can recognize that it is a demonstration that people have come to understand the identification between anti-Semitism and fascist despotism. I am afraid that that understanding is not so keen in

America. We are challenged to bring that fact home to the American people as it has been brought home to the people in Europe, who have learned it through suffering.

5. COMMUNITY WELFARE

Government and Housing

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

Former Counsel to New York City Housing Authority
Professor of Land Economics and Housing,
New School for Social Research

THE housing problem is more than houses, more than the slum, more than the problem of home-ownership. It embraces five main elements.

The first is the predicament facing low income families who are forced to live in slums and who, unless a housing program is planned now, will continue to inhabit buildings unfit for human beings.

A second element is the unsound home-ownership structure. Tenancy has increased sharply and only 40% of our families now own homes. The other sixty percent cannot be forced into owning homes by lending them 90% of cost; they must be able to pay the carrying charges, and for the majority of the population, the cost of maintaining the home is uneconomic.

A third element of the housing problem is the demoralized condition of the building industry. The failure of this industry to function in the post-war period will be a major obstacle to recovery.

A fourth element of the housing problem is the pivotal role of housing as an investment. Urban and rural homes now represent the main portion of the landed wealth of the country, which comprises more than half the total national wealth. These investments are primarily of the little folk in the economy.

The fifth element of the problem is that when the consequences of any problems are as far flung as housing, the larger social and economic problems will no longer respond without a solution of the housing problem.

Two recent moves are indicative of the direction toward which the housing program seems headed. One concerns the program for the disposition of war housing. Much of this housing could be used to rehouse slum dwellers. But the Lanham Act specifically forbids the sale of this housing for the purpose.

The second instance is the so-called Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, which is supposed to be the veterans' "Bill of Rights." Its housing plan is as mystifying a proposal as has yet come out of Washington under the label of social legislation. Unless the law is amended, it will bring ultimate tragedy to many a veteran instead of benefit. The bill aims to help the veteran buy a home through government guarantee to the lending institution of half its advance. The loan may be up to $2,000 and is to bear interest at 4% for 20 years. To provide the veteran with the equity money, a second mortgage loan may then be made at 5%.

The great majority of veterans seeking to set up a sound family life will be unable to maintain a home even if they are lent all the money with which to buy one. Few will be able to pay the high interest charges and maintenance costs which the formula sets up. Most of the soldiers will be unable to maintain their homes and should not be cajoled into making the commitment. There should be provision, as in England, for rental housing for these until such time as their financial security warrants the long term commitment home-owning implies. But this does not seem to be in the political cards. If we are interested in a realistic policy to aid veterans in obtaining homes, the bill should be amended so as to provide at least the following:

1. An emergency fund of $1 billion to be used by the Veterans' Administration as a revolving fund to provide veterans with loans at cost.
2. If loans by financial institutions are to be made at all, they should be guaranteed by the government in full, but in that event should provide for interest rates of not more than 3½%.
3. No deficiency judgments should be permitted against veterans in the event that they lose their homes.
4. The loan should be a single loan rather than by first and second mortgage.
5. Provisions must be made for proper planning of these homes in an adequate community that will insure against early obsolescence and blight.
6. With proper planning the amortization period can be extended to 32 years. This, with the reduced interest rate, would assure a much lower carrying charge and make ownership more secure than under the present high-interest, shorter amortization plan.
7. Provision should be made for the supplying of homes through local housing authorities for soldiers who want to rent rather than buy.
8. There should be an adequate grace period to tide over veterans in the event of default.
9. The government should stop its ballyhooing of home-ownership and discontinue its indicated efforts to encourage veterans to buy whether they can afford to or not. It should deal with them frankly and honestly in an effort to provide sound rentals as well as owned housing in a sound community, coupled with a practical program of reemployment which will enable the continuity of payments on homes and avoid the inevitable tragedy which now inheres in the government's housing effort, both for veterans and wage-earners.

Government and Medical Care

BY MICHAEL M. DAVIS, PH.D.

Chairman Committee on Research in Medical Economics

I TAKE it for granted that everyone in this audience believes that good medical care should be made more widely available to all our people. To bring that about means solving two problems. One problem is financial. The other problem is professional. The trouble with the present medical system is not merely that the costs of a severe sickness may ruin anybody who hasn't a Park Avenue income. For every person who is hit by the bills of a "catastrophic illness," there are thousands of people who do not seek the medical care they need because they fear its cost.

What we need is not merely some medical care paid for by insurance, but comprehensive care, preventive and curative, supplied by the professional organized teamwork of doctors, aided by modern equipment and technical personnel such as are found in hospitals.

Voluntary health insurance plans have made some progress in this country of late years. They will make more progress, but I see no possibility that voluntary health insurance plans will reach more than a fraction of the people, and those reached by voluntary plans will be mostly the better paid and the more stably employed persons. Only action by government can make medical service financially accessible to the mass of our rural and urban people.

Health insurance is not a dole. It is organized self-help. Most American families are now spending about 3 per cent of their income annually for the services of doctors and hospitals. A nationwide plan of health insurance could collect 3 per cent of their income from these families, would impose no new financial burdens, and would pay for medical care for all with only minor supplementation from general taxation to help provide for the poor and for certain hospital and public-health facilities. National rather than state and local action alone will give us the widest coverage and the maximum spreading of risks.

A nation-wide plan must safeguard the basic freedoms of patient and doctor. The patient must be free to choose the doctor that he wants, or a hospital or clinic, if he prefers to choose an institution rather than to name an individual physician. The doctor must be free from non-professional direction of his professional work and he must be free to choose the kind of practice that he wishes, to practice in the traditional solo style, or to practice in teamwork as a member of an organized hospital staff or other professional group.

A nation-wide plan must recognize and hold a place for voluntary action. Voluntary health insurance plans which supply medical care and which contribute to the efficiency and economy of service should be able to operate within the system. Our voluntary hospitals should and will continue.

No nation-wide plan of medical care could be set fully under way during this war with the present acute shortage of doctors and of hospital personnel. Moreover, in some parts of the country, chiefly rural areas, hospitals and public health facilities are seriously deficient. There is opportunity during the period of demobilization and reconversion which is soon beginning, to start building needed hospitals and to enlarge or improve existing institutions, particularly in rural sections.

We have already set under way extensive plans for aiding veterans. Medical care and hospitalization are among the benefits which the G. I. Bill of Rights will provide them. The educational advantages which the Bill also offers veterans, will furnish opportunity for young physicians whose medical training was abbreviated because they were needed in the Army or Navy, to continue their education for a while.

Government, as representing the whole people, has the responsibility of establishing a system of health insurance which will not only pay for medical care but which will contribute to the improvement of the quality of care and to the professional opportunities of the physicians who are the central agents in furnishing it. National health insurance legislation would free most physicians, most hospitals, and most of our people from the weight of the dollar sign which now restricts the patient in the receiving of modern health services and hampers the doctor in supplying it.

Government and Social Security

BY DR. EVELINE M. BURNS

Former Director of Research, National Resources Planning Board

SOCIAL security is enhanced not only by measures concerned with income maintenance. It is equally important to take every available step to keep economic insecurity and the need for income maintenance to a minimum. The war has caused tremendous shifts in employment and in the places where people do their work. The extent of internal migration is greater than at any similar period of time in the past. It has been estimated that at least five million people have moved into different states from those in which they were before the war. The actual movement of people is much greater than this, for many have moved within their own states, from the country or rural areas into the cities. Not all of these people will wish to, or can, remain where they now are, after the war. If we are to avoid a great deal of useless movement, the "Okies" on a national scale, and if we are to get people out of the areas which have no peacetime future and avoid the development of depressed areas, we shall need a highly effective and efficient employment service. This service must operate on a national scale, and must be able, if necessary, to advance fares and perhaps give financial assistance to the families who in the national interest should be moved from where they now are.

The things to be done in the social-security field are not new or revolutionary. Of all the promises made to the people during the campaign, that to assure all Americans a minimum of security on the basis of which they can through individual effort raise their standard of living to even greater heights is the easiest to fulfill. Readiness to take the obvious steps should be the acid test of the sincerity of those who make election promises.

[*Dr. Burns's address will be published in full in a forthcoming issue.*]

6. THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF CITIZENSHIP

The Duties of World Citizenship

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Foreign Minister of Republican Spain; editor, Political War section of The Nation

THE first duty of world citizenship in the years to come is to preserve democracy against the efforts of fascism to survive military defeat. It will not be an easy task, because we shall arrive at the end of the European war victorious but under the handicap of the lack of a democratic policy in the conduct of the war.

Sometimes we Europeans must sound very ungrateful. For instance, one of the best papers of the movement of resistance in France, *FrancTireur,* published these words last Friday:

> The United States and Great Britain have recognized the Italian Government. That is excellent news for the latest comer among the United Nations, and it is easily understandable that Prince Humbert should publicly express his satisfaction. It is probable that the Rumanian Government which has succeeded that of General Antonescu will in time be recognized without difficulty. Then one day maybe it will be Hungary. Next will come recognition of the new governments in Berlin and Tokyo, and maybe, who knows, we Frenchmen may one day have a slight chance of being similarly recognized.

That may sound ungrateful in view of all the Allied forces have done for the liberation of France. But there is something that survives even gratitude for liberation, and that is the decision and the will to have liberation applied in the right sense.

The battle will be hard. But I see already developing a concept of world democratic solidarity, an improvement on the former idea of collective security—something which I would define as "collective democratic security." Collective democratic security is the pledge of the most alert liberal elements in every country to strike down any single fascist regime which tries to survive the military defeat of the Axis powers. I deny entirely that there is a possibility of peace, of freedom in Europe or in the world so long as a single fascist regime is allowed to survive.

The old Axis is dying, but there is a new Axis coming, whose two capitals are Buenos Aires and Madrid.

I remember the cynical smile of several of my colleagues in the Council of the League of Nations, especially M. Georges Bonnet and his Polish equivalent Colonel Beck, when I insisted in 1938 that if Spain were abandoned, war in Europe would come in one year. That was no ridiculous pretense of prophecy. There were those who laughed at us again when one year ago we insisted that a new Axis conspiracy was taking shape in South America. We described how the Nazis even then were sending great quantities of money to Argentina through Spanish banks. Radio Moscow has announced the arrival in Spain of people coming from Germany, to be shifted later to Argentina. Everywhere we see the forces of fascism organizing for the new struggle for power. They are again organizing a new campaign to discredit the struggle for freedom of the peoples of Europe. They are talking about Spain as they did in 1938 and presenting the Spanish Maquis in France as an element of revolutionary disorder. The same old stories about the Spanish "Reds." Who are these Maquis? According to our own information, they represent an organization of about 40,000 armed men, mostly from the concentration camps in France. From the beginning they were in the underground. They were active, not only in organizing Spanish units, with a view to the liberation of Spain, but also in organizing part of the French underground. Some of them had been officers, and excellent officers, in the Spanish Republican army. They were treated like dogs by the French authorities at the end of the Spanish War. They have suffered, but with dignity, without complaint, eager always to get back into the fight.

They fought for France and now, when the Battle of France is over, they are going to fight for Spain, and nobody will stop them.

Last Friday in *La Prensa,* the Spanish newspaper in New York, a dispatch from Washington appeared: A high official in Washington commenting on the situation said—and I translate from the Spanish—that, "after all, the problem of the Spanish Maquis could be easily settled by sending a couple of regiments there." And a few hours later came a cable from San Sebastian hinting at the arrival on the French-Spanish border of two American divisions. I hope the story about the divisions is not true; it would be too dreadful.

We are going to have much of this in the years to come.

I hope that the forces of the left, following a clear political line, will realize the urgency of halting reaction from this moment on. I hope the Socialist forces in Europe, and I would like to mention particularly the British Labor Party, will be able to see the picture correctly. I hope that Herbert Morrison and Ernest Bevin and the other leaders, in spite of the duties that the war imposes on them as Ministers in a Coalition Cabinet, are not going to be silent forever. I hope they will not be silent if Prime Minister Churchill again gives Franco the support he cannot find in Spain.

In every Latin American capital people are waiting hour by hour for news from Spain, as they did from 1936 to 1939. This is something that Washington should keep in mind: Nothing will antagonize the people of Latin America more than to see the United States taking sides against Spanish Republicans.

World citizenship should mean before everything support of every people fighting for its freedom.

[*Archibald MacLeish's challenging speech on* Education for Citizenship *will be reprinted in full in the next issue of* The Nation.]

moral or legal, for the slaying of Private Edward Green by Odell Lanchette." But the Department of Justice has failed to take steps against the criminal, who is still at large. Its inaction will cost Roosevelt votes, particularly among mothers and wives of Negro service men. The Green case was front-page news in the Negro press all over the country.

The manner in which the Administration handled the Philadelphia transit strike against the upgrading of eight Negroes was encouraging at the outset, but the result was disappointing. The army did an excellent job, just as it did in the Detroit riots last year. Negroes all over the country were watching to see if the Administration would duck the issue and thereby define unmistakably the conditions of post-war employment for Negroes. When the Attorney General ordered a federal grand jury to investigate, the Negroes were jubilant, for they were certain that once the sinister anti-union forces behind the strike were revealed, America would have a lesson in the facts of industrial life. The jury upheld the Negroes' right to work on the same terms as white men, but its unjust denunciation of the C. I. O., which had opposed the strike, its ignoring of the fact that the strike was called by former leaders of a company union, and its whitewashing of the company, which had encouraged the strikers, destroyed most of the value of the lesson.

The Administration made another forward step when it ordered an end to Jim Crow in army camps, but the order is unenforced in many Southern camps.

The G. O. P. platform offers little more to the thoughtful Negro voter, even if its promises are taken at face value. He regards with deep skepticism the Republican proposal to abolish the poll tax by constitutional amendment. Negro voters know that the tax will never be abolished if it must wait for a two-thirds' vote in each house of Congress and ratification by three-fourths of the forty-eight state legislatures. The Republicans' unqualified approval of legislation to make the FEPC a permanent government agency was heartening until they inserted another plank which promised to give control of employment services to the states. That, followed by the G. O. P. vote for the George bill to vest control of unemployment compensation in the states, has led intelligent Negroes to believe that the growing trend toward "states' rights" would make a permanent FEPC practically impotent.

This suspicion was strengthened by an episode at the Governors' conference in St. Louis. It was reported that Mr. Dewey had placed high on the agenda a proposal that the twenty-six Republican Governors not only indorse the G. O. P. plank for a constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax but pledge a special session of their legislatures to ratify the amendment. I sent Mr. Dewey a telegram saying that no one believed the poll tax could be eliminated in any reasonable period of time by a constitutional amendment; that the child-labor amendment had been approved by Congress twenty-two years ago but that to date only twenty-eight state legislatures had ratified it. I suggested that the Governors might more wisely and profitably indorse the bill passed by the House of Representatives, which, despite a filibuster, was still pending in the Senate, and that they might also vigorously call for cloture on the debate. Well, when the poll-tax item on the agenda was reached, the Presidential candidate hurriedly passed it by, saying that it was unimportant and could be taken up later. It was apparent that Mr. Dewey feared to repudiate his party's platform openly, but also feared to do anything that might actually abolish one of the means by which the Republicans' Southern allies maintain themselves in power.

The Electoral College conspiracy in the South has fizzled; the 1944 election will be determined by the popular vote of the sixteen Northern and border states, which have 280 electoral votes. In those states the Negro vote is most concentrated, amounting to a potential balance of power. Those states are New York, which according to the 1940 census had 393,056 Negroes of voting age; Pennsylvania, 299,998; Illinois, 263,426; Ohio, 220,164; Maryland, 183,716; Missouri, 164,605; New Jersey, 143,661; Michigan, 138,116; Kentucky, 138,001; Oklahoma, 97,137; California, 90,407; Indiana, 80,451; West Virginia, 70,094; Kansas, 39,381; Delaware, 22,893; Connecticut, 20,704. In almost every one of these states the Negro voting population has been greatly increased since 1940 by war-time migration. Ten states with 214 electoral votes, according to late August polls, are still politically doubtful—New York, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and New Jersey. If the Negroes in those states vote as a bloc, they can decide the outcome of the election.

At this writing no person can accurately or even honestly predict whether the Negroes will vote as a bloc or not, or, if they do vote as a bloc, which side they will be on. The Negro has little faith in either party. He remembers the Roosevelt of the thirties, but he also knows that the Roosevelt of the mid-forties sold Henry Wallace down the river to the reactionaries of his own party and of the country. The Negro has even less faith in the party that chose a Dewey when it could have had a Willkie. He therefore waits to see whether either party, between now and November 7, will do something honest and effective about the poll tax, lynching, a permanent FEPC, social security, public housing, federal aid to education, and federal legislation to protect men in uniform from mob attack; and whether either party will do anything toward obtaining a peace that will recognize the colored peoples of the world as human beings.

Grassroots Candidate

BY SELDEN C. MENEFEE

JOSIAH W. GITT, liberal editor of the *Gazette and Daily* of York, Pennsylvania, has better than an even chance of becoming a member of the Seventy-ninth Congress. If he does, he will get into the thick of two battles—the battle for a peace that will be more than a breathing spell before the next war, and the battle to expand the domestic economy to meet the demands of the post-war world.

All his adult life Jess Gitt has been fighting for causes and compromising with no one. His candidacy for Congress will show whether the people of his community are interested in the common welfare or merely in their own selfish aims. He is willing to be the guinea pig in an effort to find out what they really want. Gitt says he isn't a "good" candidate. He says, "The trouble with me is that I've stood for something all my life. And that's a handicap."

The Twenty-first Congressional District of Pennsylvania is represented at present by a demagogue bearing the Republican label. Chester H. Gross won his seat in Congress in 1942 by exploiting all the little inconveniences of the people in the early days of the war. He inveighed against rationing. He made the farmers believe that their inability to get sugar for apple butter was an important issue. He told the farmers they were being discriminated against in Selective Service. He pitied them for the way the government was persecuting them in order to favor other groups. Labor stayed away from the polls in 1942, and Gross won the election by less than 100 votes.

In Congress Gross has had an almost perfect record of reaction. His speeches and his conduct on the floor are somewhat like Clare Hoffman's. But he has the support, if not the respect, of some of the leading business interests in his district because they know he can be depended on when they need his vote.

York, with its 60,000 people, is the largest city of the most populous county in the tri-county Twenty-first District. The lively and crusading *Gazette and Daily* has had much to do with turning a conservative Pennsylvania Dutch community into an island of liberalism in reaction-ridden Republican Pennsylvania. Gitt's stubborn resolve to "Print the truth and let it speak" has made his paper hated and loved, feared and respected. Labor gets a fair break in the news columns. The editorial columns are sympathetic with labor but not sentimental. Farmers get a fair break, too—they account for 14,000 of the *Gazette and Daily's* 27,000 circulation—but they aren't coddled, or encouraged to believe that the government should lift price restrictions for their benefit even if everyone else suffers. Gitt lets the advertisers in his paper know definitely that the only space for sale in his paper is in the advertising columns. He is immune to attempts to bludgeon publicity for special interests and to all efforts to suppress the news.

On first meeting Gitt, one is reminded of the late William Allen White, long the liberal editor of the Emporia *Gazette*. But Gitt soon dispels the illusion of similarity and brings out the contrast. White's liberalism always turned to Republicanism at election time. Gitt keeps fighting on the liberal side right to the last gong. Whereas William Allen White reflected the moderate pace of his community in his newspaper and gained national recognition through his other activities, Gitt seeks to discover the national need and bring it home to his readers. As a result he is often in the position of pushing his community, much to the disgust of the local tycoons, who want to keep their grip on the status quo.

White was a first-rate showman, presenting himself as a colorful figure, a Republican fighting for liberal ideas. Gitt is as shy and diffident as George Norris was, and like Norris is always found in the midst of a fight for the common good, his sense of public responsibility lashing his personal predilections. But Gitt's Pennsylvania Dutch community is an oasis of liberalism, while White's Emporia is still an example of what's the matter with Kansas.

On the golf courses of the Middle Atlantic states Jess Gitt is regarded as one of the toughest tournament players, still shooting in the low 70's in spite of his age. Afield with naturalists, he qualifies as an expert on trees. In his spacious library he has the air of a moderately well-to-do college professor. The titles of the books that line his shelves give a cue to the character of the man and his newspaper. History, economics, sociology, international affairs, politics, and law predominate. He buys books to read them.

Carrying his scholarship to the editorial columns of his newspaper, he keeps up a drumfire of comment on public affairs with the purpose of making people realize that the world is not a self-running institution but a complex affair that calls for intelligence, courage, and selflessness from the little people as well as from the leaders. He flanks his own opinions with the best of the liberal columnists.

When I first met Jess Gitt, he remarked casually, "My ambition is to run the freest newspaper in the country." He has just about accomplished this. He sits on the board of the York Corporation, largest producer of air-conditioning equipment in the country. But that didn't prevent the paper from publishing facts unfavorable to the corporation. And when Gitt himself violated a traffic ordinance during a drive to improve traffic conditions, his city editor drew only praise from him for publishing a picture of Gitt's car parked at a rakish angle in downtown traffic.

On public issues, domestic and international, the *Gazette and Daily* has almost invariably been on the right side. During the Spanish war Gitt saw fascist aggression threatening the world: "Armageddon for democracy in this world is the battlefield of bleeding Spain, and those who help to destroy the Loyalist government are sowing the seeds of the destruction of the democratic way of life." All through the pre-war turmoil in Europe he declared that fascism was a force with which democrats could not temporize. He decried Munich as a sell-out. He had nothing but scorn for our deals with Giraud and Darlan. He condemned the Badoglio fiasco. Yet he is a vigorous supporter of the Roosevelt Administration and especially of Secretary of State Hull, whose long liberal career in Congress won his admiration.

Big business and its practices have called forth his outraged denunciations. The Dies committee was anathema to him. Every liberal cause finds the editor of the *Gazette and Daily* in there swinging on the side of the people. He was a New Dealer before there was a New Deal. He is going beyond the New Deal today because he sees that the only way to keep the economic system functioning is to create abundance for all.

All his life he has shunned a political career. But today, at sixty, shy, retiring Jess Gitt is running for Congress. He believes the most crucial struggle in our history is taking place in Washington. Early this year he urged the Democratic leaders to select a young candidate of outstanding ability and fighting spirit. He offered such a candidate the unstinting support of his newspaper. The leaders searched and conferred. Then they spent two weeks persuading Gitt that he was the man to make the race. His sense of public responsibility finally forced him into a fight he would rather have had someone else make.

When he announced his candidacy, one of York's leading industrialists remarked, "That's the greatest thing that has happened in York County politics in my lifetime." Other industrialists, however, aren't so sure, and they have already made deals with some of the crooked Democratic ward leaders whom Gitt has fought all his life. A leading merchant, for the first time in his life interested in politics, is buttonholing other business men to get behind a candidate "who knows what the score is and has the courage to do something about it." Before there was a C. I. O. Political Action Committee in Pennsylvania a group of workers formed a committee to support Gitt. Farmers in the district, though angered by his editorials arguing for ceiling prices and rationing, have been swinging to him.

At one large gathering of farmers in the most rock-ribbed Republican section of his district, Gitt stood up and said that the surest way for farmers to ruin themselves and the country was to think only of their own selfish interests. On leaving the gathering, he grimly stuck out his jaw and said, "I'd rather be licked than lead anybody to believe that he hasn't a part in trying to make this democracy work. If they can't give something now to save themselves, then I don't belong in Congress."

The November election will show whether the fact that Jess Gitt has "stood for something" all his life will be a handicap to him in his attempt to win the opportunity to stand for the nation's future in the halls of Congress.

Polls, Propaganda, Politics

It Looks Like F. D. R.

ELECTION figures in this country show a definite cycle. The Democrats reached a peak with Cleveland's election in 1892 and came steadily down to a low in 1904 against Theodore Roosevelt. Then the accumulated frustrations which are projected against the government brought about a rising demand for change, and the Democrats reached another peak with the election of Wilson in 1912. The last cycle culminated in the anti-Landon landslide of 1936, and since then the curve of Democratic votes has been downward. (This ebb and flow of political sentiment has been carefully studied by Louis H. Bean.) The moot point now is: Will the cyclic demand for change carry the Democrats down below the point of victory, or will the war prolong their decline for four more years?

The polls of today can be better understood if viewed against this long-term swing. There are sixteen different patterns which the vote of a state in the past four elections might have followed. But owing to these cyclical changes only five types of voting behavior were actually noted:

Type I: D D D D. These states voted Democratic all four times.

Type II: R D D D. These states followed the trend in the nation as a whole.

Type III: R R D D. These states lagged behind the nation and went Democratic one election later.

Type IV: R D D R. These states cut the cycle short, and returned to a Republican majority ahead of the nation as a whole.

Type V: R R R R. The constantly Republican states.

Type I (D D D D) includes Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Rhode Island, and

South Carolina. In Gallup's September surveys these all show a Democratic majority, and their seventy-nine electoral votes may be regarded as safe for Roosevelt.

Type II (R D D D) is the largest group and will be discussed in several subdivisions. First come the delinquent Southern states. They really should have been Type I, but, a little out at the edge of the Deep South, they went Republican in 1928, mainly because of Rum and Al Smith. They include Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Still more peripheral are Arizona and New Mexico on the west and Maryland and West Virginia on the north. These states are normally Democratic, but in times of special Republican strength they swing across the line. Present indications from polls are that the reaction has not yet gone far enough to carry any of them outside the Democratic fold, and their 103 electoral votes will go to Roosevelt in November.

Other sub-groups of Type II show a different set of influences and will be discussed later.

How are we to interpret the election behavior of the four states in Type III (R R D D)—Connecticut, Delaware, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania?

They didn't get on the New Deal band-wagon until 1936, and only obtained a firm seat in 1940, after Midwestern states had begun to desert. Perhaps we should expect them to hold on for one more election before they succumb to the Republican drift. The latest poll data support this expectation. Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and Delaware were rated 51 to 52 per cent for Roosevelt in September, and Connecticut was reported 50-50. But a New York *Times* article by James A. Hagerty (October 10, 1944) reports as the neutral expectation a Roosevelt plurality of 20,000 to 25,000 votes in Connecticut. One factor which might upset this estimate would be a strong Socialist vote. The Socialists in Connecticut are running a full state ticket, headed by Norman Thomas for President and Jasper McLevy for Governor. If this ticket gets anything like the 166,000 votes McLevy obtained in 1938, it may draw away enough votes from Roosevelt to defeat him in 1944, as Governor Wilbur L. Cross (Dem.) was defeated in 1938. In considering Pennsylvania, we regret that no poll has been made to test the influence of John L. Lewis upon the votes of the miners. If Connecticut and Pennsylvania stay Democratic along with the other R R D D's, 50 electoral votes would be added to the 182 that are surely Democratic.

It is not difficult to predict the vote in states of Type IV (R D D R)—Iowa, Michigan, Indiana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Colorado. They yielded only at the high point of the Democratic tide, and four years ago they returned to their traditional Republicanism. The eight of them will, in all probability, give Dewey their seventy electoral votes. They are the high-pressure Republican area on the political weather map of the nation.

Maine and Vermont, the two states in Type V (R R R R), will of course go Republican, adding eight electoral votes.

But now back to the states in Type II whose vote has not as yet been analyzed. Sub-group (a), consisting of some Southern and border states, has been discussed. Sub-group (b) contains six Far Western states which, because of greater urbanization, strong labor organization, keen concern with international affairs, and distance from the Republican centers of strength, are likely to stay Democratic despite the general trend. These are California, Montana, Nevada, Utah, Oregon, and Washington, with fifty electoral votes. In Gallup's September polls all of them were predominantly for Roosevelt. This was before Dewey's speeches on the coast; later reports will be watched with great interest.

Around the core of Midwestern Republicanism (Type IV states) lie three border groups which make up sub-group (c). Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Ohio are close neighbors to the states that returned to the Republican camp in 1940, and are likely to follow along now. Out on the western border of the Republican stronghold lie Wyoming and Idaho, now ready to join the Great Plains bloc for Dewey. As the return to Republicanism diffuses, we may expect to see these six border states add their eighty-three votes to the G. O. P. total. It is possible, of course, that the power of the Democratic machine in Cook County, which has already brought out a record-breaking registration, may hold Illinois back, but September polls show Dewey still leading (53 per cent). In Minnesota criticism of Dewey by a leading Republican, Senator Ball, may reduce the slight G. O. P. lead (52 per cent). But the historical-geographic situation leads us to expect these border states to follow the Republican trend.

The border states south of the Republican center are more difficult to predict. Missouri and Oklahoma border on Kansas, but they also touch Arkansas and other states of the solid South. Perhaps Truman may swing Missouri, but the latest polls show a 50-50 balance. The twenty-five electoral votes from these two states must be regarded as doubtful.

There remain New York and New Jersey, sub-group (d), with sixty-three electoral votes. Polls show both very close to the 50-50 line. In both, powerful Democratic machines have lost some hold, and Roosevelt is a little less popular with Negro voters than he was in 1940. In both, however, interest in international affairs seems strong, and in both the P. A. C. is active. For the present both must be regarded as doubtful.

Against this background the events of the closing weeks of the campaign can be interpreted. Our analysis has used two main principles—the historical *political cycle* and the concept of *diffusion*. These two lead to a prediction for each state which is in surprising agreement with current polls. All available evidence is combined to make the picture shown in the following table. The successful candidate must win 266 electoral votes.

	NUMBER OF ELECTORAL VOTES		
	Republican	*Democratic*	*Unpredictable*
Type I DDDD		79	
Type II RDDD			
(a) "Delinquent" South		103	
(b) Far West		50	
(c) Republican border	82		25
(d) N. Y. and N. J.			63
Type III RRDD		50	
Type IV RDDR	70		
Type V RRRR	8		
	161	282	88

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A Policy for Argentina

BY WALDO FRANK

IF WE can bring ourselves to understand them, we may yet be thankful for the grave conditions in Argentina. What has happened there and our methods of coping with it provide lessons for our future.

The counter-revolution in Argentina is not new. It dates from 1930, when the rich landowners and their lawyers, supported by the army, overthrew the failing old President Irigoyen, whose Radical Party threatened to break up the big estates, opened farmlands to immigrants, nationalized oil, encouraged home manufactures and trade unions. For fourteen years, during which no President was constitutionally elected, we recognized the government. We were following what became known as the Estrada Doctrine—formulated by Mexico's genial Foreign Minister, Genaro Estrada—which calls for the automatic recognition of de facto American administrations. In the first years of this war, when the Allies were fighting with their backs to the wall, when the United States needed all the raw goods it could get from Latin America, when the Germans still largely ran the South American airlines, and when there was real danger of a thrust from Dakar to the Amazon and the Canal, the Estrada Doctrine served us well. It justified us, despite our professed democratic motives, in dealing with the dictators of Peru, Paraguay, Central America, and Brazil.

But in Argentina the Estrada Doctrine served us at least as well. The submarines were a menace to our shipping; and Buenos Aires became the center of the whole continent's network of Nazi-Falange-Japanese espionage. Our relations with Argentina enabled us to keep in touch with what our enemies were plotting and to restrain them; it strengthened the hands of the democratic masses and their leaders; even more important, it impressed Latin America with our sincerity in refraining from political force at a time of national crisis.

The change for the worse in Argentina from 1930 to 1944 came about through a shift of power within the ruling minorities, a shift which may recur more than once in the post-war world policed by mechanized armies. In place of the landowners—who correspond in Argentine economy to our industrialists—the generals took over. The immediate cause of the shift was that the Castillo regime had failed to stem the rising tide of liberalism in the masses. The generals succeeded for a variety of reasons. Argentine labor is poorly organized; the petty bourgeoisie of Buenos Aires is comfortable and chauvinistic; the church, as usual, defends the economic status quo, which it glorifies with words like "national honor" and "national order." The foreign subversive groups, Nazis and disciples of Franco, although they can do little alone, ably second the domestic elements of reaction.

Our departure at this moment from the Estrada Doctrine has done us no good, and has helped the forces we are supposed to be fighting. We are no longer in the field to observe and counter-attack. We have failed and will fail to align the British in a real economic embargo which might unseat the wealthy and middle classes. Such an overthrow might bring about in Argentina the kind of social revolution which the ruling groups in Britain fear in Italy, France, and Germany. The reactionaries in Argentina know this: that is one reason why, although they deplore the "bad taste" of the generals, they now support them. They look forward to the day when we may be thankful to them for providing a bulwark against social revolution in every part of Latin America where we have capital invested.

Thus our hostility to Argentina has made a martyr of the nationalist government, has drawn sentimental neutrals to its side as against "Yankee interference"—and has discouraged the liberals. To them it means that the United States may be reverting to old methods of political pressure for its own ends, and they have plenty of good reasons to doubt that these ends are entirely democratic. They know that we continue to be on very good terms indeed with equally undemocratic governments among Argentina's neighbors—not to mention Franco's Spain. Fear and jealousy of the United States form a shrewd weapon in the hands of Latin American reaction from Mexico southward. We have now refurbished and restored it, against the disarmed Argentine people.

II

Within the nascent Latin American world there is a dangerous jockeying for power. Brazil has formed a loose axis with Mexico and Chile, and by its alliance with the winning Allies it holds the cards against Argentina. But this harmony with us will not outlast self-interest. In the post-war world—unless we speedily do better than is promised by Dumbarton Oaks—the United States will be merely one of several huge world combinations, all struggling for influence in Latin America, the richest remaining prize in the whole world. Great Britain will set out for fresh gains from its vantage-point in Argentina, Spain and France—especially if they emerge as democracies more progressive than ourselves—will work from their strong cultural ties. The Soviet Union will be a great magnet, not only because of its economic power but through the popularity of its racial freedom. Whoever controls Africa will be closer to Brazil and Argentina than we are. If we attempt to control its South American approaches, Brazil and Argentina will solidify against us.

Brazil is potentially a first-class power. It is growing rapidly in population; its resources are even greater than our own; it is equally ambitious and at least equally endowed with diplomatic genius. If improved technics of communication and production bring its deeply democratic people to political maturity—which may happen as soon as it does in Russia—Brazil may express its hostility to a country whose treatment of the Negro is a direct insult to half its population.

Brazil has been with us in this war because of trade advantages which will dwindle as it develops its resources and scraps its coffee economy; because it needed us to develop these resources (among others, steel); because we could help it snatch the continental leadership from Argentina; and most of all because the people, passionately anti-fascist, forced the hand of President Vargas. All excellent reasons—and all temporary. We were right to cooperate with Vargas; we were wrong to discourage Brazil's liberals by our sickening praise of Vargas. Vargas did not go along with us because of our Ambassador Jefferson Caffery, a man wholly out of touch with the people of both Brazil and his own country. But the presence of Caffery in Rio did help the progressives of Brazil to distrust the fine words of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull.

If, as Brazil grows industrially great, it should become imperialistic, it would challenge us or we should be forced to challenge it. And all the Latin American peoples will remember our fulsome support of Vargas. If, as seems more likely, Brazil outgrows the Vargas phase, our present record there and in Peru will stand against us. Brazil's new democratic leaders then will turn with far more confidence toward a possibly more democratic Europe, toward the Soviets, and by contact with similar popular movements in Argentina, Peru, Chile, Uruguay, *et al.*, form a defensive bloc against us.

III

The problem of inter-American relations is enormously complex because of the vast differences, ethnic, cultural, politico-economic, between the countries. To discuss it briefly without oversimplification is almost hopeless; nor is one helped by the stubborn ignorance of even the more enlightened groups in the United States. Nevertheless, certain over-all recommendations may and must be made. First of all, we must get over the idea that our chief enemy anywhere in Latin America is German, or Spanish, or any foreign fascism. The principal dangers are economic and cultural—and the two go together. So long as Latin America suffers from an economy of exploitation and our own trends of cultural ignorance and racial arrogance continue, political programs and conferences for hemisphere solidarity will be inflammable as paper.

The nub of our good relations with Latin America must be:

1. We must move toward economic and racial democracy, *at home*.

2. So long as we do not, so long as our present trend of collectivization of wealth without democratic control continues, we should adhere strictly to the Estrada Doctrine. It is the one safe way at present, when our good faith is justifiably in doubt, of not playing favorites through political pressure.

3. The Estrada Doctrine should be broadened to the economic field. Every time our Import-Export Bank, for instance, loans money to a Latin American government, it is favoring it; and if the government is anti-democratic, we are working against its people. To avoid the odium of interference, economic help should therefore be placed on a strict quota basis among the several countries. Economic sanctions against a bad government, such as are proposed against Argentina, should be voted on by a Congress of American Foreign Ministers, which should assemble each year. Even when it approves, the final decision should be passed on by whatever world body is functioning; so that the sanction may be universal.

4. Meanwhile, we can proceed in other ways to prepare *ourselves* for good hemisphere relations. We should have a college for the consular and diplomatic services in Latin America. Its training should lay as much emphasis on ethnography and Latin American cultures as on economics.

5. Democracy goes deeper than economics. It pertains not only to all men and races but to the whole man; and this is the field of culture. If we take seriously the dream of the Western Hemisphere as a New World of free men, we should begin to prove it in our schools. The study of a second American language, Spanish or Portuguese, should be compulsory. The study of the American pre-cultures—Mexican, Andean, African, and Hispanic—should have as strong a place in our curriculum as Greek and Roman history. By these means real contacts would be created for understanding, mutual nourishment, and collaboration.

6. Only as we move toward economic democracy at home shall we be able to help the Latin Americans along the same road. *We should offer them the means and the chance to buy back their natural resources.* American big business and the cartels won't approve. But it will mean good business for the American people as a whole, whose trade will enormously increase as Latin America's standard of living rises.

7. As an immediate first step we must send an ambassador to Buenos Aires. The new envoy should be a liberal of the highest record and a profound student of

Latin American culture, a man who can communicate with the Argentines in inter-American terms. Such a man, in the cultural capital of Spanish-speaking South America, would be worth far more to the cause of inter-American relations than even successful sanctions, which might unseat a dictator without touching the causes of his rise, or than our present short-sighted policy of playing one state against another.

[In an early issue we shall publish an article by an Argentine anti-fascist whose views on the subject of American policy, differing sharply from those of Waldo Frank, are closer to our own.]

Behind the Enemy Line

By ARGUS

THE latest slogan coined by the Berlin Propaganda Ministry is a variation of the Roosevelt and Churchill formula. It calls on the people for "unconditional resistance." One of the Ministry's under secretaries first used the phrase at a mass-meeting on September 24. Goebbels's organ, *Das Reich,* has also used a variation of the unfortunate Paul Reynaud's words. It said on September 17:

> It is strange that we Germans are always called fools when we believe in miracles. The French speak of the miracle of the Marne in 1914, the Poles of the miracle of the Vistula in 1920, the Russians of the miracle of Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad. Actually these were not miracles but the results of a tremendous moral and organizational regeneration. Why should not we too have our miracles, we who are Europe's incalculable nation?

Pages could be filled each week with the measures which are expected to contribute to the miraculous success of "unconditional resistance." They represent a desperate scraping together of the last odds and ends of man-power and materials. A typical announcement proclaims: "Repair of watches and clocks or parts thereof is from now on prohibited without a special permit" (*Völkischer Beobachter,* September 21). Another runs: "Any person surrendering five kilos [eleven pounds] of waste paper can demand a voucher entitling him to buy five sheets of writing paper with envelopes" (*Dagens Nyheter*, Stockholm, September 13).

An indication of what is going on meanwhile in people's heads is provided by the brand-new propaganda campaigns that have been launched. One is directed against the fear that a famine is unavoidable. An article in the *Völkische Beobachter* of September 19 says:

> Lately many consumers have been asking about the prospects for our food supply now that we have relinquished territory in the east and in the west and that grain no longer comes in from Southeastern Europe. The answer is that the loss of these sources of supply will not affect our amount of food as much as is sometimes assumed. . . . However, it is true that in the future we must get along without some supplementary supplies which have given us up to now a certain amount of economic elbow room.

Then suddenly, all over the Reich, there was a cloudburst of articles occasioned obviously by the frequent question: Why do we hear nothing from Hitler? Why does he make no more speeches when he used to make so many? Said the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* on September 23:

> To our mind nobody needs to interpret the Führer's silence. Hitler's speeches have always been of great significance. His silence has even greater weight. It has lasted for months now and has become a matter of grave concern to our enemies. They would give a great deal for a word from him. But his lips are sealed. This is indeed a heavy burden for the enemy, although it is one for our own nation too.

But the most interesting campaign of recent weeks is that against soldiers who come back from the western front with terrible tales of what they have been through and of how the war is going. "Don't believe them!" shout the newspapers in endless variation. The *National Zeitung* of Essen denounced them on September 13:

> Front-line soldiers have coined the phrase "rear-line braggarts" for this species. We must make a distinction between them and the faithful soldiers. It is no secret that individuals who have deserted from their formations are appearing everywhere now, dejectedly straggling back from the front. Partly by pretending to a knowledge they do not have, partly by treacherously revealing military secrets, they try to give authority to their talk about the hopelessness of our situation.

An increasing amount of space is devoted to condemnation of the "fools and criminals" who say, "For us as individuals defeat will be a matter of indifference." In West German newspapers we find:

> We must be on our guard against people who admire the enemy or who say, "Nothing can happen to me if the enemy wins."
>
> Nobody should imagine that the enemy will rebuild German towns. Nobody should think that it will help him any to refer to the fact that he formerly belonged to one of the political parties of the Weimar Republic.

Death sentences imposed simply for saying things like this are multiplying. The Vienna edition of the *Völkische Beobachter* for September 16 in its announcement of executions mentioned that of an accountant who in conversation with other employees had uttered the aphorism: "It is better to be a coward for five minutes than to be dead all one's life."

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Poet in Exile

NO ROAD BACK. Poems by Walter Mehring. Translated from the German by S. A. de Witt. Illustrations by George Grosz. English and German Text. Samuel Curl. $2.

THE German poet Mehring lives across the street from the Museum of Natural History in New York. Watching him caper round the museum with the dog of a friend, I was frequently on the point of warning him. Some day one of those hired collectors of natural oddities, a curator looking out of the window and seeing the greatest living Prussian lyricist and one of Berlin's last wits, might well yield to the collecting urge and have poor Mehring put under glass, with the label: "Last free poet of Prussia, natural size, captured in an exiled condition shortly before the doom of Germany."

Such a episode would not be so very unusual in the strange life of this high-strung poet. In his latest book of verse the real and imagined lives of Walter Mehring are set forth in an equally fanciful and authentic way, and the camps and purgatories in which he and other exiled German poets have been exhibited seem like virtual museums of Europe's natural history. Mehring languished also in the concentration camps of *la doulce France*—then still at war with Hitler—only for having loved liberty, told the truth, and fought Hitler; only for having been hounded by the enemies of mankind and having cursed Germany's German subverters in German verse.

These verses, and others like them, Mehring has now published in New York. In the twenty-five poems, chosen and translated by S. A. de Witt, there yawns many a hell from the past decade—the hell of Nazism, the hell of exile, the hell of Vichy, and similar minor hells, besides the main hell of ordinary life. One sky alone stays blue—the sky of Mehring's love.

Today the American Legion is on record for prompt deportation of "the refugees" after the war—not on the laudable ground of restoring them to their homelands, but in order to assure to returning veterans the untold millions of jobs now held by a few thousand foreign fugitives; I wonder which veteran will take over Walter Mehring's job in this country—that of writing some of the finest poetry of our time in the German language?

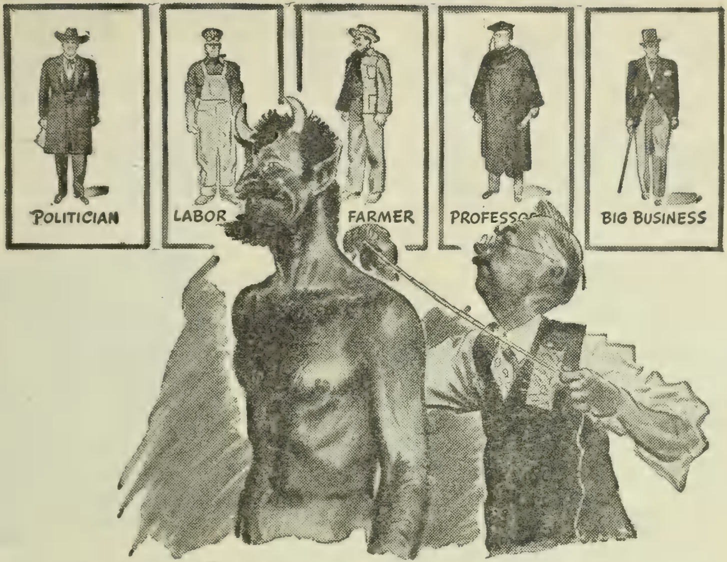
Mehring was born in Berlin in 1896. His father, Sigmar Mehring, was editor of *Ulk,* a humorous weekly that made fun of all topics within the limits permitted by the Prussian government—for overstepping these bounds in the Dreyfus case the elder Mehring was locked up in a fortress. Besides, he translated French and English poetry, including Walt Whitman's.

At nineteen Walter Mehring was an expressionist and had his poems printed in Herwarth Walden's *Sturm.* His first book of verse, the "Ketzerbrevier," appeared in 1921 (along with books by Heinrich Mann, Werfel, and Kafka) under the imprint of Kurt Wolff, who in his youth was a progressive German publisher and now brings out Catholic authors and tomes on art in New York. Mehring's chansons made him famous in Berlin. He was deemed radical in the Weimar Republic because he rhymed against the "Black Reichswehr" assassins. These polemical rhymes ran in brilliant little magazines, in Carl von Ossietzky's *Weltbühne* and Leopold Schwarzschild's *Tagebuch,* and were recited in brilliant little cabarets like Max Reinhardt's Schall und Rauch: there was a whole school of such witty, radical *chansonniers* who on occasion would read their poems personally in cabarets—Frank Wedekind, Kurt Tucholsky, Bert Brecht, Erich Kästner, Klabund. Mehring's half-Yiddish, half-Berlinese play, "The Merchant of Berlin," was produced there in 1928 by Erwin Piscator. Jews and Nazis appeared on the stage; in the audience Jews laughed and Nazis threw stench bombs. All told, Mehring has published about two dozen books of prose and poetry, and he has also written about modern painting.

From 1921 on he lived alternately in Berlin and Paris. In March, 1933, he fled before the Nazis from Berlin to Paris; in 1938, before the Nazis, from Vienna to Paris; in 1940, before the Nazis, from Paris to Marseilles; in 1941, before the Nazis, from Marseilles to Hollywood; and in 1942, before the Nazi films of Hollywood, to New York.

Mehring is frail, agile in wit and gesture. He smokes and drinks and talks and predicts provocatively, is always full of dark allusions and dire prophecies. Ever hurried, he is ever idle. He never stops training his wit on topical history and all contemporaries, known and unknown; he tells constantly new improbable stories in crass detail, and swears to having personally lived through all of them and through far stranger things. He can hear the grass grow and is an eyewitness to all grotesque occurrences—the high-flown police reporter of German lyric poetry.

Mehring is always complaining, even when he is better off; he has never yet been well off—times are too critical, and Mehring is too astute, to be deceived about them. More than once I have wronged him by refusing to believe his fantastic Job's posts—and he abounds in Job's posts. In Paris he hailed me in front of the Madeleine to whisper that a tree falling out of a clear sky in the Champs Elysées had slain our friend Odon von Horvath. He hailed me beside Danton's statue on the Boulevard St. Germain to whisper that our friend Joseph Roth was dying, bound with ropes, in a hospital. In September, 1939, he came from Deauville into my Trouville hotel room at the crack of dawn to whisper that we had to go straight to the nearest concentration camp at Lisieux—we, the first anti-Nazis, had to go to a French concentration camp because France was at war with the Nazis. Three times I took Mehring's arm and inquired, "Aren't you romancing, dear friend?" But he was right. The modern satirist's trouble is that no one will believe him. Formerly satirists exaggerated reality. A modern satirist can't possibly paint the world as black as it is.



What kind of clothes does the devil wear?

Listen for five minutes in almost any train, bar, living room, or barbershop, when there's a political discussion going on.

You'll hear somebody doing a job on business or labor, on politicians or professors . . . painting them blacker than Beelzebub himself. You can fairly smell the brimstone.

And maybe you'll notice this odd fact, too: *the less the speaker knows about the people he or she is criticizing, the more furious and blistering the comment is apt to be.*

Nobody hates business as much as people who have never worked in business.

Folks who don't bother to vote are the most contemptuous of politicians.

Businessmen who have never read what the professors are really saying are surest that nothing they say makes sense.

And it's usually ladies and gents who never had a labor problem bigger than a cook who see hooves and forked tails sticking out of factory workers' overalls.

If you know a lot of people of all kinds, you aren't likely to hand down these easy black-and-white judgments.

You see (as all of us do when we think about it) that most Americans—businessmen, politicians, farmers, factory workers, professors—are decent, honest citizens, that they have their share of self-interest, but all of them have contributed mightily to the growth and strength and prosperity of America.

In short, no *group* wears the devil's clothes.

But the danger is we may *think* some particular group does—*and insulate ourselves* from all the writings, pronouncements, opinions of any individual in that group.

And thus Americans may deny themselves the help of many intelligent, experienced people at a time when our country needs all the mindpower it can muster.

Problems like today's don't need heat—they need light.

They need light from more than one source . . . more than one newspaper, magazine, or book. They need the pleasant mellow lamp-light of the fellow who agrees with you . . . and the disagreeable blue search-light of the fellow who doesn't.

Most of all, they need the daylight that shines through the clear windows of fact. Facts about our present economic situation in the light of our own past experiences and that of other nations. Facts about the great experiments that have worked and the ones that have failed. Facts about labor and business—about political theory and practice.

Are you getting these facts? Are you being stimulated by the sparks that jump from opposite poles of thinking?

Is your mind a source of light to your friends and your country . . . or of heat?

For instance:

Have you read Eric Johnston's "Warning to Labor and Management"? You can get it in bulletin form from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Is Frederick Hayek's "Road to Serfdom," (Chicago University Press, 1944), a part of your information on economics?

Have you looked into Teller and Waring's "The Small Farmer Looks Ahead," published by Harpers?

Or that comprehensive book on labor and its problems, "The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy" by Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg (Harpers, 1942)?

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This is the seventh advertisement in a series TIME is publishing to get more Americans thinking about the problems we must face after the war is won. This reminder that the problems of the 1944 presidential election can be solved wisely only if the electorate keeps an open mind, is appearing in more than 40 newspapers and magazines all across the country.

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

The weekly NEWSMAGAZINE

9 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NEW YORK 20

In his poetry Mehring has attempted to do justice to the horrors of the age, and he has succeeded.

The new volume's first and best part is Odyssey Out of Midnight, a love poem in twelve letters and a thousand verses. These are strange love letters; they blend glaring reality with glaring dreams, like those of Breughel or of the German romanticists Arnim and E. Th. A. Hoffmann. In the very first stanza hell is breaking loose—a chiefly political hell. The poet feels gripped by the "Medusa's arms of dark, dank exile"; he gazes upon "the derelict, Culture," and as for the moon:

> The thousandfold procurer's light
> Looks dangerously Trotskyite
> Since lovers hark to dialed shrines,
> To pledge their troth to the party lines—

In these apocalyptic love poems the *chansonnier* Mehring adopts the language of Cassandra and Daniel, the prophets of doom. How divergent are the themes and styles that make up these thousand verses and the other thirteen poems in the volume! They recover rhythms of the minstrelsy of a Hans Sachs—which once before were employed by a greater poet, Goethe, in "Faust."

Mehring mingles the pert insolence of the modern Berlin idiom with the exquisitely pointed artistry of the Provençal poets. He compounds the vernacular and even the soulless false popular oratory of the Nazis with depth and finesse and the heavy and often grandiose pomp of florid, wordy expressionists. His verses teem with allusions and word plays and puns and symbolist figures. The breath of a strong and pitiless rhetoric pervades them. They recall Heine and Villon, Baudelaire, T. S. Eliot, and Swinburne; in happy mixture they yield the original Walter Mehring. This language is untranslatable, at the same time savage and tamed, enraged and precious. It pours hellish loathing into delicately measured, adroitly jarring, artfully polished rhymes. It is baroque lyricism with the most topical characters, curvate and vehement. Mehring is a witty Cassandra.

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China's Wartime Politics

Published under the auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations

by LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

$2.00, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, Princeton, N. J.

Because these verses are all but untranslatable, S. A. de Witt has only paraphrased most of them. And with Mehring's words as powerful as those of any living German poet, the English paraphrases seem naturally weaker despite the ardent translator's self-sacrificing, meritorious zeal. George Grosz, the famous American painter who was once the most acid German cartoonist, has contributed several drawings to his old friend's verse.

Except for the "Collected Poems" of the Prague-born Austrian, Franz Werfel, "No Road Back" is the most important volume of German verse written in exile. And as most German poets of rank left the Third Reich and those who stayed have become mute or obtuse, that is to say the best German book of poetry in a decade.

HERMANN KESTEN

Delights and Defects of Experiment

NEW DIRECTIONS 1944—8. New Directions. $3.50.

LIKE its predecessors, the eighth annual anthology of New Directions is full of fun, serious fun as in the newly translated pieces by Lorca, and fun at all costs, as in the lavish and indeed libertine uses of free association in some of the other authors. Mr. Laughlin, an old one at eating his cake and denouncing it too, denounces imperialism in his preface, which is good fun because it illustrates how inexpensive righteous sentiments are, and he invokes the necessity of experimentalism as a literary method, which, in the abstract, one can no more object to than one can object to blank verse or piano-playing, in the abstract.

Most of these authors try hard to be experimental, and they show very well how predictable experimental writing can be. For example, is anything less experimental than the deadly earnest imitation of experimental writing of twenty-five years ago? Some of the poets here echo the idiom and the subject matter Ezra Pound brought forth after the last war, and others are highly involved in imitating their own efforts of fifteen years ago.

Free association is certainly one of the oldest traits of experimental writing. We know how significant it can be because of Freudian doctrine and method, and we know how richly it can be used when we remember the Night-town scene in Ulysses, where the method is justified by the subject matter. However, Joyce's genius cannot justify the six pages entitled "Regarding the Nature and Accomplishments of Heaven," although Pandemonium would be more exact, in which are mixed doodles, floor plans, specimens of the author's handwriting, arrows and signposts, typescript and textbook illustrations. The author of this effusion employs the cunning device of concealing some of his lines behind others

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so that they cannot be read, thus silencing the critic. But elsewhere one can make out such phrases as "the noise of motionless runners," "the grin of leaves," and "the impression of the radiant delivers." It would really be interesting to know why anyone wants so much and tries so hard to be meaningless.

But this flirtation with the ineffable is fortunately not at all typical. Other pitfalls of free association show themselves in authors less innocent and more gifted. When one of them writes of "the illimitable surgery of the moonlight," it is difficult to know whether the white attire of surgeons or the blade-like character of light rays is responsible for the pretentious triviality of the metaphor. So, too, it is hard to make out why another poet, one capable of the genuine irony of "The middle class shall inherit the earth," should feel that anything but resemblance of sound justified a reference to Sigmund Freud as Sigmund Fraud.

The use of abstractions is another way in which the experimental writer often deceives himself, and he is far from alone in this fault. A literary work must have a theme; ideas are necessary to illuminate the experience the author deals with: it is natural then to commit the error of merely stating one's theme abstractly, or of reducing the story to a lyrical ballet of ideas. After all, ideas seem to be so much more profound than observation, and it becomes easy to maintain a style if one does not have to give one's subject a time, place, local habitation, and name. Thus it is that one of the authors in this volume writes: "Value is the elastic ether/ Of quality that fills the gaps/ In the continuum of discrete space—The prime togetherness." One cannot help being impressed by such a concussion of the abstruse. Elsewhere the temptation to abstraction makes one author call his characters A, B, C, and D, which is very like calling one's characters Sincerity and Adultery instead of Cordelia and Anna Karenina. Just as the regional author tends to be too particular, so the experimental author tends to generalize with too much ease.

Look at the Record!
THE HISTORY OF THE NEW DEAL
by BASIL RAUCH

Written with the cool objectivity of a historian, this factual book shows graphically how far we have travelled from the ideas of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. Whatever your political views in this election, you will KNOW what you are voting for (or against) on November 7th, if you read this brilliantly documented analysis of every major and minor step that has been taken by our government through the years from 1933 to 1938. 368 pages. Index. $2.50

CREATIVE AGE PRESS, Inc., 11 East 44 St., New York 17

None the less, free association and abstraction are the causes of what is good as well as what is not good in this collection. And it would be hard to think of any other place where one was as likely to enjoy the delights of sensibility, eager and full of bounce, and fresh and full of verve and nerve. These qualities show themselves to one or another degree in the stories and poems by William Carlos Williams, Meyer Liben, June Cannan, John Malcolm Brinnin, Howard Moss, Tennessee Williams, Kappo Phelan, Weldon Kees, and, most of all, in the pages devoted to Latin American poetry and Lorca, in Lorca's miraculous imagery.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

The Collectivist Bogy

THE ROAD TO SERFDOM. By Friedrich Hayek. The University of Chicago Press. $2.75.

HOW TO TELL PROGRESS FROM REACTION: ROADS TO INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY. By Manya Gordon. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.

THE rise of totalitarianism has prompted the democratic world to view all collectivist answers to our social problem with increased apprehension. It is feared that any system of "planning" and any increase in the political control of the economic process will lead toward the omnipotent state. These apprehensions, expressed within reason, will be helpful in preserving democracy; for a too powerful state is dangerous to our liberties, even when its avowed purpose is the achievement of a more equal justice.

Friedrich Hayek, an Austrian economist now resident in Britain, raises these apprehensions to unmeasured proportions and scares himself back into an almost consistent laissez faire social philosophy, qualified only by the concession that the state may be permitted to guarantee minimal social securities. Some of our wise men have been heaping excessive praise upon this book, but I do not find it any more profound or prudent than Herbert Hoover's book on "Liberty" written about a decade ago.

No social philosophy dealing with only one of two contrasting perils which modern society faces is adequate to our situation. Dr. Hayek sees the perils of political power clearly enough; but there is nothing in his book to indicate the slightest awareness of the perils of inordinate economic power. He writes as if the automatic balances of a free competitive system were still intact, or would be, if the world had not been beguiled by collectivist thought. There is no understanding of the fact that a technical civilization has accentuated the centralization of power in economic society and that the tendency to monopoly has thrown the nice balance of economic forces—if it ever existed—into disbalance.

Hayek furthermore makes the mistake of assuming that if there is any political control of economic process at all it

NEXT WEEK

The Nation's Fall Book Number

A SPECIAL 48-PAGE ISSUE

SECOND AIR FORCE	A Poem	by Randall Jarrell
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and

Brief Reviews by Sidney Hook, Lionel Trilling, Albert Guerard, Rolfe Humphries, Reinhold Niebuhr, Eric Russell Bentley, Marcus Duffield, and others.

Hereafter *The Nation* will print each week one long review of an important book and a series of "little reviews"—short critical comments by authoritative writers who are regular contributors to *The Nation's* Book Section. Fiction in Review will continue as usual. There will be a Verse Chronicle from time to time and short essays on a wide variety of subjects.

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must be consistently dictatorial. "If," he declares, "the complex system of interrelated activities is to be consciously directed at all, it must be directed by a single staff of experts, and ultimate responsibility must rest with a commander-in-chief whose hands must not be fettered by democratic procedure." This is pretty close to pure nonsense; and all the experience of the democratic nations, deeply involved in planning production for war purposes, refutes it.

Miss Gordon has the same fear that the seed of totalitarianism may lurk in the philosophy of collectivism which Hayek displays; but she understands the other side of the problem. As a consequence she achieves a measured and helpful analysis of our political problems in which our faith in the possibility of achieving both security and freedom is strengthened and in which the perils and possibilities of various strategies are carefully weighed.

Miss Gordon regards the trend toward democratic socialism in Britain and Sweden as more or less normative for the Western world. In this she may be right, though she may be a little too uncritical in assessing the political achievements of these two nations. Perhaps she estimates the achievements correctly, but she hardly gives an adequate account of the perils which these nations still face in the political rapids of the post-war period.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

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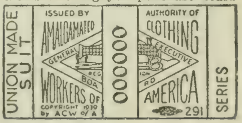

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Context of Impressionism

FRENCH IMPRESSIONISTS AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES. Preface by Edward Alden Jewell. Photo Research and Biographies by Aimée Crane. Supervised by André Gloeckner. The Hyperion Press (Distributed by Random House). $5.95.

IMPRESSIONIST painting was one of the graces of the Third Republic, and like the Third Republic it was a historical episode, not a classification or genre. In his preface to this book Edward Alden Jewell, the art critic of the New York *Times,* makes a despairing attempt to decide just which painters the impressionist label belongs to. He considers the hallmark of impressionism to be "divisionism," or divided tones and colors: colors optically blended by juxtaposition on the canvas rather then by mixture on the palette or by glazing or scumbling. But he admits that this principle was constantly violated by everyone except the "post-impressionist" Seurat, and that Monet was later on the only one to show the disregard for composition that is supposed to be another standard trait of impressionism. Mr. Jewell gets into all this trouble because he has somehow forgotten that impressionism began with neither the divided tone nor the accidental composition.

As R. H. Wilenski has pointed out, impressionism emerged from realism in the early eighteen sixties with Manet's *peinture claire,* which eschewed under-painting and worked from dark to light instead of the other way about, as was the academic practice. *Peinture claire* was a means of painting more quickly so as to seize fleeting effects, and was also a response to the new way shown by photography of describing variations of light. Manet, Monet, and Pissarro painted under photographic influence well into the eighteen seventies, suppressing local color in order to follow the play of light and dark by tinted tonalities of gray. The work they produced in this phase is just as much a part of impressionist painting as the rainbow-hued pictures painted under Renoir's lead in the eighties and later. Degas, who, according to Mr. Jewell, was never an impressionist, felt this influence of photographic light values at about the same time as the others—his franker, smoother use of color ought not to obscure this; and he also owed to photography the impulse toward his innovations in design. Moreover, Degas's pastels rely greatly on broken or divided color—above and beyond the fact that the nature itself of that medium has a tendency to impose divisionism on the artist who uses it for more than a sketch.

The question as to who were and were not impressionists is relatively unimportant. Divisionism was only a phase of impressionism, and impressionism was a historical phenomenon. The main thing is that what Manet, Monet, Renoir, Pissarro, Degas, Sisley, Morisot, Cézanne, Van Gogh, Gauguin, Seurat, and Toulouse-Lautrec had in common was more important historically and for the purposes of terminology than what they did not have in common. What they shared was an attitude and practice which, having originated in an attempt to limn nature with the utmost fidelity, culminated in the exaltation of painting as something capable of producing results in its own terms superior to the results of the imitation of nature as practiced in the nineteenth century.

"French Impressionists and Their Contemporaries" marks an advance in American standards of reproduction. Several of its fifty-one color plates approach the level of Austrian and German work in this field. For this André Gloeckner, who supervised the production of the book, deserves credit. In addition to works of the artists mentioned above, examples are reproduced in black and white as well as in color from the hands of Corot, Monticelli, Boudin, Guillaumin, Redon, Forain, Signac, Cassatt, Carrière, Bonnard, and Vuillard.

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DRAMA

Soldier's Wife

THE current vocabulary of dramatic criticism does not include any term to indicate in a play that special quality which editors have in mind when they refer to "slick-paper fiction." Until quite recently, I think, the lack was not frequently felt, for the simple reason that even purely commercial writing for the stage rarely had just that quality. Not all Broadway plays were, goodness knows, on any high level of artistry, but even the vulgarity of Broadway was vulgarity of a highly specialized kind which one found there more often and more clearly defined than one found it anywhere else.

On the one hand there was the simple-minded theatricality which could be described as "hokum" with the assurance that anyone familiar with the current stage would know exactly what was meant. On the other there was a kind of brassy pseudo-sophistication which was sufficiently indicated when a new piece was labeled "a typical Broadway play." But neither of these was anything like slick-paper fiction.

The latter is less naive than theatrical hokum and a good deal less brassy than the "typical Broadway play." It generally skirts safely around the edge of some supposedly serious theme. It is, of couse, resolutely optimistic. It combines a certain amount of sophistication with a folksy wholesomeness. And it is written in a flowing style alternating the epigram with the cliché in such a fashion that the sheerest fatuity sounds almost smart.

Perhaps it is because the theater has come increasingly to depend upon writers who are not in the first instance writers for the stage; perhaps it is because, more and more, plays are financed from Hollywood, where the slick-paper fiction writer has won his apotheosis; but in any event more and more of the new stage pieces have the quality which one has learned to associate with popular magazines, with the movies, and with the soap operas rather than any which was once characteristic of Broadway even when Broadway was at its worst; and Rose Franken's new hit "Soldier's Wife" (Golden Theater) is a typical case in point. It might have been—and for all I know was—first a short story or a serial. It almost certainly will be a successful movie. And it could be all three things with no more than the purely formal changes necessary in transforming it from novel to play to movie. The same relaxed, sentimental triviality of tone and the same easy disposal of "problems" which are raised to give just a pompous hint of seriousness would go as well in the *Woman's Home Companion* or the Roxy Theater as they do on the stage.

A soldier invalided home from the Pacific finds that his wife has been bravely waiting for him. A dying buddy to whom he had read her letters happened to be the son of a publisher, and through him the letters are put into print. Overnight the volume becomes a best-seller, but between them the young couple decide that a home is better than a career, and that is absolutely all. Since very little time is required to tell such a story, the evening is filled out with two things in almost equal proportions—intimate little family jokes (including the one about hurrying to finish the chair before the paint gives out) and sudden set speeches about how thousands of couples like them will have a difficult readjustment to make since husbands have had experiences which the wives will never share and wives have learned independence while forced to get along by themselves. This particular couple wonders "if we have any right to be happy" and concludes that "marriage is made up of little things." Just to show that they (and the author)

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are wholesomely frank and modern about sex, we find them a few minutes before the curtain falls preparing to go to bed early in order to beget a child.

The curious thing is that three spectators out of four will probably go home convinced, not only that they have seen a thoughtful and timely play, but also that the picture of this young couple is "so true to life." Yet I, being the fourth, am firmly convinced that no two people in all the world ever behaved with anything approaching such stereotyped cuteness or ever so regularly rose to every occasion with the current feelings and the appropriately polished clichés in which to express them—except, of course, in so far as they were modeling themselves on the heroes and heroines of the family magazine. And it is an awful thought that if the stage is really going to join hands with the monthlies and the movies to propagate precisely the same ideals in precisely the same terms, the time may come when all America will be living slick-paper fiction.

A small cast of competent and well-known performers seems pretty well subdued to the stuff it works in. As the young wife, Martha Scott could satisfactorily pose for the colored illustrations to go with the serialized version of the piece. As the husband, Myron McCormick sucks his pipe in the fashion approved by all manly but nonglittering husbands. Only Glenn Anders, who plays the role of a very easily converted cynic, seems to me to give a performance which anyone could remember. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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MUSIC

IN SOME of his music for "Bloomer Girl" Harold Arlen uses a gently flowing style that comments amusingly on the 1861 situations it deals with. Most of it, however, is traditional Broadway musical comedy music, no more than routine and competent, but enjoyable, and genuine, which makes it more enjoyable than a more spectacular synthetic product by Kurt Weill. Even the routine songs are livened up by clever touches in E. Y. Harburg's lyrics; and interpolated among the fervent phrases of the juvenile lead's love song, "Evalina," are sardonically deflating comments by delightful Celeste Holm. And in one song, "T'morra, t'morra"—a scornful rejection of the attitude which would give up the certain pleasures of today for the uncertain rewards of the future—Arlen and Harburg produce something that ranks with the best of Rodgers and Hart.

Joan McCracken's singing of this song stops the show; and after an added stanza she does a hilariously funny dance of on-the-spot inviting abandon invented by Agnes de Mille. In addition Miss de Mille contributes a delightful ballet concerned with the emancipation of woman from household slavery, a ballroom dance with some charming new details, and some amusing extravagances for a mock-performance of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." But then the plot, as musical comedy plots do, suddenly turns serious; and we get a "Civil War Ballet" in the style of Tudor's "Dark Elegies" (Tudor's "Sacrè du printemps," as someone I know describes it), with even a Tudor Woman in Black and Red and Girl in Rose and Her Soldier who looks like Hugh Laing. The degree of the imitation makes me suspect, and hope, that the piece is a dead-pan joke—which, incidentally, the audience does not appreciate.

The insufficient number of principal dancers for leading roles in the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo results in the use of dancers, both first- and second-line, in roles for which they are not suited or equipped. A charming ingenue like Krassovska occasionally has to take over Danilova's classical roles in the grand manner. When Youskevitch is not re-engaged Franklin has to dance in "Swan Lake"; when Franklin is incapacitated and Youskevitch is still not re-engaged their roles are assigned to lesser dancers. One of these is Danielian, whose disconcerting appearance—large head on very thin body—and ostentatious violence wreck classical roles and convert the part of the King of the Dandies in "Le Beau Danube" into a piece of *bizarrerie*—this when, as it happens, there is Goudovitch who could dance them with effortless grace and elegance.

The similar weakness in the Ballet Theater last year when Markova did not appear has been remedied this year by the engagement of Toumanova and

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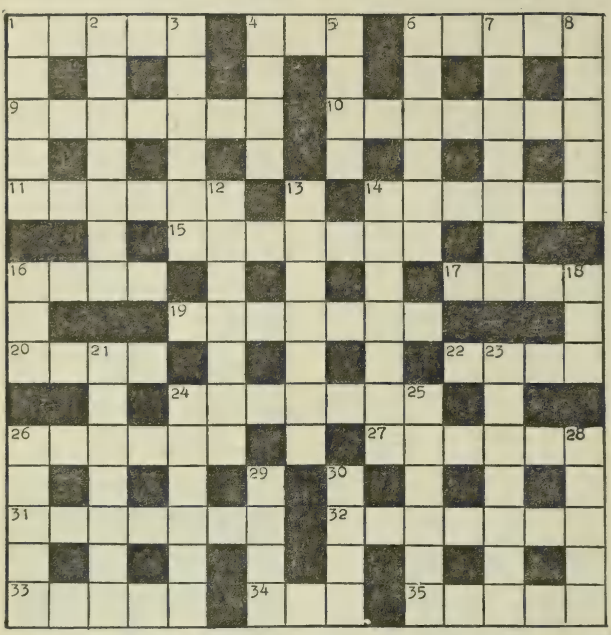
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 86

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Man's great disc-overy
4 Dr. Johnson's retort to the man who told him he couldn't say "Boo!" to [illegible] goose
6 Flowers of summer or Christmas
9 Part of a dormitory
10 Word mentioned once in this list of clues
11 Position in life
14 A Marshal of France since November 19, 1918
15 It looks as though the cowboy might be useful in the ring
16 Napier's landing-place
17 There may be a crow's nest on this
19 "Time's up!" (anag.)
20 He illustrated *Rabelais* and *Don Quixote*
22 One even smaller than Tom Thumb
24 Foreign country: you should have it in mind
26 Founder of the Methodists
27 A country girl in *As You Like It*
31 Slightly wet
32 A sort of British congressional record
33 Diana appears disguised as another goddess
34 One of our ancestors?
35 Vinegar is rarely called this today

DOWN

1 They are better for a trimming
2 Buck me up with a show of affection
3 Lo. Puck is in prison!
4 Opposed to Briton during 1899-1902
5 The spoken part of a choral
6 A dog Hamelin lacked
7 Dvorak was his pupil
8 The Black-eyed one
12 The problem set before Mary is short
13 "Whose - - - - - - - flow with artless ease, Like orient pearls at random strung" (Jones)
14 A nut pie (anag.)
16 Pea-jacket
18 Cat-burglar's name?
21 His only desire was to write operas, but *La Boutique Fantasque* showed that ballet music came easily, too
23 B. A. in turns given head place in the East
24 Earls once were, and children have been since
25 A delicate gradation
26 The animal that possesses the greatest attraction to man?
28 Swiss song containing another
29 She looks the same coming and going
30 The fifth letter is for you

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. [illegible]

ACROSS:—1 BARON; 6 TOWER; 9 EMBRACE; 10 COLIC; 11 AGRIN; 12 TITTLES; 16 YEOMAN; 19 NEEDLE; 22 ARTILLERY; 23 STIR; 24 ERNE; 25 IDES; 26 EGIL; 27 BABA; 29 IRAN; 30 NONSUITED; 33 DYNAMO; 35 ISSUED; 38 EWE-NECK; 41 TRAWL; 42 IN BED; 43 EARLDOM; 44 HEART; 45 ODDLY.

DOWN:—1 BECKY; 2 ROLLO; 3 NECTAR; 4 ABET; 5 JAIL; 6 TEASER; 7 WORLD; 8 RANGE; 13 IN THE KNOW; 14 TALC; 15 ENERGETIC; 17 ESTUARY; 18 MARIANA; 20 EYELIDS; 21 LINEAGE; 28 RUIN; 31 OMELET; 32 ESKIMO; 33 DUTCH; 34 NYASA; 36 UNBID; 37 DADDY; 39 EARS; 40 ENDS.

Riabouchinska; also Lichine has been engaged, and Youskevitch for part of the New York season; and with these dancers, with Hightower and Massine, with Kaye and Laing there is a brilliant company for the excellent repertory. One regrets the disappearance of "Billy the Kid" and "Capriccio Espagnol," the retention of "Helen of Troy," "Bluebeard," and "Gala Performance"; one welcomes the acquisition of Lichine's "Graduation Ball"; one rejoices over a new ballet by Balanchine, which, however, is not sufficient representation of the greatest living choreographer; one hopes, therefore, that the rumor that his "Apollo" will not be done after all is false; and one hopes further that more of his ballets—"Concerto Baroco," "Cotillon," "Concurrence," "The Prodigal Son," "The Ball"—will be added.

At its opening performance, then, which is all I have seen thus far, Ballet Theater was able to offer "Swan Lake" with Toumanova, "Graduation Ball" with Riabouchinska and Lichine, and Tudor's "Pillar of Fire" with Kaye and Laing. The music of "Swan Lake" pulled the performance down to its own sluggish course (but someone who should know tells me the dancers slow down the music); the dancing of the *corps de ballet* was, in addition, extremely unprecise; and Toumanova's own dancing was as though seen in slow motion, with every movement over-deliberate, distended, and exaggerated into a demonstration of technical prowess. The demonstration was successful: her performance fairly shouted its technical mastery and assurance at one; but it was stiff and cold instead of fluent and poetic. Riabouchinska, on the other hand, proved to be the enchanting creature of light and swift grace that one remembered; and it was a joy to see her and Lichine again in that ballet so full of gaiety and wit, of youthful innocence and sweetness. As for "Pillar of Fire," "here for once is a ballet which means something, which has some relation to life," say the people who find no meaning or relation to life in "Les Sylphides." The first impact of this meaning—the torment of the sexually frustrated girl, the crisis she gets into and out of—as conveyed in the dance movements of "Pillar of Fire" was as great for me as it is for those people. But whereas they continue to be interested by the meaning, I find myself no longer interested by the dance movements—except the ones of the final *pas de deux*, which I like for themselves, not for their meaning.

B. H. HAGGIN

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

THE STRONGHOLD OF MILITARISM WAS breached last week, as Berlin announced a successful Red Army offensive into East Prussia on a broad front. Ordinarily such Berlin announcements should be treated with reserve—one of the few ways of achieving victories left the Germans is to report a withdrawal and then a smashing counter-offensive which regains the lost territory, the entire process taking place in Dr. Goebbels's inventive brain. But in this case the report would seem true, since East Prussia is the most important remaining flank position on the eastern front, and according to Red Army doctrine would probably be cleared or at least entered before the expected offensive in the center of the front gets under way. The southern flank is being cleared apace: the fall of Debrecen threatens the encirclement of a considerable body of German and Hungarian troops in Transylvania; the liberation of Belgrade embarrasses the withdrawal of the remaining Germans in the southern Balkans; and the crossing of the Tiza aims a spearpoint at Budapest. Meanwhile on the western front Aachen was destroyed as promised, and the Canadians continue the bitter work of clearing the Scheldt estuary approaches to Antwerp: the fall of Breskens is encouraging, but even the breaching of the dikes by the R. A. F. does not seem to have budged the Germans from Walcheren Island, and they still hold the Beveland neck. Extremely heavy air attacks on Duisburg, Cologne, Kleve, Emmerich, and other railway switchpoints close behind the front are nevertheless going on, and if any one of the current local Allied offensives develops into a break-through, the Germans will experience great difficulty in moving troops to counter the drive.

*

FROM THE PRESIDENT'S EXCELLENT SPEECH to the Foreign Policy Association the other night we pull out four specific items for our readers' serious attention. If the Republicans win in Congress, as they surely will if Governor Dewey is elected and as they may even if he is defeated, the following isolationists will be elevated to the following strategic posts: Representative Joseph W. Martin, Republican leader, will become Speaker of the House; Senator Hiram Johnson will become chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Senator Gerald P. Nye will become chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations; and Representative Hamilton Fish will become chairman of the powerful Rules Committee. It is hardly necessary to add the President's warning that politicians who embraced the policy of isolationism in our days of peril "are not reliable custodians of the future of America."

*

SENATOR BALL'S COURAGEOUS DECLARATION in support of the President throws a spotlight on Mr. Dewey's undignified attempt to straddle the chasm separating the Republican isolationist overlords from the millions of American citizens committed to an effective world organization. We have long asserted that Mr. Dewey's attempt was bound to fail. Now, an outstanding Republican leader, who has led the fight for international security on the floor of Congress, has risked his political life to warn fellow Americans against false leadership in foreign affairs. We honor Senator Ball for his stand. We think it will have a wholesome effect, not only on the immediate issue of the election, but on the actions of Congress, faced with the grave responsibility of making a durable peace. It will renew the determination of the American electorate that this time there shall be no "little band of wilful men" to wreck the peace. It will point the way to thousands of liberal Republicans who have been desperately unhappy ever since Wendell Willkie lost his gallant fight against the old-line isolationists who control his party. And it will spur to action the thousands of independent voters who owe allegiance to neither party but who want President Roosevelt to carry back with him an overwhelming mandate for continued leadership in world affairs.

*

RECOGNITION OF DE GAULLE'S GOVERNMENT is payment of a political debt long overdue, a debt which has been piling up interest at compound rates ever since the Free French first threw their courage and their meager resources against Hitler. We welcome this belated act; it should help to stabilize the French government at a time when muliplying problems of administration and political control beset it on every side. We welcome it; but we say in the same breath that no one is to be thanked for it except the French people themselves. By their determination to run their own affairs and to choose their own leaders, they have forced the hand of the Allied powers. They have proved beyond question that they accept General de Gaulle and his ministers as their provisional government, while the government in turn has guaranteed them the right to set up their permanent institutions according to their own democratic will. And so at last France's major allies have established diplomatic relations with De Gaulle. Whether this belated act of justice can wipe out the resentment of the French people remains to be discovered. It will go far to do so unless the Allies should try to utilize the new relationship to turn the French government against the people. France is still in a stage of revolution and renovation; conflicts of interest are inevitable; but none of this will result in chaos or internal collapse unless the government attempts to resist the popular forces that brought it into being. If recognition means pressure in this direction by the Allies, resentment in France will flame higher than ever. We say this in deliberate warning; we feel forced to say it by the past record of the Allies, especially Britain and the United States, in dealing with the democratic forces in all the liberated areas.

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IN THE MEANTIME THE SPANISH *MAQUIS* IN France launched a real insurrection on Saturday against the fascist Spanish government. By Monday most of the Val d'Aran had fallen into its hands. The Spanish Republican flag was floating on the Spanish side, and Franco was obliged to send an entire new armored division to the border. The attack had immediate repercussions inside the country. In Andalusia and in Asturias, the Spanish *guerrilleros (maquis)* intensified their activity in order to prevent Franco from sending reinforcements to the Spanish-French frontier. No less interesting a development was the claim made by the Spanish *guerrilleros* that Germans had been fighting against the Republicans together with the Franquists in Spain. This fact confirms reports that Spain is being used by the Nazis as an experimental field for the new form of guerrilla warfare which Hitler is preparing for the day when his regular armies are definitely beaten.

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A NEW CONTINGENT OF FRANCO AGENTS will land in this country at the end of the month. They will compose the Spanish delegation to the International Air Conference which opens in Chicago on November 1. Most of the names of the delegates will mean little to Americans, but there is one which has been more familiar since the days of the Spanish war. Kindelan was the commander-in-chief of the Franco air forces. He personally delivered the Balearic Islands to the Italians, who transformed them into the main base of attack against Republican Spain. He made the headlines of the European press with his farewell speech to the Italian aviators at the end of the Spanish war: "Together we shall fly in the skies of the victorious fascists of tomorrow." That was a clear reference to the second world war which was looming. Kindelan did not enjoy the pleasure of flying over France or Greece in a bomber, as did his comrades in arms from the Balearics. But he is flying to Chicago. He will undoubtedly bring a message of friendship to America. He should, if Franco means to maintain his scrupulous "neutrality" until the very end.

This week Franco sends Kindelan here; last week he sent a message of congratulation to Premier Szalasi, Hitler's new Hungarian quisling.

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IF ANY JEWS ARE TO BE FOUND ALIVE IN Hungary, the attacking Red Army will have to move fast. Only last week the Szalasi government announced a purge of anti-Nazi elements and Jews. Where Horthy was at least willing to bargain with the Allies, in the hope of saving his skin if not his power, Szalasi is wholly Hitler's man. The Jews can no longer be rescued except by armed action; thus the last surviving considerable number left in Central Europe will probably be lost. The horror of this fact can only increase the bitterness with which humane people everywhere regard Great Britain's continued refusal to admit refugees to Palestine. It is reported that even the handful of Palestine visas still available under the terms of the White Paper are being withheld in order to put off the day when they will be exhausted and Jews will renew their demand for abrogation of the restrictions. Against this background the President's recent message to the meeting of the Zionist Organization in Atlantic City was an immense encouragement. Mr. Roosevelt specifically indorsed the plank in the Democratic platform supporting "unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization" in Palestine and the establishment there of a "free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." And he promised to try to find "appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as possible." At about the same time Mr. Stimson said that the War Department had withdrawn its ban on the Jewish Commonwealth resolution, held up in Congress last spring at the request of General Marshall. None of this activity will save Jewish lives in Hitler's Europe; it comes too late for that. But if the ban on immigration into Palestine is removed, the plight—mental and material—of surviving Jews after the war will be greatly eased.

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THE NAVY'S ACCEPTANCE OF NEGRO WOMEN in the Waves is a long-overdue step which will be welcomed by all who have been fighting against discrimination in the armed forces. It is announced that a limited group of specially qualified Negroes will be commissioned immediately and that enlistments will start shortly after the first of the year. The colored Waves will be trained in existing establishments, where it is to be hoped no segregation will be practiced. The Navy has a good opportunity to attack Jim Crowism by integrating new recruits, after they are trained, in existing units. The Coast Guard has announced that the Naval ruling includes enlistment in the Spars; it is to be hoped that the Marine Corps will quickly follow suit and open its doors on an unsegregated basis to qualified Negro women.

Why F.D.R.?

THE NATION is for the reelection of Franklin D. Roosevelt because the war is now at the crucial stage of final attack upon the German Reich and upon the approaches to Tokyo, and any change at the top might be disturbing. In this, the second war-time election in America's history, the opposition has not dared challenge Mr. Roosevelt's conduct of the war as Lincoln's was challenged in 1864. The evidence of his competence, from Aachen to Leyte, is so strong that his war record has escaped direct attack even in a campaign that has seen prevarications as extraordinary as Clare Luce's "He lied us into war." On this campaign battlefront the Republican platform and Governor Dewey have limited themselves to a curious stand against "civilian interference" with the military. We call it curious because civilian control of the army and navy through a civilian Commander-in-Chief is basic in our constitutional system, and we find it amusing because Dewey has himself sought to interfere with the General Staff by demanding greater recognition for MacArthur and by suggesting that Germany and Japan be occupied only by "those who voluntarily choose to remain in the army when peace comes."

We think Lincoln's homely parable about not changing horses while crossing a stream is advice as good in 1944 as it was in 1864, and we believe the results on November 7 will show that a majority of the American people agree.

The Nation is also for the reelection of Franklin D. Roosevelt because it believes his leadership best calculated to provide a solution of our two basic post-war problems—jobs at home and peace abroad. Neither party has a program that is at all adequate to the achievement of full employment, but Mr. Roosevelt's record, his sympathetic attitude toward popular distress and aspiration, his willingness to experiment are too valuable to lose. The strongest testimonial to the general soundness of his domestic policies in the past is that the Republican platform in 1944, as in 1940 and in 1936, dares not question the great social and economic reforms of the Roosevelt era, although they were bitterly fought by the Republican Party.

Dewey's principal line when stripped down to essentials is that he can carry on the New Deal more efficiently than the President. But the amazing series of errors and misstatements which have marked the Dewey campaign indicate that the Governor and his entourage are far from being as efficient as they say they are. And their sincerity is rendered dubious by the character of the men behind Dewey, from Hoover to Gannett. Repeal of the basic New Deal measures is no longer a political possibility, but they could be nullified and rendered ineffective by shrewd amendment and hostile administration, as were the Wilson reform agencies during the twenties. Only the gullible will believe the New Deal can safely be intrusted to the Old Guard.

More urgent than these domestic problems is the problem of establishing an international order that can prevent World War III. For this task we believe Mr. Roosevelt and his party clearly and incomparably the superior. The Democratic Party is deeply divided on domestic policy, but in the foreign field its right-wing Southerners are predominantly Wilsonians and as fully committed to world cooperation as are its liberals. This cannot be said of the Republican Party. On domestic policy the ferocious red-baiting of the G. O. P. campaign—extending so far right as to include the red-baiter Berle himself—will convince the astute that the Republicans are only paying lip-service in pledging themselves to carry on the reforms of the New Deal period. On foreign policy the strong isolationist undercurrent in the Republican campaign, the support of Dewey by the quasi-fascist Hearst-Patterson-McCormick-Gannett press, and Dewey's own irresponsible dabbling in issues likely to divide the United Nations, all create a similiar skepticism. The shade of the 1920 campaign is a warning that Republican pledges of international cooperation cannot be trusted. Obviously, the Chicago *Tribune* and Gerald L. K. Smith think they need not be taken too seriously. And as against Dewey's recent conversion to international cooperation stands the President's record. For all his compromises, no other world leader and no other major American political figure has so consistent a record of opposition to isolationism and appeasement. That Clare Luce can call the author of the 1937 quarantine speech the "world's leading isolationist and appeaser" only serves to underscore the dishonesty of the campaign her party has been conducting against the President.

For Republicans who place the desire for a stable peace above blind loyalty to party or blind hatred of the President, the choice has been made clear by the contrast between Governor Dewey's speech before the *Herald Tribune* forum and the President's address before the Foreign Policy Association in New York. Walter Lippmann was led by the Governor's mischievous intervention in the Russo-Polish negotiations—in support of the reactionary wing of the Polish Government-in-Exile—and by "the reckless inaccuracy" of his remarks about the Rumanian armistice to come out for President Roosevelt's reelection. Dewey's distortion of the Italian problem and his odd play to the "soft-peace" gallery—the Chicago *Tribune* found this gratifying; said he was "on firm ground" there—are equally open to criticism. More compelling is the fact that the President, in his Foreign Policy Association speech, answered the key question raised by Senator Ball and evaded by Governor Dewey. A new international organization will be helpless and ineffective if the American representative must go back to Congress on every occasion when force is needed to nip aggression. Mr. Roosevelt agrees with Senator Ball that our representative "must be endowed in advance" by Congress with authority to act in emergencies. Here we leave generalities behind and come to the crucial question if World War III is to be prevented. And here Mr. Roosevelt again provides the inescapable answer.

The Air Conference

FOR the fourth time in recent months the United States is to be host to an important international conference which, if successful, should help lay the foundations for more effective cooperation after the war comes to an end. The International Civil Aviation Conference, which opens in Chicago on November 1, will probably not receive as much attention in the press as was accorded to the Dumbarton Oaks, Bretton Woods, and the food conferences that preceded it. The issues confronting it are perhaps not so crucial. Yet they are substantial. Mankind's hope of profiting by the recent tremendous technical advances in aviation depends very largely on the success of the conference. Moreover, failure to achieve an international agreement on air policy would endanger the entire structure of international cooperation. If post-war aviation is to be marked by unfettered nationalistic competition, the chances for collaboration in other spheres will be slight indeed.

The conference, however, is bound to encounter great difficulties from the start. While there is general agreement on the desirability of removing the existing nationalistic obstructions to air transport, there are sharp differences of opinion as to method—particularly between the American and the British delegations. The British, after consultation with the dominions, have stated their position in an official White Paper. They propose the immediate establishment of an international air authority which, while granting the rights of innocent passage, would fix quotas for international traffic, prescribe rates, and establish technical standards. This authority would ultimately be affiliated with a world security organization. The United States, Russia, and China apparently oppose the British plan. Although the American position has never crystallized fully, A. A. Berle, who will head the American delegation at the conference, is known to believe that the controls proposed by the British would interfere with the development of the aviation industry. A difference in opinion between the British and Americans reflects the dominant economic tendencies in each country. In Britain a growing belief in government controls tends to the acceptance of a "chosen instrument" or government-owned airline; in America "free enterprise" and unrestricted competition is the preference, with certain important voices raised in its defense.

Reconciliation of these conflicting viewpoints will not be easy. The United States is justified in demanding that the right of innocent passage be broadened so as to assure transit and landing privileges throughout the world. But it cannot expect these privileges if it seeks to exploit the advantages which the war has given the American aviation industry to the detriment of that of other countries. The British can make a strong case for some form of international controls which will give them a fair share in post-war trade. Quite apart from this, an international authority is clearly needed to prevent a wasteful and dangerous publicly subsidized scramble for air traffic. And it is needed to bring aviation within the scope of the post-war security provisions.

Progress in the Balkans

DEVELOPMENTS in the Balkans are as fascinating from the political as from the military point of view. Militarily, Germany has been left without sufficient territory to enable it to fight a delaying action. The Red Army has eliminated the Germans from Rumania and Bulgaria; it has crossed the Danube and entered Yugoslavia, with the full consent of Marshal Tito; Belgrade has fallen to the combined Russian and Yugoslav forces. The British have now landed in the Peloponnesus. From the moment that happened, political issues took precedence over military. Two spheres of influence became clearly defined: the Russian in the northern Balkan states; the British in Greece, Albania, and possibly Turkey.

The first thing the British heard on landing was the chant of the Greek people: "No king but popular rule!" Since then the demand has been steadily growing in volume until it reached climactic expression at a demonstration on October 18, when Prime Minister Papandreou addressed the people of Athens. It is the same old story. The "technicians" of the foreign offices never understand the true implications of what is going on in Europe. They are incapable of providing a policy suited to the mood of the peoples whom their armies are liberating, whether it is in France, Italy, or the Balkans. In Greece the British have finally discovered, apparently, that the E. A. M. (anti-Nazi resistance coalition) is much stronger than they had anticipated and that it is not as completely Communist-dominated as they had thought. On the other hand, they have discovered what everyone else has long known, what we have insisted on every time we have dealt with the Greek problem: except for the British, no one wants King George to put his foot on Greek ground again.

In Bulgaria the Russians scored a remarkable diplomatic victory. After the collapse of Murianov's government a new Cabinet was formed composed of all the elements which had opposed the fascist policy of the Philov regency—Stambulisky Agrarians, Socialists, Democrats, Left Agrarians, and Communists. Bulgaria's new foreign policy is directed entirely to the closest possible collaboration with the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The Russians have shown their support of the new government by holding the former rulers, not the people, responsible for Bulgaria's course during the war.

So far as Yugoslavia is concerned, Tito has demonstrated his deep conviction that there cannot be a real Yugoslavia without federation with Bulgaria. On October 5 an agreement was reached between Tito and the Bulgarian Fatherland Front government for the "total liquidation of the German forces in the Balkan peninsula" and for the reparation of "the injustices committed against the peoples of Yugoslavia by reactionary and fascist elements of the Bulgarian army." Tito's solution of the Macedonian question, which would give Macedonia equal status with Croatia and Serbia within a federal union, will be essential in eliminating further misunderstanding between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and may open the road to federation.

As for Rumania, Russia has succeeded in liberating the country from its German masters and from its most obnoxious domestic quislings, although a thorough purge is yet to be carried out. In Hungary confusion and civil war still rule. Szalasi, the latest "Premier," holds office only by grace of the Nazis. Horthy is reported by the Germans to have "sought asylum" in the Reich; if this is true, it puts an automatic end to the efforts of Horthy's emissaries in Russia to arrange an armistice. But whatever Horthy's fate may be, he is of no use to anyone, even in the most temporary capacity. His past has completely compromised him, and he is, moreover, old, stupid, and a drunkard. As Count Karolyi has declared in London, the workers and soldiers who are rising against Germany and "joining the liberating Russian army" provide the only force which can rescue Hungary from its corrupt past.

The general outlook for Southeastern Europe is brighter than it has been for some time, but it will continue bright only if a clear and sincere understanding between Russia and Great Britain is achieved. The Churchill-Stalin talks have ended in an agreement on Bulgaria, but the Greek situation is still unsettled. Russia, judging by its policy until now, will support all democratic forces in the Balkans. Should Britain continue its former policy in Greece and refuse to give the Greek people a genuine opportunity to rebuild their democratic institutions, the rift in the Balkans will become increasingly real, and the region will become again a source of disunity and disorder on the European continent.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

IT MAY be well to recall that it is 2,000 miles from Leyte to Tokyo—about 600 miles more than it is from Saipan to Tokyo, in fact. We are going to the Japanese capital by the roundabout route, at present—perhaps a case of the longest way round being the shortest way home. But the Imperial High Command will certainly remember, meanwhile, that it is about the same distance from Saipan to Formosa as from the northern New Guinea coast to Leyte; and if a 600-ship convoy can proceed unmolested from New Guinea to Leyte, another one may well proceed from Saipan to Formosa.

The Japanese have an impossible task in the Philippines because the United States has sea control of the approaches to the Philippines, air control over all the islands, numerical superiority in men and machines, and complete grasp of the initiative, which last allows General MacArthur to apply his superior strength at one decisive point after another. The enemy is trying to hold too much territory with too little strength, just as the United Nations did in the early months of the war. The result will be the same in this case as it was in that—defeat in detail, with cumulative loss of troops, ground, and advantageous positions. The only difference is that Japan has no such reserves of man-power and no such production resources to fall back on as the United Nations had. This difference in recuperative power means defeat for Japan.

The acceleration of victory is one of the most remarkable phenomena of the remarkable Pacific war. In eleven months the safe area of action for the United States Pacific fleet has been advanced from Tarawa 3,800 miles to Formosa, with each 1,000 miles accruing quicker than the last; in sixteen months MacArthur's forces have advanced from Milne Bay in New Guinea 2,500 miles to Leyte, with each 100 miles accruing incomparably quicker than the last. The weekly foot-by-foot jungle fighting on New Guinea must seem a dream to MacArthur's veterans today, who have leaped from the steaming coast to Morotai and 600 miles farther on to Leyte in a month, thumbing their noses at the rest of Halmahera, the Moluccas, and Celebes as they went. This kind of acceleration throws out the old strategic concepts, and should demonstrate to the peacemakers the fallacy of attempting to control the Pacific by holding all its islands: you hold one "impregnably" and the enemy goes blithely by (the Japanese still hold Truk), or you hold it and the enemy applies superior force locally and pushes you off it.

Of course a great fleet is needed to do this; MacArthur has kept his promise ("I shall return") because Spruance, Halsey, Mitscher, and Mitscher's fliers have made it possible. That fortnight of strikes at the Ryukyus, Formosa, and Luzon swept the Japanese supply lines to the Philippines, sank the ships that could carry reinforcements, and destroyed the aircraft that might have interfered with the big convoy. Halsey's Third Fleet, with Mitscher's Task Force 58 attached, has been away from home for a month, breaking all records for operational duration, sorties flown, and destruction visited upon the enemy; the fleet train, supplying even mail to the sailors at sea, has in this month been brought to the highest peak of efficiency and skill thus far reached, and again all predictions as to the need for bases hard by the enemy must be revised in the light of what has happened in Japanese home waters during these weeks.

As for the landings themselves, the plan, even at this early judging, seems to have been perfect. Air-borne strikes at Mindanao led the Japanese to reinforce that southernmost island, which, with Luzon, forms the strategic prize of the Philippines. (Compare Allied air attacks on the Pas de Calais, German reinforcing of that area, and the Allied landing in Normandy.) With the Japanese watching these two outer islands, MacArthur landed between them, in a protected gulf directly available from the Pacific, on an island large enough to permit the deployment of his forces but not strategically important enough to have attracted more than one enemy division. Early seizure of Tacloban and Dulag airfields provides land-based fighter cover for the ground troops, and our control of sea and air should prevent large-scale enemy reinforcing.

Mindanao may well be left to wither on the vine; it is by-passed, and its garrison is no more than a nuisance to us, though certainly something more than that to the Filipinos. Luzon is the key: what we need for the next step is a brace of harbors like Manila and Subic bays, and airfields and naval bases from which to cut the Indies-Japan supply line and cover the projected Formosa-China coast operations. Politically and spiritually, the liberation of the Philippines is of enormous value to our cause; militarily, it is of value in so far as it will enable us to cut the Japanese lifeline to the south and mount the offensive which will carry the war against Japan's principal source of strength—the army on the Chinese mainland and the industrial establishments of Manchuria and the home islands.

Robert F. Wagner

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, October 20

REPORTS from New York indicate that we are in danger of losing the United States Senate's foremost progressive. I refer to Robert F. Wagner. His reelection is second in importance only to the reelection of the President. No man in the Congress of the United States has a more thorough understanding of the foreign and domestic problems that face us in the post-war world; none is more dependably enlightened than Senator Wagner. Strong support in the Senate is essential to the President in the making of the peace, and Wagner by industry and integrity has won great influence there. He is chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, and in that position will be responsible for piloting through the upper house the proposals worked out at Bretton Woods for a more stable and prosperous international monetary order. On the Foreign Relations Committee, which will play so crucial a part in the establishment of a United Nations organization, he is outranked only by Senator George. With the retirement of Cotton Ed Smith, Wagner becomes ranking Democratic member of the key Interstate Commerce Committee.

Senator Wagner's great trouble is his good record. We have all come to take him for granted. Other progressive Senators I could name have made their quota of compromises, and not a few in New Deal and Democratic Party ranks have often made us wonder just where they do stand. More attention is paid to them because of the very effort to keep them in line. But everyone feels sure of "Bob" Wagner, and everyone assumes that he will always be there to fall back on when there is a particularly hard and unspectacular job to do. Aside from his silence on the Supreme Court proposal—he was afraid of jeopardizing his public-housing program—and a wavering attitude toward the St. Lawrence project, the record of Wagner's eighteen years in the Senate is a record that will stand hypercritical examination. It is a record of consistency and courage unsurpassed by either Norris or the elder La Follette. And when the accounts are tallied and the history of our time comes to be written, it will be seen that no Senator—not even the two revered names with which I have coupled his—has a longer list of solid achievements in the field of social reform than Robert F. Wagner.

These estimates are not mine alone. They are shared by most progressives in the capital. Unfortunately, they are the sort of things reserved for funeral eulogies. I think they ought to be said now, when Wagner needs support—and when we need Wagner. His story and his record are well known, perhaps too well known. In politics, as in some other unrespectable professions, virtue lacks glamor. The little German boy of eight who landed at Castle Garden on Christmas Day, 1885, lived an American success story that deviates in one important respect from the hallowed pattern. He knew what it was to live in a slum basement, to eat stale rolls, to sell papers on icy street corners; so did many outstanding men of his generation. But most of them moved from the ranks of the exploited to the service of their exploiters. Wagner, at sixty-seven, is still the champion of the underprivileged. From the days when he investigated the Triangle fire and wrote the New York factory code down to his present sponsorship of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill to bring 12,000,000 more workers under unemployment insurance and 30,000,000 more Americans under old-age pensions, Wagner has plugged away, without demagoguery and without drama, at one task. That is to raise the living standards of the lower-income groups in our society, in the factory and on the farm.

The New Deal upsurge made most of Wagner's great achievements possible, but his is not the story of a politician who follows a trend. He was advocating unemployment insurance in the state senate at Albany as far back as 1911. He put through women's suffrage in New York long before adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment. The principles on which present war-time control of the cost of living is based were being upheld by Wagner as a state Supreme Court justice in 1918. Today a large section of the business community agrees on the necessity of planning and using public works to ease downward trends in the business cycle. Wagner introduced comprehensive legislation for this purpose in the United States Senate—in 1928. We speak of the National Labor Relations Act as the Wagner act. We could as justly apply the same designation to the Social Security Act, the housing laws of the New Deal period, the act establishing the Public Works Administration, and the Railroad Retirement acts. The United States Employment Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps were fathered by Wagner. These victories are easily enumerated, but some were painfully won. It was Wagner who insisted that Section 7-a, guaranteeing labor's right to organize, go into the National Industrial Recovery Act; he threatened to withdraw the NRA bill unless it did. It was Wagner who fought against the hostility of the Democratic Party leaders in the Senate to write collective bargaining into the law of the land in the Wagner act—with little more than benevolent neutrality from the hard-pressed White House to help him. And I can testify from my own personal knowledge to the courage with which Wagner resisted a cabal of powerful publishers—including one New Dealer—who tried to force him to agree to stultifying amendment of the Wagner act as the price of their support for his reelection in 1938. Roy Howard was one of them. Wagner declined to sell labor down the river, and won anyway.

In the light of this record, every friend of labor must blush with shame at the failure of the A. F. of L. in New York to give Wagner full support in this election, despite the indorsement of William Green. The so-called "Non-Partisan Committee" of the New York Federation of Labor indorsed Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., the Martin Dies of New York State—but it did not indorse Robert F. Wagner. The Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York City did, indeed, give him its unanimous support, but then its Building Trades department broke away and indorsed Thomas J. Curran, his Republican opponent. Back of this revolt was that six-foot oaf, Hutcheson of the Carpenters, the proletarian leader with the big diamond ring who wanted to be Dewey's running-mate and aspires to be his Secretary of Labor. The imbecile excuse was that Wagner, who has done more than any other man in public life to provide public-works jobs for the building trades, hadn't brought enough construction work to New York! Equally unscrupulous is the effort to arouse the veterans against him because he voted "no" on the bonus. If veterans want jobs and security instead of hand-outs, Wagner is their man. It was he who wrote unemployment compensation and veterans' job centers into the G. I. Bill of Rights, and it was he who fought to liberalize that measure by increasing mustering-out pay for veterans, dependency allowances, and education grants.

Wagner has other troubles, troubles—as the ad says—which we don't talk about. Tammany is lying down on the job of reelecting him, although Wagner has been a loyal party man and is one of the decrepit Tiger's few glories, lasting testimonial to the vision of its old boss Charlie Murphy, who picked Wagner with Al Smith and Surrogate Foley as three young men who would reflect credit on the party—and all three did. Linked with this is a disgraceful religious angle. Wagner is a Protestant. In 1932 the Republicans tried to defeat him with a Jewish candidate, George Z. Medalie. This year they are trying with a mediocre ward heeler but one who is a professional Irishman and a professional Catholic, darling of the isolationist *Irish Echo* and the *Gaelic American*, house organ of New York Coughlinites. I think the Republicans will be as unsuccessful in corralling "the Irish vote" against Wagner as they were in corralling "the Jewish vote" against him. In the meantime this undercover issue isn't making life easier for Al Smith's oldest and closest political associate, a proved and constant friend of minority groups in America. The most dramatic testimonial came when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People broke a long-standing rule and for the first time in its history indorsed a political candidate. Walter White's moving radio appeal for the reelection of Wagner was richly merited recompense for Wagner's constant championship of justice for the Negro and his persistent fight for federal anti-lynching legislation. Wagner deserves all the support he needs, and he needs plenty this year. His defeat would deal American liberalism a blow as severe as the defeat and death of George W. Norris.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THERE IS A REPORT CURRENT, and believed, we know, by some sober men, that the late gold operation was planned by Mr. Abel Corbin, the President's brother-in-law, with the President's connivance or approval—a large portion of the profits to be appropriated to him or his family; . . . that Gould and Fisk were called in to aid and abet it; and that Fisk was actually allowed to discuss the matter with General Grant on his boat.—*October 7, 1869.*

THE *TRIBUNE* of Thursday printed a letter from Colonel J. W. Powell describing his romantic voyage through the cañons of the Colorado River, in which interested parties had rumored that he and his companions had perished. . . . There may yet be excursions to the Colorado as there are now to the Yo-Semite.—*October 7, 1869.*

WHAT THE DOCTORS are telling us about the changes which are occurring in the types of disease at the present day, and the increasing prevalence of nervous and brain diseases, seems to have been seized upon by the novelists as affording some fresh material. . . . The hectic cheek and the hacking cough which used to heighten a heroine's beauty and deepen a reader's sympathy begin to give place in interest to a numbness in the cerebellar region, a stinging pain along the spine, and certain accompanying mental aberrations. The average novel-reader, who must in his time have wept over more interesting consumptives than he will care to remember, will probably rejoice in the change.—*October 7, 1869.*

THE NEWS FROM SPAIN seems to be about as bad as possible. There are partial risings of the Republicans in every direction, and these are repressed by the government with sanguinary energy, but apparently without restoring order. —*October 14, 1869.*

THE TELEGRAPHIC ANNOUNCEMENT of the death on the thirteenth instant of M. Sainte-Beuve must have been to some readers of this journal the saddest literary tidings that they have ever received from across the ocean. The most accomplished critic, the most delightful and instructive talker upon literature, of this generation, to whose weekly *causerie* now for twenty years we all have been welcome as listeners, has spoken his last word.—*October 28, 1869.*

The People Are Indivisible

BY ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

IT HAS taken us a long time to agree on the precise words in which the issue of this war should be put, but we have always known in our bones what the issue was. We have always realized that what was at stake was the relation of individual men and women to the governments under which they lived. We have realized that the outcome of the war would determine how individual men and women would live under government for generations to come—and not only in fascist countries and in the countries conquered by the fascists but in other countries as well, even our own. We have known, that is to say, that the basic issue of the war was whether men were to live from this time forth as citizens of a nation or as subjects of a state.

And there was something else we knew also. We knew that this same issue would be the issue not only of the war but of the peace. For we realized—and it was this that made it difficult for us to put the issue of the war in definite and certain words—we realized that the war could not itself resolve the issue which produced it. Or rather the war alone could not decide that issue in our favor: it could, against us. If the fascists won, men everywhere, in this country as well as in other countries, would come to live, sooner or later, as subjects of a state. In a universe of ant colonies no ants can survive which do not organize and discipline themselves on the helot model. If we won, men would have at least a chance to live as citizens of a nation. There would be a chance to construct men's lives on the surface of the earth in the free light and sweet air, rather than underground in the mutually exclusive, darkly hateful, armed and ignorant corridors of the colonies of ants. It was, I think, because we saw very well that to win the war was not thereby to win the issue of the war, while to lose the war was to lose everything, that we found it so difficult to put our purpose in the war in words.

But now that our victory in the war itself is certain—now that the defensive victory in arms is sure—the difficulty of the declaration of our purpose disappears. We can declare a purpose in the making of the peace which we could not have declared with confidence in the waging of the war. And that purpose is not peace. Peace can never be a purpose in itself, for peace, like war, is a resultant, and those who try to seize it in itself, like those who grasp for images in water, will lose the gains they have. Our purpose is a world in which a peace will be conceivable. Which means a world in which the power will be held by those who do not wish for war. Which means, in turn, a world in which the people hold the power. Our purpose in the peace is the affirmation of our purpose in the war. In the war we fought to overcome the forces which would turn all citizens to subjects. In the peace we aim to make a world in which men everywhere shall live as citizens—a world in which no ant-hill state shall dig us down to slavery and darkness by the dread of war.

I say that is our purpose. I mean, it should be. If we intend the words we speak about the war, our purpose, now the war is ending, will be this. There is no possibility of peace but in the practice of democracy, and there is no possibility of the practice of democracy if any corner of the world is held by fascist power, armed and prepared for war—or arming and preparing. If we mean what we have said, if we mean to make a peace, then there is no stopping in our purpose short of this—this purpose: a world in which men everywhere shall live as citizens, a world in which the people shall possess the power. And not here alone, or in the countries of our allies in this war, but everywhere.

But do we truly mean this? Do our agents and our representatives in other countries mean this? Do party leaders, candidates for office, makers of opinion mean this? Do we ourselves, as a people, as a nation, mean this? To mean that the ant-hill state shall be destroyed throughout the world, we must intend that men shall rule themselves throughout the world. We must advance, not for ourselves alone but for the people everywhere, the great American proposition on which the founders of this nation stood. We must believe positively and not passively, literally and not as a figure of speech, that the people ought to govern themselves because the people *can* govern themselves, and because the government of the people by themselves will make for peace. And do we believe it? Do we believe it, now, in fact, of all men, everywhere—and mean it?

We have made a practice of dividing the parties to this war into democrats and fascists, ourselves and the dictators, white and black, good and evil. The division on this issue of the peace is not so simple. There are men other than the men now or lately in control of Germany and Italy and Japan who do not in truth and fact believe in the people and in their right to rule themselves. Some of them, like the masters of the fascist states, disbelieve in the people because they despise the people, or because they fear the people, or because they want what the people might not wish to let them have. But there are others, and they are not few, and they do not live in Germany only or in Italy or in Japan, who disbelieve in the people not because they despise the people, or hate the people, or fear them, but for an honest reason, a regretful reason—because they doubt the ability of the people to govern in the modern world, because they think the complexity of the modern world is such that the people cannot possibly comprehend it and cannot, therefore, govern it by their majorities or by their votes.

The real enemies in the struggle for the peace we say we want are these men, not our enemies in arms. It is because of them that the struggle for the peace is doubtful. The doubtful struggles are the struggles in which no one knows his adversary—in which the adversary may walk beside him as a friend—may even be himself. And this is such a conflict. If the division were clear, if we on our side were united in acceptance of the proposition that the people can and ought to govern, there would be no question about the making of a successful peace. If we and our principal allies in the war were so united, there would be no question. Indeed, if even we alone, we Americans who first advanced the proposition of the people, were united in a firm and fierce belief, the question would be answered.

But are we so united? I am not thinking, when I ask this, of the practical politicians who sneer and snigger at the notion that the Hottentots can rule themselves, or that the Chinese can, or the Negroes in Mississippi. I am not thinking of the cynical men, or the selfish men, or the interested men, or the evil men. I am thinking of the rest, who are not cynical or evil. I am thinking of those who describe themselves as realistic and disinterested observers of their time—those who have seen what they have seen, those who put realities above the rhetoric no matter who composed the rhetoric, even Lincoln.

I am thinking of the disinterested observers who will tell you that the proliferation of printed matter in our time has become so vast and measureless that it threatens to bury the libraries, and that no citizen, no matter how conscientious, can learn a fraction of the things he needs to know to know his duty; of the students of technical matters who remind you that the multiplication of skills and crafts in our epoch has become so great, and the elaboration of technologies so intricate, that few citizens of any degree of intelligence—to say nothing of the masses of the citizens—can comprehend how the things they use and need the most are made; of the economists who point out that ours is a period in which the operations of commerce and of banking are so delicately and mysteriously adjusted that the writing of a number on a blackboard in New York may shake the lives of men and women in Australia by means no common citizen can comprehend; of the scholarly persons who remark that science in our generation has given over the explanation of the mysteries that every man can see, and has disappeared instead into the invisible world beyond the magnifying glass and behind the mathematical symbols, whence far explorers send their messages in codes and symbols that only their fellow-voyagers, and not always they, are able to decipher; of the philosophers who observe that space in our world has been turned into time, and that debt has been turned into wealth, and that men no longer work to build but to buy, and that nothing is what it seems, and that even the thing that seems is past the common man's conception.

What endangers, what really endangers, the making of the peace is not contempt for the people in the propaganda of our open enemies but this skepticism of our friends—and of ourselves. Few Americans, however realistic and objective, will openly repudiate the proposition Mr. Jefferson advanced, or reject the words in which, at Gettysburg, it took the shape that men remember. Most of us give at least the service of our lips to the American doctrine that the people—not the American people only but the People—can govern themselves and of right ought to. Our doubts are only reservations. But there are times when reservations are as dangerous as denials, times indeed when they can be more dangerous. When the world demands an act of faith, the reservations which deprive belief of passion, faith of ardor, can be worse than open treason. For they are not spoken and cannot be fought.

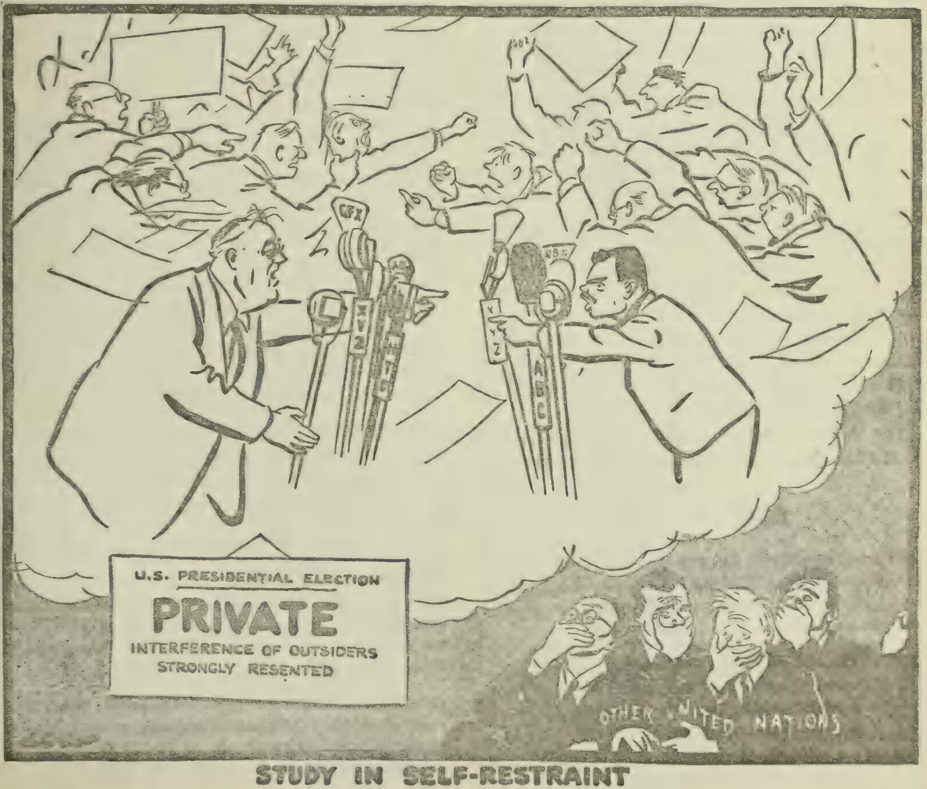
This is our danger as we make the peace: that we wish it but with reservations; that we do not sufficiently desire what we must desire if a peace is to be made; that we do not sufficiently believe what we must believe if we want a world in which a peace is possible. Many of us, even of the best of us, are all too ready to condone the questioning of the people's right to govern, the open doubts of the capacity of the people, which cynical publishers and politicians have expressed in words at home, and agents of this government have expressed in deeds abroad. Many of us, though we resent that conduct and those sneers in words, believe in our hearts that the doubts they imply are justified. Many of us, far too many of us, though we use the words for peace and liberty and freedom, do not believe at bottom, or do not believe enough, that the one essential condition of peace and liberty and freedom can be realized in the actual world.

If this is true, and if we fail to make the peace our victory demands of us, our failure will not be a failure of our possibilities but of our faith. And such a failure would be very strange. For we of all the nations of the earth, and ours of all the generations that have talked of people's governments and power, have now most reason to believe. Faith in the people is the deep American faith, and our generation is the generation which has seen more reasons to accept that faith than any which have lived before us. We have the proof before our eyes. We have the proof not in our own people only but in the peoples of France, Greece, Spain, Poland, and other countries—the visible and unanswerable proof that the people are capable, in the face of every difficulty and every risk, of governing themselves, of disciplining themselves, of resisting to death and beyond death, that the people are capable of governing themselves in the highest and noblest meaning of the word govern.

Jean-Paul Sartre has said all this superbly in an article which has made a deep impression on the French, an article published in Paris in *Les Lettres Françaises*.

> They did not fight in the daylight, like soldiers—in every circumstance they were alone, they were pursued and arrested in their solitude. And it was in their loneliness, in their complete nakedness, that they resisted torture, alone and stripped before their well-shaven, well-fed, and well-dressed executioners, who mocked their pitiful flesh and whose complacent consciences and incredible social power gave every evidence of their being in the right.
>
> Alone. Without the help of a friendly hand or any encouragement whatsoever. However, in the very depth of this solitude there were the others, all the others, all the comrades of resistance, whom they were defending. One single word sufficient to provoke ten or a hundred new arrests. This total responsibility in total solitude—was not this the final revelation of our liberty?
>
> Thus, in blood and shadows, a republic erected itself, the strongest of republics. Each of its citizens knew what he owed to every other, and that each could count on that alone. Each of them understood, in the completest loneliness, his historic role and responsibility. Each of them undertook to be himself freely, irremediably against the oppressors. And in his freedom in choosing himself, he chose the freedom of all. This republic, without institutions, army, or police, made every Frenchman affirm and maintain it against Nazism and at every moment. No one here failed it.

How, with the proof of France before us, with the proof of the whole resistance before us, can we doubt, how can we permit ourselves to question, the great declaration of faith and of belief which brought this nation also into being? How, with this proof before us,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STUDY IN SELF-RESTRAINT

with the proof of our own tremendous effort in the war before us, can we fail to silence the doubts, the reservations, which say that a people's peace cannot be made because a people's government is now no longer possible, or is only possible here, or in a few more fortunate countries, or under the best and the most favorable conditions? How, in the face of the mobilization of our own people for the war, in the face of these "republics of silence and of the night," can we lack an answer to the doubts which tell us that a modern civilization is too complicated and intricate and arcane and vast for the people to understand and govern, or that only the Americans, or only the most exceptional peoples, can govern in such a world? Can it not be answered to these doubters, whether in ourselves, or beside us in the streets, or elsewhere, that the peoples of many nations have accomplished in the dark, and in the dread of death, and naked, what we say cannot be done? Can it not be answered that men and women who have conquered their own fears, and fought a revolution with their empty hands, and nourished a republic in their nakedness and silence, have proved that men can understand more complicated problems than the bankers ever thought of, and master mysteries no scientist has seen?

The act of faith is never easy. It is not easy now, for faith is an action in our generation as it has not been for centuries. More are hated for belief than for their deeds, and more are punished for it—many ways of punishment. Nevertheless, if one thing in this terrible time is certain it is this—that only an act of faith can win this war, can win the issue that this war was fought for. If we cannot find again the faith in the people which moved the founders of this republic, if we cannot capture the new-found faith in themselves which upheld the peoples of Europe, the war our arms will win will not be won beyond the ranges of our guns or the enlistment of our armies. But if we can read our own past and believe it, if we can read the present of the men of Europe and believe it, the war will be won in places where no gun could ever strike, and still be won long after the last army is disbanded.

[*The foregoing is the text of the speech delivered by Mr. MacLeish at the* Nation *conference on October 8.*]

Alexis Carrel

[*Dispatch from Paris: Dr. Alexis Carrel, director of the Vichy-supported Carrel Institute and one-time scientific associate of Charles A. Lindbergh, was reported under arrest as a collaborationist.*]

This man of science, with uncanny art,
Contrived to keep alive a chicken heart.
A sorry triumph, death thus to postpone,
And in the process atrophy his own.

MELVILLE CANE

In the Wind

AT A CONFERENCE on post-war problems sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers, the Michigan Manufacturers' Association, the Detroit Board of Commerce, and the Employers' Association of Detroit, one of the participating experts was John W. Scoville, economist of the Chrysler Corporation. During a question-and-answer period he was asked, "Under free economy, how do you propose to take care of the slum areas?" This was his answer: "You are worrying about something that doesn't need to be worried about. If the people living in slums don't like them, let them move out. Some people like to live in one-room shacks. There is no solution to this problem. Certainly industry doesn't intend to attempt the impossible."

AN EMPLOYEE of the General Electric Company reports that the head of his department told the people under him that the company would like to raise wages but the War Labor Board wouldn't let it, and added, "Probably with a change in Administration, we'll be able to augment your salary appreciably."

THIS IS FROM a speech by Malcolm McDermott, copies of which are being distributed by the Committee for Constitutional Government: "If a majority vote means democracy, then Germany and Italy (before her fall) were two of the most perfect democracies among the nations! . . . If 54 or 60 per cent of the popular vote for a party in this country make a democracy, then we must bow to Europe's two high-powered dictatorships as the arch-democracies of all time!"

AND THE *FORTNIGHTLY LETTER* of the Connecticut Economic Council, looking forward to the end of the war, says, "Now we must soon resume our old task of making democracy safe for the world."

TIDE, an advertising trade magazine, reports that a store in Los Angeles is recording Japanese propaganda broadcasts and rebroadcasting them over a local station as an entertainment feature, under the title "Lies from Tokyo." To avoid any misunderstanding, American commentators interpret the records. The program is very popular.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS has officially announced that if Negroes and whites attend meetings in any of its buildings they will be segregated. Officials of the university point out that segregation has always been their policy, but that the formal announcement "relieves administrative officers of any question which might come up soon."

FESTUNG EUROPA: When the general uprising in Slovakia began, the Nazis said it was the work of Communists. Now they have changed their minds. A recent official broadcast stated that the partisans "recruit their forces from the higher and middle classes."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

British Labor Sides with Russia

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Blackpool, October 18

AFTER two days of formalities and desultory discussion of domestic issues, the Trade Union Congress was stirred today by a lively debate on the post-war treatment of Germany and the question of the responsibility of the German people for Nazi crimes. Interest in the subject was indicated by the long queue of would-be speakers who formed before the rostrum, but although a good many had the opportunity to give their views, it could hardly be said that the subject was fully explored when the chairman put the question to a vote. The upshot, however, was a five-to-one victory for the General Council, whose report refused to acquit the German people of blame for the deeds of the Nazi government and indorsed Russian proposals for full restitution of damage and the use of forced German labor.

The record of British Labor on this question is not very consistent. Last year a resolution of allegedly Vansittartist inspiration was introduced in the T. U. C. paralleling one approved by the Labor Party some months earlier. The delegates expressed a strong dislike and insisted on the deletion of references to the general responsibility of the German people and on limitation of the resolution to a denunciation of Nazi crimes and a demand for their punishment. At that time supporters of the amendment cited, perhaps a little disingenuously, the lack of any settled Soviet policy for the treatment of Germany. Today this argument bounced back, for the report of the General Council put before the Congress was the report of the British members of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee and included resolutions adopted by the committee at sessions earlier this month. The report emphasized that "it was the opinion of the Soviet trade unions that property destroyed by the Germans should be restored by the Germans. The hope was expressed that they would have the support of the British trade unions in this lawful demand as they, the Soviet trade unions, would support any such demand for restoration of the destruction wrought in Britain."

This report was actually only circulated the day before the debate, and the General Council's opponents suggested that it was guilty of sharp practice in attempting to overthrow last year's decision by this rush procedure. Whatever the ethics of the tactics employed, they were certainly effective; General Secretary Sir Walter Citrine had his case prepared and documented while the opposition was forced to improvise. But undoubtedly the greatest strength of the General Council's position lay in the fact that it could be presented as something agreed upon between the Russians and the British. And the most significant result of today's debate was the indorsement by British Labor of Soviet plans for the use of German conscript labor after the war, even though it was somewhat modified by the proposal of safeguards to insure that this labor did not degenerate into slavery.

The employment of German workers in this fashion and the question of the extent of responsibility of the German people for the crimes committed by their government were the two issues on which the speakers concentrated. As Citrine pointed out, they hang together, because if we exonerate the German people we cannot justifiably force them to make reparation. But opposition speakers were not prepared to accept this logic and challenged both propositions. The only delegate to move reference back, the veteran Socialist Walter Padley of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, stood squarely on the old anti-imperialist line, maintaining that crimes of aggression cannot be ascribed to Germany alone and that all the major nations share the guilt. Most of the delegates supporting his motion were reluctant to follow this argument. They concentrated rather on the implications of the reparations policy for British labor, recalling the consequences of the Versailles reparations clauses for the economy of this country and protesting vehemently against the idea of using German labor in Britain. In this connection Jack Tanner, leader of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, appealed to the Russians to recognize the difference between using forced labor in a socialist country and in a capitalist one—a rather ironical comment on the fate of the old ideal of solidarity of the international working class.

Citrine, in rebuttal, declared that the attempt to introduce comparisons with the reparations problem after the last war was an appeal to prejudice. Everything depended, he said, on the method of applying reparations. As far as forced labor was concerned, he pointed out that the report did not commit the British unions to its use here but merely expressed the right of this country to demand it if expedient. On the question of responsibility he asserted it would be impossible for the Nazi government to have gone on with the war without wide popular support. Recapitulating German atrocities in the war, he insisted that at the very least the German people were quiescent accessories to these crimes.

There is no doubt that today's Congress action reflects some hardening of British public opinion in regard to Germany. On the other hand, there is a good deal of feeling among people with whom I have discussed the problem that to pose it in terms of "hard peace versus soft peace" is a departure from realistic thinking. The realistic, important thing is a durable peace, and that means the sort of peace that all the leading members of the United Nations will be prepared to underwrite over a long period of time. Admitting that the German people cannot be wholly absolved from guilt, our aim must be to reform them rather than punish them for punishment's sake; for unless we are prepared to exterminate the Germans, we have to live in the same world with them. Finally, whatever economic penalties we impose, we have got to make sure that they won't make the rebuilding of Europe still more difficult. None of these considerations were given the attention they deserved in today's debate.

The Anglo-Soviet resolutions will now go before the World Conference of Trade Unions which the T. U. C. is summoning to meet in London next January. Presumably it will be a new bone of contention between the T. U. C. and the American Federation of Labor, whose leaders have expressed strong disapproval of Russian forced-labor proposals. Actually the A. F. of L. has already refused to participate in the world conference not only because of its longstanding refusal to cooperate with Russian unions but also because the C. I. O. and the Brotherhoods have been invited and have accepted. In his fraternal address today the Russian union representative, M. Kuznetsov, expressed regret over this refusal and hoped it would be reconsidered—a sentiment echoed by the British leaders. Although not yet officially expressed, there is a good deal of irritation here at the apparent intransigence of the A. F. of L. in regard to this matter, and the possibility of a break in relations is being canvassed. Hitherto, out of consideration for the A. F. of L., the T. U. C. has not invited the C. I. O. to its meetings or given it other encouragement. Now it has been requested by the C. I. O. to send fraternal delegates to its next convention. The decision on a reply has been held in abeyance, but I am told it is likely to be favorable if the A. F. of L. persists in its present course.

Lequerica

BY MARYA MANNES

[*The New Foreign Minister of Spain complains that Americans see his country only through the eyes of Spanish refugees. But nothing could better serve the Spanish Republican cause than this portrait of one of the most cynical ministers Spain has ever had, drawn by himself. One detail should be added to this sketch. During the First World War Señor Lequerica was a thorough Germanophile, and knowledge of this fact provoked a storm of protest in the French press when, immediately after the end of the Spanish war, Franco appointed him as his first ambassador to France.*]

THE new Spanish Foreign Minister is a big man with a worldly face in which Galician shrewdness and professional charm are equally mixed. He greeted me cordially, saying he was glad to have the opportunity to talk freely with the press and to be able, possibly, to dispel some of the illusions about Spain prevalent in America.

"You have been profoundly misinformed about us," he said, "largely because your sources have been almost entirely Spanish refugees, who have always been removed from reality. We want your opinion of Spain to be formed by Americans who see with American eyes, not by expatriate Spaniards. People do not realize, for instance," he continued, "that Spain is actually one of the most democratic countries on earth."

"No, they don't," I agreed.

"There are no really rich people any more, for one thing; and as for labor, we have instituted social legislation and reforms that are revolutionary."

"In the sense that National Socialism is revolutionary," I said.

"Exactly," said Lequerica. He then launched into a defense of the regime that sounded like the editorials in Spanish papers. "With people like the Spaniards, some control, some use of force, is essential. We are by nature extremist and anarchic and could never abide by democratic processes in the way the 'cooler' races like you and the English can. A firm hand is indispensable."

I ventured to suggest that a firm hand was indispensable to an infirm government, but Señor de Lequerica denied any thought of this, implying that the Franco regime was built on a solid basis and capable of continuity. He remarked on how infinitely better everything was than when he left France in 1939.

I then said, "Mr. Minister, assuming that the Allies are winning the war (a safe assumption, he agreed) and that therefore good relations between Spain and the United States are desirable, particularly for Spain, what do you consider important in such relations?"

"Of first importance," he said, "is that you understand us."

"Do you know how that can be achieved?" I asked.

"I have no formula," he replied, smiling.

I then dived in. "You cannot expect America to know about Spain if you do not let American writers send anything through your censorship. The first thing you should do is radically to change your Vice-Secretariat of Education. The restrictions it imposes on journalists are fantastic in their complete divorce from present political and international realities."

Lequerica agreed, with apparent warmth. "I am aware of that," he said, "and I have already given instructions to relax the censorship rules greatly and to open all channels of information to your journalists."

"Furthermore," I said, "if Spain is really strong, it can stand a little criticism. It seems to us a sure sign of weakness that no criticism whatever is allowed to go out of the country. As a result a lot of disgruntled reporters go back to America and say nasty things about Spain. If you treated them right, they might be more tolerant."

"Anything else?" he said.

"Yes," I replied. "Americans are troubled about something else in Spain. They are troubled about the shootings that are now going on in your prisons, four years after the civil war."

The Foreign Minister raised his eyebrows in an expression of ingenuous surprise. "Shootings? Have there been? I was not aware." He scribbled a note.

"Yes," I said, "very recently, too. If you want to look into it you might inquire about the shooting of two political prisoners in Toledo last week, one of many similar instances. This disturbs us greatly."

"Of course," he said. "I shall look into it. But actually all that is practically liquidated. We want to be through with all that; we had enough of it in the civil war. I think you will find that that is a closed chapter."

"There is one more thing that troubles us in America," I went on. "Perhaps it is a delicate question."

"There are no delicate questions when one can speak frankly." He smiled. "Do let me know."

"Well, we know Spain has been full of German agents all during the war and even long before. These agents have done the Allies enormous harm. We should not like to see them live happily ever after in this country, safe from justice. What do you plan to do with them?"

"I have just been on the wire with your ambassador and Lord Templewood about that very question. We are working on it constantly. We plan to expel or intern all agents about whose activities there is incontrovertible proof. Of course we shall do nothing on the basis of denunciations. That would be a dangerous precedent."

"But you will act against proved agents?" I persisted.

"Indeed, yes. Naturally it is difficult to expel them at this moment because traveling is so difficult. But we can always intern them."

I then turned the conversation to France. "France is really your second country, is it not, Mr. Minister?"

His face lit up as he spoke of his love of France, which seemed to be centered in the food, the wine, the women, and the St. Gobin glass works, of which he is chief shareholder. He expatiated on the remarkable way life in Paris had continued in spite of the war, dwelling on the excellent restaurants, the chic women, the intellectual life, and so on. When I expressed surprise that such standards could be maintained by the French through all their privations, he said, "France has not suffered much materially. Its suffering has been largely moral."

The rest of the conversation consisted of professions of esteem for America and minor gallantries. The Spanish Foreign Minister is urbane, eloquent, and not without humor. One might say, however, that he is without convictions.

Polls, Propaganda, Politics

Columnists and Commentators

THIS column has made a special study of fourteen national columnists, each of whom appears in newspapers with a circulation of four million or more, to see how they are treating the Presidential campaign. The study covered the week of September 18-25 (during Dewey's trip to the West Coast); the columnists were Winchell, Pearson, Lippmann, Pegler, Thompson, Lawrence, Childs, Sullivan, Kent, Lyons, Lindley, Mallon, Walker, and Grafton.

It is interesting to note that whereas the newspapers of the country support Dewey about three to one, the columnists divide equally between Dewey and Roosevelt. Six are for Roosevelt—Winchell, Pearson, Grafton, Lindley, Lyons, Childs; and six are for Dewey—Pegler, Lawrence, Sullivan, Kent, Mallon, Walker. The other two, Lippmann and Thompson, have not taken a stand on the election. Thanks to the large coverage of Winchell and Pearson, the combined circulation of the newspapers in which the pro-Roosevelt columnists appear comes to about sixty-five million as against forty-five million for the pro-Dewey columnists.

Many newspapers in the country must therefore carry opposition columnists. In fact, special computations based on a recent statistical study called The Press and Politics, show that one-third of the columnists carried in pro-Dewey papers are themselves pro-Roosevelt and that about the same proportion of columnists in Democratic papers are for Dewey. Many papers, of course, carry a columnist of their own political complexion alongside one supporting the opposition. Since on the whole columnists are read more frequently than editorials, the case for Roosevelt gets a better hearing than the newspaper preference for Dewey suggests.

A similar study of nine important radio commentators—all broadcasting longer than five minutes and oftener than once a week and possessing a Hooper rating of 3 or better—was conducted about two weeks later. These were Singiser, Hale, Foster and Gladstone, Thomas, Kaltenborn, Brown, Lewis, Lange substituting for Heatter, and Vandercook sub-

Coming

IN EARLY ISSUES OF THE NATION

STUART CHASE has written a new book, "Democracy Under Pressure," to be published by the Twentieth Century Fund as one of a series of economic studies under the general title, "When the War Ends." Several representative chapters will appear in *The Nation* before the book is published.

*

JAY ALLEN'S article in this issue is the curtain-raiser for a series on Spain. Mr. Allen was in Spain during the civil war as a newspaper correspondent, and has since kept in touch with developments there through personal contacts.

*

RAY JOSEPHS, author of "Argentine Diary," will do an article on the tense political situation in Chile.

*

PHILIP MURRAY, president of the C.I.O., and **BORIS SHISHKIN**, research director of the A. F. of L., spoke at The Nation Associates Conference on the aims of labor now and after the war. The full texts of their addresses will be published in the near future.

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stituting for Swing. The study revealed two major differences between them and the newspaper columnists: first, they gave less attention to the campaign; and, second, what attention they did give was less partisan. To a large extent both these facts reflect federal policy with respect to the treatment of controversial topics on the air. Though the study was made only about a month before Election Day, half the commentators did not mention the campaign at all, and most of those that did gave simply straight news reports of campaign events. The only real partisanship was found on two programs—Cecil Brown for Roosevelt and Fulton Lewis, Jr., for Dewey.

The Two Crucial States

On October 19 the *Fortune* survey released data giving Pennsylvania to Roosevelt with 53 per cent. Three days earlier Gallup had put the same state on the border line with 50 per cent. As we have pointed out before, Gallup usually errs slightly on the Republican side. Since Pennsylvania will probably play a decisive role, these releases are important.

Pennsylvania and New York, the two states with the largest number of electoral votes, are closely divided between the two candidates. The other states with more than twenty electoral votes—California, Illinois, Ohio, and Texas—seem at this stage to be "in the bag" for one candidate or the other. Now it so happens that Dewey must win both Pennsylvania and New York in order to be elected, whereas Roosevelt needs only one of them. From all available data Pennsylvania looks more Democratic than New York. Thus if Dewey gets Pennsylvania he will probably also get New York. But if Roosevelt gets Pennsylvania, he doesn't need New York. In a way, therefore, the *Fortune* poll giving Pennsylvania to Roosevelt predicts a Roosevelt victory.

The *Fortune* release adds, however, that the Democratic majority in Pennsylvania is "precarious." "The anthracite area," it says, "around Scranton and Wilkes-Barre, which gave Roosevelt a majority in 1940, is now leaning heavily toward Dewey. Roosevelt strength in the state is limited to the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh areas." This situation, probably the extreme example of a general decline of Roosevelt strength among union members, reflects the position of John L. Lewis. In a new release Gallup reports that between 1936 and 1940 the proportion of Democratic voters among union members fell approximately 7 per cent, and that it has decreased an equal amount between 1940 and 1944. (Still he gives about two-thirds of A. F. of L. votes and three-fourths of C. I. O. votes to Roosevelt. Incidentally, this "decline" of Roosevelt strength among union members is to some extent the result of increased union membership during the war years.)

From previous studies we know that the lower income groups make their final vote decision later in the campaign than the higher income groups and that personal influences play a large role at this late stage of the race. This keeps the Political Action Committee in the foreground of interest. Now that registration is over, it becomes the P. A. C.'s job to get the vote to the polls.

BERNARD BERELSON, Bureau of Applied
Social Research, Columbia University

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Iberia, 1944

BY JAY ALLEN

IN AUGUST Paris and now Spain! What a surprise! And what a relief—like a weight lifted off the chest. As this is written, the Allied invasion of the Iberian Peninsula from sea, land, and air has been in progress a mere thirty-six hours; yet the dictatorships—Franco's in Spain and the Carmona-Salazar setup in Portugal—have toppled, and we have won the crowning victory of our war.

If this news has not fully broken throughout the country, the reason may be that we have so implacably developed our machinery for covering invasions—just as we have perfected the triphibious technique of waging war—that the accent thus far has all been on the landings, apparently still in progress, on the four beaches boxing the peninsula—Zarauz on the Bay of Biscay between Bilbao and Santander, Praia de Vieira on the Atlantic just above the Tagus estuary, Estepona on the Mediterranean around the corner from Gibraltar, and Sitges below Barcelona. There has been legitimate excitement over the technical perfection shown by the United Nations paratroop corps, which drifted down so accurately out of the haze of the Iberian dawn on to the airfields of Alverca (Lisbon), Cuatro Vientos (Madrid), Tablada (Seville), and Prats de Llobregat (Barcelona). Only today, twenty-four hours after the first news was flashed, are we waking up to the fact that this paratroop corps is truly a United Nations organism, with strong contingents of Russian and French and with a token unit of Chinese.

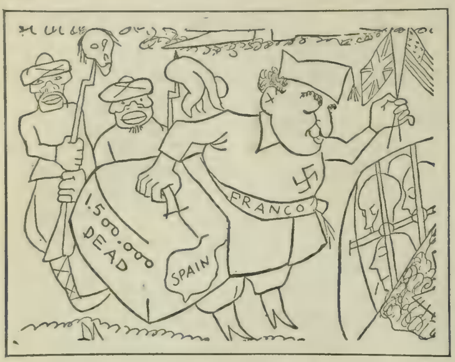
It is characteristic of our military analysts that some of them should have begun to trot out their lore on Wellington's drive up the Tagus valley against an earlier New Order and others to refresh our memories about the sad fate of Sir John Moore in a less successful Dunkirk. But a sense of anti-climax is already evident in their fine writing, and some have voiced their doubts whether the dazzling perfection of this our fourth Continental invasion can wholly obscure the fact that the German armies had long since scampered away from the Spanish border, heading homeward. Some are already comparing this invasion to that of Attu, where the enemy had vamoosed.

They are all missing the point. The Iberian invasion is our first major effort in which political objectives can take full precedence over military—military in the narrow sense, as in the phrase "military expediency," which seems to suggest that there can be military activities wholly devoid of political sense if not actually contrary to it. Here we have "liberation" without Nazis, something that many of our citizens will find confusing.

The meaning of what is happening has been put this very day into notable, one might safely say historic, words, and the fact that today's utterances in Parliament are topped by the military news in the afternoon papers spread out before me is all too typical of our single-minded preoccupation with the war as an exercise in the production and employment of fighting machines to the neglect of politics, whose only importance is that it brought about this martial interlude and may well bring about others. The maps that show our armies stabbing across Spain like forked lightning are of course exciting, and so is the news of Americans on the Ebro again, and of the delirium of Madrid and Barcelona. But for one reader the real excitement is in the speeches of Churchill and Eden in the Commons today and of Lord Templewood (lately Sir Samuel Hoare) in the House of Lords. They reveal unforgettably the significance of this campaign, which brings the war back to where it began eight years ago. I do not hesitate to predict that by the time this appears in print Mr. Churchill's remarks will have been appreciated at their full historic importance. From the dispatches one gathers that he was provoked to it by the diehard supporters of Franco, who had the cheek to invoke the Atlantic Charter in his behalf—somewhat belatedly. The Prime Minister rose and poured his scorn on those who held that supporting a constitutional government was "an improper interference in the affairs of other countries." And then came his sudden outburst: "But passing that by, I ask, is there nothing in the state of the peninsula affecting important interests in this country and which justify us in interfering? . . . I ask also, is the tranquillity of the world nothing? Is the peace of Europe nothing? . . . That, I confess, is one of the great objects for interfering in the affairs of Spain." And one can't help feeling that the cheers were the lustier for this disavowal of his defense of Franco some months back, which we now see was no more than dust for the *Caudillo's* eyes while the invasion was being prepared.

Eden rose to new heights, and some of the correspondents are recalling that in 1938 he was in many eyes the White Knight of Europe. In my opinion the most notable passage in his speech was his blast at the supporters of Franco in his own party: "When I see the gentlemen . . . espousing the cause of a man who endeavored to withhold the benefit of free institutions in Spain. I must say that I look with a little distrust and caution at the assurances they give of their extreme readiness to contribute toward doing away with every proved abuse that exists in their own country."

Others found the most dramatic moment in the sudden appearance of Lord Templewood, who had apparently flown out from Madrid on invasion eve. His remarks may help to erase the memory of other words of his—notably at Geneva in 1935. To have gone on supporting Franco, he said, would have insured the existence of "two rival and exasperated parties incapable of compromising their difficulties" and "sowing the seeds of an eternal civil war." But he managed also to strike a note of intelligent self-interest when he said that apart from the fact that Britain's sympathies and good wishes were naturally "enlisted on the side of a country struggling to free itself from oppression and degradation, there was an advantage to be won. I think it requires no extraordinary degree of intelligence to discover how Spain under liberal institutions is likely to be advantageous to us . . . and that we shall gain more from Spain liberalized than under an absolutist form of government . . . a useful ally . . . a wealthy customer . . . and a friend instead of an enemy in our political relations with the rest of Europe." And he continued, "My Lords, there is no greater error than to suppose the Spaniards unfit for freedom or averse to a liberal form of government."



Drawing by Quintanilla.

Ironically it is the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson press that gives Mr. Churchill's remarks the greatest play, calling them a "smear" of conservatives and Catholics everywhere, a "betrayal" of the Atlantic Charter and worse. But why the suspicions of our left-wing press? One reads hints that the invasion was planned for the basest of motives—to fulfil a pledge to the Vatican, and by sitting on the lid to impose a military dictatorship in the guise of a republic (something not unheard of in Spanish America), a dictatorship, however, that would discard the trappings of fascism. One particularly bilious explanation is that the Americans and British, startled by the revolutionary upsurge in France, are rushing in to underwrite Iberian democracy before the French can get around to exploiting the revival of *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité,* always strangely potent in the Iberian air.

The Nation prefers to take the eloquent words of the British leaders at their face value, as evidence of a change of heart. Moreover, it awaits with confidence our own government's formulation of its policy. It is too soon to expect anything official. The Senate is not in the habit of delving into spot developments of this kind, and anyway it is busy bringing the Cox-Harding debate of 1920 to a boil. But from past experience we may shortly expect a release from Mr. Berle on the application of our legitimacy doctrine here and columns from Mr. Krock and Mr. Lindley demonstrating that this happy denouement was what the department had in mind all the time, from away back in the days of the embargo.

To me the news flash yesterday morning came as physical relief—to know that a wrong had been righted, that the victory was not to be circumscribed and emasculated after all, that all fascists were to be cleaned out, that we would leave no nuclei around which a new Axis could coalesce as our good intentions relaxed. I had intense pleasure thinking how the news came to Spain, seeping into the prisons and labor camps, reaching the *guerilleros* in the Asturian mountains, and also penetrating to the ducal palaces along the Castellana, where they have been so sure who the suckers were. And I thought of how it was spreading to the darkest corners of the earth, where hope had long since flickered out.

My relief was based on some pretty personal reasons, too, for I was at work on a series of articles about Iberia in this year of liquidations. I had no knowledge of any coming fundamental change of policy in Whitehall, Washington, or of course the Vatican. Then came the glorious news, the headlines "Allies Liberate Spain!" "Dictators Flee!" "Iberian Federal Republic."

What's that? *You* haven't read anything about this? And you think you would have heard something about it if it had really happened? Well, come to think of it, you undoubtedly would have. So there is nothing to do but confess. *It didn't happen,* or at least it didn't happen in this way or even in this century. The remarks quoted above, and falsely (though none could say libelously) attributed to Churchill, Eden, and Templewood, were in actual fact once uttered, and by a Prime Minister, a Foreign Secretary, and an Ambassador to Madrid—Lords Melbourne, Palmerston, and Clarendon. The occasion was in truth British armed intervention in Spain on the side of constitutional monarchy against absolutism in the person of Don Carlos (in 1837-39). And what have I to say in my defense? That it was pleasant, very pleasant, to imagine it this way.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

HIMMLER'S machinery of repression operates at high speed—and on the whole without formalities. Tens of thousands of persons have been jailed and killed without any pretense of a trial. But since a dictatorship is always inconsistent, pseudo-legal methods are also employed. In a "People's Court" in Berlin and in "Special Courts" in the provinces the terror is administered with somewhat more ceremony. It would be fruitless to try to figure out why some cases are settled by the one method and some by the other. Mere chance seems to determine. The governing principle is all the harder to discover because these courts function behind closed doors. Nobody knows exactly what goes on in them. Especially welcome, therefore, is an eyewitness description of a session of the Berlin People's Court published in the Swiss newspaper *Die Nation* on October 5. I believe I can do no better than to reprint it here.

> At the entrance to the court I was approached by a heavily armed S. S. man who searched me for weapons or a camera. These formalities over, I was permitted to enter the courtroom. There were about eighty spectators, some of them soldiers, some journalists. The presiding judge, Dr. Roland Freisler, and four lay judges were seated behind a long table. At another table sat the Reich's Attorney and the counsel for the defense.
>
> That morning only "uninteresting" cases were on the agenda—trials of unknown persons. The first was that of an elderly woman who had been denounced by her maid. The accused looked weary and careworn; the long months during which she had been held for trial had left their mark.
>
> The presiding judge opened the session: "Are you Mrs. Klara Z——, forty-nine years old, born in Berlin, married, with three children? Is this correct?" The defendant rose and said in a barely audible voice that she had only two children, her daughter having perished in an air raid on Berlin eleven months ago.
>
> The maid was the star witness. In reply to the presiding judge's question she said shyly: "Mrs. Z—— never discussed politics or the war. Mr. Z—— has been on the eastern front for a considerable time. The defendant's oldest son was inducted into the army about three months before her arrest. The second son is working as an engineer in an Austrian factory. That is all I know about him, as Mrs. Z—— was not in the habit of talking to me about family matters. Her daughter was seventeen when she was killed. She was a driver in the A. R. P. I. was present when Mrs. Z—— received the news. At first she stared at me absently. Then she cried, 'This is the work of that devil, that mass murderer! Poor Germany, this is how things now are with us!' As I considered this utterance of a decidedly defeatist nature and inimical to our Führer, I did not hesitate to inform the authorities."
>
> "You acted with absolute correctness," said the presiding judge. "The authorities must be immediately advised of such a criminal attitude. I thank you in the name of the German people."
>
> The superintendent of the building where the defendant lived was the next witness. He stated that Mrs. Z—— led quite a solitary life, that she had contributed little to the "winter relief," did not read any party newspapers, never participated in meetings of the Nazi Women's Organization, and in general showed a lukewarm attitude. No other witnesses were called.
>
> The attorney for the defense pleaded for exactly three and a half minutes. He began by expressing hope for the Führer's long life and a German victory and concluded with words of praise for German justice. He admitted that the defendant deserved severe punishment, but asked that her husband's and her sons' services in the German cause be taken into account. The defending attorney seemed to weigh fearfully every word he uttered. In this he was justified; many lawyers have been brought to trial themselves because they dared to cite the most harmless facts in their clients' favor.
>
> In half an hour the trial was over. "Mrs. Klara Z—— is sentenced to die by the ax for her defeatist attitude and for having insulted the Führer as well as the German people and the German state."
>
> The other trials of the day were similar. A shopkeeper was sentenced to death because he had frequently given bread to a French worker without ration points. Two women were sentenced to death for circulating among their co-workers former speeches of the Führer's which were in strange contrast to present conditions. None of the day's defendants were acquitted. The mildest sentence was twenty years of penal servitude. All trials were the result of denunciations. The accusers, with one exception, were women.

The witness's statement about the danger run by the counsel for the defense is confirmed by two cases which recently reached the Reich's Supreme Court. An account of both cases was published in the magazine *Deutsches Recht* on September 9. In both, the accused was a lawyer. The crime of one was an unfinished sentence—literally an unfinished sentence—which he had spoken when defending a client in a Special Court. He had said, "If the court does not intend to read my written brief—." The Supreme Court upheld the lawyer's conviction in a lower court on the ground that the words "insinuated that the judges were uninterested in adequate clarification of the facts and thereby impaired the authority of the court." The second lawyer had dubbed the testimony of a witness who was a block leader for the Nazi Party "unreliable." And he had added, "Everyone knows how frequently reports on somebody's political attitude are based on information furnished by the concierge." The lower court had acquitted this lawyer, but the Supreme Court set aside the verdict and the man was punished for his imprudence.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

WHO'S WHO IN SHAW'S "WHAT'S WHAT"

BY JACQUES BARZUN

TO ANY seasoned reader of history and political thought there is nothing revolutionary in Bernard Shaw's new book* except the use of "contact" as a verb on page 61. And that use being both apt and witty, I begin by recommending it as a model and a warning.

The other 200,000 words remind us of things we know but do not believe. If Shaw's idea of what's what is in truth what *is* what, it must be nothing more than what the world has come to recognize about itself—under Shaw's own tutelage for half a century, and that of Tolstoi, Rousseau, Fourier, Machiavelli, Nietzsche, and a hundred others before him. But recognition does no good without the will: so I say we disbelieve. We read, but the only muscle that follows from habit is that of the eye. The result is that although Shaw is describing bit by bit a state of things which, barring some details, it would be hard to question, yet taken together the bits form a perfectly incredible Utopia. Certain situations are too startling even for their obvious explanations to satisfy us, as the man said when he found the trout in his milk.

Certainly this kind of discomfort is too much for Mr. Everybody, whom Shaw directly addresses, and it is no wonder that Everybody should prefer to attribute to him more credible "views" built on scraps of evidence that he seems to furnish. For example: Shaw is a Stalinist, or Shaw loves power, or Shaw thinks Hitler is the superman, or Shaw has lost faith in democracy, the poor bewildered old devil.

It is always easier to dismiss another man's thoughts than one's own (they have cost one so much less), and it is more congenial to fight against a properly tagged enemy (fascist, communist, jingoist, isolationist) than against a guerrilla who has been forging weapons for nearly a hundred years and never seems to lay one down. What is he? as Disraeli once asked in an anonymous and flattering pamphlet about himself. Well, by now Shaw is the quintessence of the nineteenth century. Just go over the names of those he invokes: Macaulay, Marx, Dickens, Darwin, De Quincey—always the ancients. Shaw is pure attar of Victoria. I add "1837-1901" for the benefit of the dateless, but it is simpler to recall that the reign began with Carlyle's "French Revolution" and ended with "The Way of All Flesh." This is enough to show that Shaw is no back number; his substance on the contrary takes in the tender fledgling thoughts of coming young men such as Samuel Butler, William James, and Nietzsche, whom we hardly know.

But like a good pamphleteer Shaw peppers his pages with current names—hence the judgments on Stalin, Ataturk, and Mussolini. Always a historian, Shaw naturally treats these men as historical characters; they mean something, and he is usually quite precise—more precise than his critics—about stating what their success signifies. They are not brigands or demons but expressions of the desire to be governed. Nor did they convert Shaw to this view, for most of them were still in their cradles when he predicted that pure parliamentarism ended in a masterly inactivity absolutely fatal to modern civilization.

Then Shaw has given up democracy? Here is what he says: "Europe . . . is finding that nothing can save her civilization but a new democratic faith. . . . Liberalism and free thought will have a losing fight at first. . . . But they are not dead. They are only in a cataleptic trance and will resurge mightily when socialism produces the leisure without which there can be no liberty. . . . Only assemblies of persons who are economically carefree, chosen by constituents equally unintimidated, can be looked to for the imagination and daring which modern public business demands." Shaw therefore concludes, like the nineteenth century, that democracy is not behind us but rather the next step ahead.

For this untried system to work he wants the abolition of private (not personal) property; rough equalization of income; coordinated and democratically chosen governing bodies (like our many boards, associations, unions, and parliaments); the testing of the citizenry to discover the politically competent 5 per cent and choosing from them our rulers; the education of all in a combined technical and moralizing curriculum (morals being social discipline or the cultivation of self-discipline); the limitation of state sovereignty by a supernational organization backed by force; and the elaboration of a coherent world view embracing the living parts of science, art, and religion.

Now all this Shaw says the hardest way. I do not mean stylistically, for in this book he is if possible simpler and more classic than he has ever been before. All his sentences are short, their former lashing tails of analogy docked so completely as to make his prose indistinguishable from Swift's, except through allusion and punctuation. Unquestionably, though Shaw keeps calling himself a dotard, the writing of this book at the age of eighty-eight is a technical tour de force comparable only to his speech in the Metropolitan at seventy-seven. What I mean by Shaw's hard way is his refusal to plead and his passion for having us act on political grounds. The dodges of what *we* call practical politics are to him a form of baby sitting, and since we still find them indispensable, Shaw's way is more than a sign of temperament; it is an appeal to a new kind of man.

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* "Everybody's Political What's What?" Dodd, Mead, $3.

The odd thing is that he does not himself point out the novelty. Doubtless it is implicit in his whole life's work and in such asides as his admiration of the Mormons, whose polygamy had a political goal. It is political sense again that he admires in Caesar and Mussolini and that he demands, together with modern knowledge, from the rulers of his new world. Yet he really wants not merely a new political constitution but a new emotional one, for he knows that Caesar and Mussolini failed and their work also. Civilization cannot be saved single-handed, nor can government run by force, no matter how apt the despot's ideas may be. Doctors' orders must be understood, then carried out. The people must know enough to be governable once they have chosen their governors; yet what Shaw wants is not a futile "change of heart" in the direction of goodness or honesty. Rather he demands a new love of order and peace from a fusion of intelligence with aesthetic and economic passion. He instances as a pitiable sign of our common immaturity the docker who, shivering in the rain while listening to a Socialist speech about wages, asks the speaker at the end what his stand is on the disestablishment of the Welsh church.

Shaw's mood is in fact Nietzschean. He sees that decency and magnanimity come from strength and well-being, not from weakness and invidious discontent. But the splendid passage on Machiavelli at the end proves that the double standard by which strength works upon a mankind unequally endowed with brains does not either frighten or intoxicate him. Shaw's praise is for "results," to be sure, but they are always civilized results, sorted out from the folly, tyranny, and sadism with which so far "results" have always been mixed.

This is what knocks the bottom out of his future Utopia when considered as a prosaic program. Parts of it—such as generalized social insurance—we shall doubtless attain like the dumb beasts of the field, because we are pushed from the rear and going that way. But the rest, the whole, the vision—how achieve it *democratically* with the bare 5 per cent of competence against the 95 per cent of uncomprehending foolish knaves and knavish fools? Education is no answer, though Shaw gives it. He himself goes beyond and calls, very sensibly, on Providence—another name for history—by which he means the obscure reasons that make human conduct shift in the mass the way Shaw's temperament shifted in the egg, from one kind of passion to another. How does Christian come out of pagan? We do not know. We know only that however it happens, the change cannot be easy or congenial; it seems far from reasonable; and it does not usher in paradise. Shaw warns us to expect no peace but by the sword—the neatest of guaranties. We should not, indeed, desire any guaranties. Our true satisfaction should be to have found out what's what and dealt with it, politically; instead of ignoring it and perishing, politically.

Disbelieve Shaw, carp at his set and pet views, argue that this is no intelligible next step—that is Everybody's privilege. Yet surely we have gained something; not simply another plausible prediction in an age teeming with prophets, but a possible meaning of that impossible necessary notion, the superman.

Notes by the Way

KEEPING a journal in public is a hazardous venture. It is a tempting one as well, for the quality and flavor of the times are often best caught in that tentative, flexible, yet continuous form. Such a journal, to have any reality, must necessarily be private. I shall try to keep this one from being unnecessarily personal—to borrow a nice distinction from a page I can't place at the moment.

THESE NOTES, which were never very constant, have been interrupted for the past year by a fling at the theater during the absence of Mr. Krutch. I shall miss those second-night seats—and those haunting unknown familiars, the other occupiers of second-night seats—in spite of the fact that F or K or M 1 and 3 looked out, last season, on some pretty trying scenes. May Mr. Krutch have better luck. The news that most of the plays scheduled for the coming months have been written in Hollywood by screen writers or by "legitimate" writers who have settled there is not too reassuring. Not that there isn't plenty of talent in Hollywood. The best film of the year is quite likely, these days, to be more impressive than the best play. Still, a film is not a play any more than film acting is stage acting, and for better or worse I'd like to see the writing and acting of plays continue.

AT LEAST one reader would contest that statement. I got an angry letter the other day from a warrant officer who told me that I hate the theater, that my judgments are all wrong—and that my place is in the home. I'd have more respect for clauses one and two if my correspondent hadn't been impelled in clause three to resort to that shopworn argumentum ad feminam.

STOP PRESS: A friend has passed on a V-letter from an American soldier in France which contains news and comment:

> I saw a brief piece in *Le Figaro* from André Gide, place-lined Rome and congratulating them on being able to publish in a free country once again. Also a story on Malraux. Malraux was fighting with the maquis, got shot up in an auto with two British officers, was wounded, and was imprisoned, in error, as an Englishman. If they had known he was a *franc-tireur*, they would have shot him. The American advance subsequently liberated him. France continues nice, but I've not been able to get around in the manner I did a week ago. So I read Baudelaire. (A kind Frenchman—a policeman!—gave me a copy.)

IN A later mail came a copy of one page of *Le Figaro* of September 10 which contains the story about Malraux. I print it because it gives further vivid details:

> In the course of a mission the machine in which he [Malraux] was traveling with two English officers was stopped by a German barrage. In order to escape the machine-gun fire he tried to turn, but the automobile crashed into a tree. The two officers were killed by the hail of bullets and Malraux, wounded in the leg, escaped a firing squad only by pretending to be an Allied officer. After being taken from prison to prison for fifteen days, he was liberated at Toulouse by the F. F. I. Scarcely had he got out of prison when he returned to the fight. Today he is at the head of a group of 1,500 well-armed men in the region of Limoges.

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THERE IS some non-war news from London. A dispatch from the Overseas News Agency reports that an International Arts Guild has been formed "to strengthen the spiritual and artistic intercourse of artists of all nations." Three sections of the guild have already been set up, with Stephen Spender, Henry Moore, and Benjamin Britten in charge respectively of the literature, art, and music sections. The Guild will have branches in many capitals, beginning with Paris, Prague, and Washington. It will have its own publicity organization, a special translation department, and mobile exhibitions. It will also arrange exchange visits of artists. I'm fairly skeptical of the actual uses of such organizations, but this one is at least being set up under unstuffy auspices. From what I know of Spender he is not only a good poet but an instigator in the best sense; and he knows the quick from the dead among living writers. I know less about Moore and Britten, but they, as well as Spender, are associated, for me, with *Horizon,* the English monthly, which has kept its literary chin well up in spite of the odds of war.

I THINK it's rather wonderful, for instance, that the leading article in *Horizon* for August—the most recent issue to arrive—is a leisurely piece on Robert Lovelace, the Romantic Cad. The subject is the Lovelace in Samuel Richardson's "Clarissa," and the essay begins by pointing out with pride that "the literature of England and France is happily rich in cads." I was wrily amused, by the way, to be reminded that the term "provocative defense" which the Nazis have used as an excuse for torture was applied by Richardson to the behavior of women. In the same issue Paul Vézelay, writing of children's drawings, makes the sensible observation that they are not, as "some people have been ponderously persuaded" to assume, works of art. "No! little Daisy's drawing is not 'just like a Picasso,' and no amount of wishful thinking will prevent Johnny's picture from being as different from a work of Henri Matisse, Miro, Seurat, Henry Rousseau, or Juan Gris, as a night-light by the child's bed is different from a star. Let us insist, gently but very, very firmly, that even 'a little genius' . . . will be obliged to study the science of drawing and painting for many years in order to understand all there is to learn before he—or she—can even hope to merit the hitherto glorious title of artist." It's a lesson that might well be taken to heart by "children of a larger growth" in all the arts.

WHEN I dropped in to see a publisher a few weeks ago I heard incidentally about vast forces moving in the publishing world. At the time there was a report, later denied, that Pocket Books had been sold for $2,000,000. Henry Luce was said to be dickering for Grosset and Dunlap, the house which first went in for cheap reprints; a few days later, however, came the announcement that the firm had been purchased instead by a group composed of the Book of the Month Club, Random House, and Harper. Since then Little, Brown and Scribner's have joined the group.

POCKET BOOKS began on a shoestring and everyone said it couldn't be done. Publishers have always maintained and still do that people don't like to buy cheap books. I think they mean something less simple than that. There is a great difference between buying a really cheap book, say for 25 cents, and a relatively cheap one, say for 75 cents, $1, or $1.50. The psychology of buying a book for 25 cents is that of buying a magazine which you expect to throw away. Above that figure the average buyer begins to think of his investment in the good old capitalist way. If he's going to put a dollar into a book—so he figures—he might as well invest a little more, for surely a book that costs $2.75 must be more worth keeping. It comes down, in one sense, to the density and quality of culture. The reason why publishers of cheap books have gone in almost entirely for reprints of best-sellers is at once a matter of culture *and* of economics. I'm afraid it will be a long time before the average buyer, having read neither book, will have the background to choose "The Red and the Black" at 69 cents in preference to "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn" at $2.75.

IT WILL be an even longer time if monopoly takes over publishing. As a rule the independent publisher, whatever his faults, is still interested in good literature. It may be a matter of tradition or prestige rather than of genuine appreciation, but the interest is there. The publisher functions, to be sure, at one of the points where those ancient enemies, business and art, come into direct conflict; he is caught between the devil of commercialism and the deep blue sea of literature. He aspires, for good or bad reasons, to bathe eternally in the deep blue sea; he is constrained to duck out, at cautious intervals, to assure himself that the devil isn't stealing his clothes. Still, good books by unknown authors do get published. It might on the face of it be argued that if publishing were monopolized by Henry Luce and the *Reader's Digest,* who have money to burn, unknown authors might get an even better break—and larger advances. But in general Big Money is not nearly so likely to take chances as Little Money. It has less incentive, even assuming it knew an artistic chance when it saw one. What's more, the present relationship between the independent publisher and the budding author—and whatever publishers and authors say about each other, it is a human relationship in which the author still has a good deal of bargaining power—would be hard put to survive the mechanics and the sheer size of a Luce organization. Not to mention the power and preoccupations of the genus Luce. I'm told that the head of Time, Inc., decided on one occasion that he, Henry Luce, would sponsor a "little magazine." The attitude toward writing and writers —at once so obtuse and so arrogant—which this story reflects is the one which would prevail, I'm afraid, if publishing were taken over by big business.

BY WAY of a footnote: I've just run across a sentence in an advertisement in *Publisher's Weekly* which so neatly prefigures Big Money as publisher that I must pass it on. Russell Davenport, graduate cum laude of *Time, Life,* and *Fortune,* has written a long poem called "My Country." For all I know it may be the poem of the century. What caught my eye was the bristling assertion by the publishers, Simon and Schuster, who are pretty high-powered in their own right, that this poem "was not written in a garret." Poets in garrets will please come down to earth, work for Time, Inc., and eventually have their poems published in an edition, not

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—*Book-of-the-Month Club News.* $2.50

Philadelphia • **J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY** • *New York* of a paltry 1,500, but of 10,000 copies. A lot of them have come down and are serving *Time.* So I hope Mr. Davenport's poem is good. In that event I shall give up my mad little project of having the whole Luce phantasm abolished, except for the salary checks to the creative people who work there.

LUCE SEEMS to have been shut out in the bidding for Grosset and Dunlap by the combination mentioned above. The Book-of-the-Month Club, which is at least on the outer edges of big business with some 600,000 subscribers, has "somewhat larger" holdings than any of the four publishers. When Harry Scherman, its prime mover, was asked why the Book-of-the-Month Club had participated he said, "The reason is that it puts us in a more favorable position, should we at some time in the future decide to enter the low-priced book-club field with a subsidiary."

INCIDENTALLY, Mr. Scherman's views are well to the right, and I was interested in the news that the Book-of-the-Month Club had distributed free to all its members a copy of "The Control of Germany and Japan" by Harold J. Moulton and Louis Marlio. This is one of the latest encyclicals of the Brookings Institution, which is the Vatican of the status quo.

WHO EVER said that poetry is not useful? This morning a radio announcer cited, with credit, a line from Coleridge, "In today walks tomorrow." He was advertising shoes.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Second Air Force

Far off, above the plain the summer dries,
The great loops of the hangars sway like hills.
Buses and weariness and loss, the nodding soldiers
Are wire, the bare frame building, and a pass
To what was hers; her head hides his square patch
(A bird falling to a lobster from a star)
And she thinks heavily: My son is grown.
She sees a world: sand roads, tar-paper barracks,
The bubbling asphalt of the runways, sage,
The dunes rising to the interminable ranges,
The dim flights moving over clouds like clouds.
The armorers in their patched faded green,
Sweat-stiffened, banded with brass cartridges,
Walk to the line; their Fortresses, all tail,
Stand wrong and flimsy on their skinny legs,
And the crews climb to them clumsily as bears.
The head withdraws into its hatch (a boy's),
The engines rise to their blind laboring roar,
And the green, made beasts run home to air.
Now in each aspect death is pure.
(At twilight they wink over men like stars
And hour by hour, through the night, some see
The great lights floating in—from Mars, from Mars.)
How emptily the watchers see them gone.

They go, there is silence; the woman and her son
Stand in the forest of the shadows, and the light
Washes them like water. In the long-sunken city
Of evening, the sunlight stills like sleep
The faint wonder of the drowned; in the evening,
In the last dreaming light, so fresh, so old,
The soldiers pass like beasts, unquestioning,
And the watcher for an instant understands
What there is then no need to understand;
But she wakes from her knowledge, and her stare,
A shadow now, moves emptily among
The shadows learning in their shadowy fields
The empty missions.
She hears the bomber calling, *Little friend*,
To the fighter hanging in the hostile sky,
Watching the ragged flame eat rib by rib
Along the metal of the wing into her heart:
The lives stream, blossom, and float steadily
To the flames of the earth, the inextinguishable
Citizens of everybody's heart, the flames
That burn like stars above the lands of men.

She saves from the twilight that takes everything
A section shipping, in its last parade—
Its dogs run by it, barking at the band—
A gunner walking to his barracks, half-asleep,
Starting at something, stumbling (above, invisible,
The crews in the steady winter of the sky
Tremble in their wired fur); and feels for them
The love of life for life. The hopeful cells
Heavy with someone else's death, cold carriers
Of someone else's victory, grope past their lives
Into her own bewilderment: The years meant *this?*

But for them the bombers answer everything.

RANDALL JARRELL

Gide: The Head and the Heart

> Er ist dumm wie alle Menschen, die kein Herz haben. Denn die Gedanken kommen nicht aus dem Kopfe, sondern aus dem Herzen.—HEINE.

IMAGINARY INTERVIEWS. By André Gide. Translated from the French by Malcolm Cowley. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

IT IS a good omen that the first book to come through from France, in translation, after the silence that gripped that country from the 1940 invasion on, is a piece of literature—and one so fresh and vigorous that it might have been written by a man in his vigorous prime. It was written, as a matter of fact, by a man in his early seventies. Gide was born in 1869, a date difficult to credit in this connection. Malcolm Cowley, who has done an excellent job of translation with these nineteen dialogues, two short essays, and a brief journal written at the fall of Tunis, brings out in his introduction the presence of certain passages concealing hidden fire to smoke out treachery. These passages exist, it is true, and no one can bring off such subtleties with the same ease and *brio* as Gide. At the same time, it would be a mistake to take this book as a piece of writing whose value lies solely in its hidden polemic. The remarkable thing about it is its openness. By comparison, much of the writing to which we have been accustomed in an un-

Author of "The Flowering of New England" (Pulitzer Prize Winner) and "New England: Indian Summer" (Book-Of-The-Month Club Selection)

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ALBUM of DESTINY

by JESSE STUART

Author of

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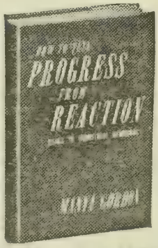

Many economists from Karl Marx to Harold Laski have written on socialism, but it has remained for Manya Gordon to visualize for the first time how the Socialist Commonwealth may look in its working actuality. Whether you agree or disagree with Manya Gordon's concept, her book written for everybody is a powerful and constructive instrument today for clear-headed, practical thinking as a new world emerges. $3.00

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Author of

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censored American literature, these last heavy years, seems closed and stifling. It is the final answer to those opponents of Gide—and how numerous and vocal they were—who prophesied for him final sterility. It is the final proof that his "Christianity without dogma," his belief in harmony and joy, his determined belief in individuality, had firm bases. It is also a proof, as Cowley says, that a wholehearted devotion to the literary art may in itself constitute political action The "Interviews" appeared regularly from November, 1941, to the spring of 1942 in the literary supplement of *Le Figaro,* one outlet for serious writers in the unoccupied zone.

The works of André Gide have been presented to American readers in the most haphazard way. "The Counterfeiters" came out rather promptly after its French publication; but, detached completely from Gide's career as a whole, it could not but puzzle many readers. "Si le grain ne meurt . . .," the key book to Gide and one of literature's great confessions, appeared in its first French public edition in 1924; it was published here in an expensive limited edition ("If It Die") in 1935. The two lives of Gide in English to which Mr. Cowley refers in his preface are valuable, but nothing is so valuable as reading Gide himself, from beginning to end, in his proper order. He has, from the first, possessed the rare faculty of being able to make more or less disguised autobiographical material a continuing basis for his writing. This accomplishment—for autobiography is the most dangerous, and can be the dullest, material in the world—proves an actual underlying development. His vivid grasp of his own experience has been put into the service, moreover, of his moral ideas.

This man, whom readers of translations will have to piece together from the scattered books available to them—they have his "Dostoevski," his African travel notes, his book on Russia, as well as certain short pieces of prose—became a center of influence only after 1918. He had purposely kept his early production small and varied, in what his opponents considered a perversely baffling way. His opponents were intelligent and formidable. To Catholics especially he came to represent corruption and secret-keeping: the result of a truly demoniac possession. What was manifesting itself in Gide was manifesting itself in several isolated individuals at the time—Freud, Havelock Ellis, Shaw. The fact of the unconscious was breaking through European thought. Gide's basic tenets, upon which he acted with, to others, an infuriating tenacity, were actually rather simple. Combining in himself opposing elements of the most irreconcilable kind —a Protestant upbringing and a passionate nature the sexual organization of which differed from the "normal"—he early broke, through action, from the illness and misery imposed upon him by seemingly implacable forces. He refused to continue the endless and sterile struggle "against a conformity to which all nature was in contradiction." "It dawned upon me at last that this discordant duality might be resolved into harmony. And then I saw that harmony must be my supreme object, and the endeavor to acquire it the express reason of my life." Many years later he repeats his conviction—the conviction that defeated, for him, the anxiety which so afflicts modern man: "When I made the discovery that joy was rarer and more difficult and more beautiful than sadness, joy became for me not only (which it is) a natural need but even more a moral obligation."

In order to give his "dangerous thoughts" some kind of circulation in the heavy pre-1914 world in which he found himself, Gide resorted to ruses. He wrote his books under the protection of the myth. It is difficult fully to understand Gide without a knowledge of these small early works. They are filled with a diffused wit, gaiety, and freedom. They brought into French literature something completely opposed to the heavy work of Barrès—in its own way "mythical." They gave release from deadly compromise and pervasive hidden or open pressure. They "decompressed," in the phrase of one modern French critic.

It is this faculty for "decompression" which gives life and vigor to everything Gide writes. It is present in his criticism—in modern France the criticism which comes nearest to the warm humanism of Montaigne. It is a releasing touch that operates under the cool and pure classic style that Gide has made flexible, while keeping about it "an odor both resinous and dry." Under this serene surface exists an intellectual and emotional organization fully conscious of "the winds from the abyss." Gide has never allowed his need for reconciliation to blind or deafen him to the terrible contradictions of life, to the often insane tensions functioning in the human spirit. It is the appreciation of the force of these terrors that has drawn him to Dostoevski, Blake, Flaubert, and Shakespeare. He believes in the validity of the extreme, of the sincere, of intense limitation; and it is largely Goethe's disinclination to limit himself that makes him, in Gide's eyes, "banal, in a superior way."

The crucial importance of Gide's thought at present is that he has discovered, and long acted upon, the fact of each man's personal responsibility for evil.

> What a sad need for hatred [he wrote in his Journal in 1937] I see on all sides today! . . . the need to oppose all that should be understood, completed, enriched, united. These conflicts I have felt working in myself, before having come upon them in the outer world. I know them; and by this personal experience I know how one uses oneself up in the struggle. . . . [A day came] when I said: What good does it do? when I began to look, not for struggle and partial triumph, but for accord; to understand that the more separate and different are the parts composing this accord, the richer the harmony. And in the same way in a state—it is a somber kind of Utopia, this dream of smashing one part by another; this dream of a totalitarian state where the subjugated minorities cannot make themselves heard; or, what is worse, where each and all think the same. It cannot be a question of harmony when the choir sings in unison.

It is inevitable that this translation of "Interviews imaginaires" should bear some marks of being printed for an immediate use; of being enlisted to a hard-hitting purpose, with a special target in view. This sharp direction of appeal has resulted in one or two faults. The first translation into English of a set of Gide's essays should be more fully annotated. Some footnotes exist, but not enough. The dates and publisher and titles of Sarthe's books (and Sarthe's full name)? The date and publisher of Thierry-Maulnier's "Introduction à la poésie française"? Some identification of Kléber Haeden and August Dorchain? (The fact of a closed France cannot be a complete explanation; although no

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By Thomas A. Bailey

"It will furnish to all who desire it the knowledge which will help them to judge truly the Wilsonian issue as it develops in the national political campaign."—*New York Sun.* $3.00

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French scholar, I have two of the books mentioned on my shelves.) Such annotation would tie these essays firmly into a background of reference, as well as being a reassurance that the time will come when literature will again move freely over long open spaces, without fear of traps or ambushes.

The sly, the sinuous, the demoniac Gide: can his opponents find him in this book? I do not think so, any more than his admirers can find an infallible guide; for Gide can make mistakes in literary judgment. The important thing is that they are never mistakes of sympathy. He can be wrong about American writers, but for interesting reasons. And we search in vain for the stiff old figure, loaded with years and evil—the end his enemies prophesied for Gide long since. This man who, during the fighting in Tunis, walks the streets happy in the radiant spring weather, who falls into a happy conversation concerning the respective merits of George and Rilke with the first British staff officer he meets, who lies at night with his window open on "a field of stars," is an aged man. It is impossible to remember this as we read him. His trust in life has not been an empty hope; he is free; and he hands the unambiguous key to freedom to us all. LOUISE BOGAN

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Most Perfect Dilettante

IT IS EASY enough to poke fun at Horace Walpole. Born to wealth and power and position, he deliberately refused to play any part in great affairs because he preferred instead to become the most perfect dilettante his country had ever known. He built a "Gothic" house, established a private press, collected old glass, and wrote a treatise on landscape gardening. There is something more than a little spinsterish about his fussy delight in gossip and knickknacks, and his "good taste," like that of so many men who pride themselves upon nothing else, was insufficiently robust to seem really good for very long. Decidedly one must take him on his own terms if one is to take him at all. But fortunately that is not so hard to do. Certain of the letters which he intended for posterity as well as for the friends to whom they were addressed are as famous as anything of the sort in English. Moreover, to read, not merely the famous items, but the whole vast bulk of his correspondence as it is appearing in the present handsome and brilliantly edited edition is to realize how deservedly memorable the cultivation of his one unique gift was able to make him, even though most of his contemporaries would not have supposed him particularly memorable.

More than a generation after Walpole's death Macaulay wrote a sneering essay of some length. A century after that W. S. Lewis has made a notable collection of Walpoliana and is devoting a substantial portion of a lifetime to the printing and the careful annotation of Walpole's letters. The present volumes, 11 and 12, contain his correspondence with Mary and Agnes Berry and Barbara Cecelia Seton (Yale, $15). Since Walpole consciously rested his claim to justification on the chance that posterity would really be interested in what he had to say, it is Walpole who wins. He must, in Elysium, take great satisfaction in the stately procession of these volumes. If he meets the sneering Macaulay the thought of them must enable him to sneer right back. And he sneers best who sneers last. J. W. K.

If Only . . .

WHETHER one is a Socialist, a New Dealer, or even a Hoover Republican, one is likely to find the reading of "Omnipotent Government" by Ludwig von Mises an exhilarating experience (Yale, $3.75). It is so extreme, angry, and perversely doctrinaire that one can enjoy it without believing a word of it. Capitalism, according to Mr. von Mises, never failed anywhere because, like Christianity, it has never been tried. The alleged sins of capitalism are really due to interventionism by the state, originally via protection. This policy was motivated by the misguided desire to protect the position of labor. Nationalism, Nazism, unemployment, war, depression, even anti-Semitism—all are the result of intervention which interfered with the inexorable laws of the market. Only a difference of degree and consistency separates the economic philosophy of Coolidge and Hoover from that of Norman Thomas, Stalin, and Hitler.

As his other writings show, Mr. von Mises is able to develop an impressive theoretical argument. But this volume is so full of abuse and passionate misstatement that it cannot be taken as anything more than a succession of despairing cries by one who feels the world is irrevocably headed for a "statist" hell. The whole argument of the Marxists to show that free enterprise tends toward monopoly, even without protection, is not considered but dismissed with words like "empty babble," "thoroughly mendacious," "dishonest." Vansittart seems full of the milk of human kindness toward Germans compared to von Mises. Among the author's less extreme statements are: the Nazis in effect carried out the program of Marx's "Communist Manifesto"; Bismarck's *Sozialpolitik* corresponds to the New Deal; for fifty years the lying talk of leading Marxists about democracy in Germany "had but one end in view, to put Rosa Luxemburg, a foreigner, in the place of the Hohenzollerns"; the German Nationalist People's Party presented a fake program for freedom of speech, science, and conscience in 1918 because they "had profited from reading Lenin and Bukharin."

One curious turn: the whole mess of Nazism and war could have been avoided if only the Germans had chosen free trade at any time during the last sixty years. Why didn't they? "It is impossible to explain why. . . . The fateful decision against free trade . . . was an individual historical event, which cannot be further analyzed or explained." S. H.

Poll-Tax Epic

YOU WILL like the cut of the young crusading editor of the Nashville *Tennesseean*, Jennings Perry, who in "Democracy Begins at Home" (Lippincott, $3) tells the story of the long in-fighting against the most sacred of cows around any Southern city room—the poll tax. His story begins, as his fight began, back in 1936, when Edward Hull Crump,

Farrar & Rinehart

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boss of Memphis, named his man and decided the election for Governor of a state of 3,000,000 so-called sovereign people, *three weeks before election.* Thirty-six years before that—"in one brief, decadent decade popular rule, save as an idle phrase, as a lingering pretense, had passed." The poll tax, written by men in fear of the Negro vote, had by act of the state legislature been made a prerequisite to the suffrage. Now Crump and his odious crew are using this device in such a way that their men are monotonously elected by a startlingly small percentage of the pliant voters. Bad as is the working of the tax in Tennessee, Editor Perry says that it is worse in other Southern states, and he shows how its impact is felt throughout the entire democracy, North, East, South, and West, by the elevation of poll-tax Congressmen to key committees.

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A Seventeenth-Century Psychiatrist

FOR THE seventeenth century "The Anatomy of Melancholy" was a serious work, what we nowadays might call an Outline of Neurotic Depression. But in the enlightened eighteenth century the dark disease sank to the low estate of the "spleen" and the "Anatomy" fell out of favor together with the malady it described; it was much read by Dr. Johnson, greatest of melancholics, but to most of his contemporaries it was either unknown or quaint. And it was as a quaint book that it had its vogue in the nineteenth century. Sir William Osler in our own time declared that it was actually full of medical wisdom, but he did not substantiate this opinion, and it has remained for Bergen Evans to demonstrate in "The Psychiatry of Robert Burton" (Columbia, $2) that the baroque multitudinousness of the "Anatomy" contains a psychological theory which is at many points similar to Freud's.

Freud himself said that he had not discovered the unconscious but only the scientific way of studying the unconscious. "The poets and philosophers before me," he said, "discovered the unconscious." But Burton did more than most of Freud's predecessors. To be sure, he does not have an organic theory which permits of development. But he provides an admirable symptomatology; he insists on the psychogenesis of mental and also of many physical states; his etiology is based on the deprivation of love the patient has suffered in childhood and on the pressures of a competitive society; his therapy slights physic in favor of a carefully defined relation between physician and patient which approximates at least part of the method of psychoanalysis; and many of his minor insights are distinctly Freudian.

An admirer of Charles Lamb will feel that Professor Evans, in his zeal to rehabilitate Burton's seriousness, does less than justice to Lamb when he speaks of his "chatter" about the "Anatomy"; Lamb's feeling about the miseries of childhood is close to Burton's, and one of his best statements of it (No. XII of "The Popular Fallacies") reflects Burton directly. But the exception is unimportant—Mr. Evans has written a monograph that is a model of scholarly brevity, grace, and point. L. T.

France and Mme de Caillavet

ANATOLE FRANCE: A Life Without Illusions" by Jacob Axelrad (Harper, $3.75) is an encyclopedia of France, by a man who writes too well and knows too much. It is not primarily a literary interpretation, like the books of Barry Cerf, Haakon Chevalier, Lewis Piaget Shanks, and Preston Dargan, but rather a romanced biography with a very strong tinge of sentiment. The study of France's political evolution is well done, with penetration and sympathy. But like many orthodox Socialists, Mr. Axelrad is of several minds about the rights and wrongs of the First World War. The subject is tangled; but this is no excuse for violent and apparently unconscious contradictions.

The chief contribution is the story of Anatole France's long affair—partnership rather than amour—with Mme Arman de Caillavet: a welcome corrective to J. J. Brousson's in-

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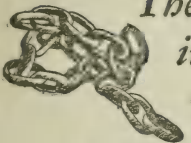

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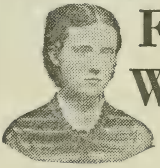

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famous libel; much fuller, more intimate than Jeanne Pouquet's "The Last Salon." Mr. Axelrad was generously assisted, he tells us, by M. and Mme André Maurois; and Mme Maurois was Mme de Caillavet's granddaughter.

Mme de Caillavet was a frustrated, incomplete writer: Anatole France was her vicarious triumph. She turned an inveterate dawdler into a hard-working novelist, a man of the world, an Academician. He submitted—at first with gratitude and delight. He may have loved her in return. He did find her possessiveness irksome and her iron discipline a burden. He tried to escape—as far as Buenos Aires. When she died, he *may* have expressed his remorse and sorrow in as melodramatic a form as Mr. Axelrad reports. An able and well-meaning book, it strikes me as not exactly in the right key. A. G.

Life of Dowson

MARK LONGAKER has written a sober and readable biography of Ernest Dowson (University of Pennsylvania, $4) which, carefully conflating familiar facts with some material previously withheld from the public, tells the full story for the first time. Mr. Longaker has met, or corresponded with, many of the survivors of the drama of Dowson's life. A son of Oscar Wilde's—to cite one case—supplied him with several interesting letters of his father's showing that the latter was actually not so crushed in spirit after his release from Reading Gaol. The book is a good piece of research, and it goes beyond mere research in being directed by a certain sense of narrative and a warm, directive interest in Dowson.

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This is not enough. Dowson's life is neither dull nor insignificant. The poet was a tubercular and neurotic son of tubercular and neurotic parents; he went to Oxford at a time when that city afforded a more than usually attractive subject for a social historian's pen; he proceeded to London, there to be a colleague of W. B. Yeats in the Rhymers' Club; he fell in love with a girl of twelve and, when she did not return his love, turned to drugs and drink; he was the companion of Wilde just before both met sordid and premature death in the same year. An exciting narrative and a fascinating milieu! But Mr. Longaker presents only one real argument in the whole book—the sound but tame reflection that Dowson was not so bohemian and "decadent" as he has been painted.

Miss Marion Plarr explored the "romantic" possibilities of Dowson's life to the full in her novel "Cynara"; Desmond Flower provided an almost definitive edition of his poems; now Mr. Longaker has presented the biographical data as fully as they need ever be presented. How could the obsequies of a minor poet be better celebrated? Only, I think, if his readers asked what none of these have asked: what is the value of his words and what the significance of his career? If Mr. Longaker had asked these questions at the outset, and had pressed them instead of listening to the pundits who told him that "Cynara" was "one of the greatest lyrical poems of our time," he might not have written so much on so little a poet. Or he might have passed beyond scholarship to criticism. E. R. B.

Rank and File

SOMETIMES the most revealing of the war books are not those written by famous correspondents but those by unknown writers who portray humble segments of the war in which they have played a part. One such, which unfortunately has been overlooked by the reviewers, is "The Last Voyage of the Quien Sabe," by Lars Skattebol (Harper, $2.50).

Mr. Skattebol, a frail boy who had a minor Associated Press job, shipped out as a merchant seaman on an ancient, rickety ship manned by an incompetent, riffraff crew which included alcoholics, ex-convicts, and a gigantic Negro pervert who tried to kill the author. There was a mutiny in North Africa when the captain starved the crew to save money. On the way home thirty-three of the crew lost their lives when the ship was torpedoed; the other twenty-eight spent seventeen days in a lifeboat. Mr. Skattebol tells the story in a simple matter-of-fact style with a talent for detail that makes the adventure come alive. He tells, for instance, how the thirsty men in the lifeboat planned the precise routes they would take walking from one orange-drink stand to another in New York when, and if, they got back. This is one of the absorbing human documents of the war.

Two sergeants—Bud Hutton and Andy Rooney—wrote "Air Gunner" (Farrar and Rinehart, $2.50). They are not concerned with the pilots who fly the bombers over Germany, but solely with the unsung non-coms who crouch in the turrets and shoot at German fighter planes. The reader lives with these men in their crowded Nissen hut, half-warmed with stolen coal; shares their sickening fear of flak; hears the remark over the plane's phone that breaks the tension over Bremen; goes with them on their prostitute-shopping tours to London; and learns how the bits of a gunner sometimes have to be hosed out of his turret with steam when the bomber lands. M. D.

Homer Line for Line

DR. WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH, who died ten years ago at the age of eighty-four, began the task of translating the Iliad line for line, into dactylic hexameters; and now, at eighty, his lifelong friend, Dr. Walter Miller, has brought the work to completion (Macmillan, $3.75). The literal achievement of so ambitious a project, attended with scrupulous devotion, is in itself a remarkable performance; but, ironically enough, the text of this edition of Homer will be less valued for itself than for its illustrations. For these comprise reproductions of thirty-nine designs by John Flaxman, the friend of William Blake, and their presence makes the book an exceptional value for the money. R. H.

Japanese Americans

WHEN 100,000 men and women of Japanese descent were evacuated from the West Coast in the spring of 1942, most Americans accepted this action as being motivated by military necessity. But it would be difficult for any fair-minded person to hold to this view after reading Carey McWilliams's documented study ("Prejudice," Little, Brown, $3) of the evacuation and the factors leading up to it. Mr. McWilliams marshals an impressive amount of evidence to support his thesis that long-standing racial and economic rivalries, rather than military considerations, were responsible for the step. He reminds us, for example, that mass evacuation was not found necessary in Hawaii although there were proportionately many more persons of Japanese descent on the islands than on the mainland and the military peril was incomparably more acute. Moreover, there is no record of any act of sabotage being committed by West Coast residents of Japanese descent, while in innumerable instances they have distinguished themselves by acts of loyalty to the United States.

If the Japanese Americans had constituted a real threat to the security of the West Coast, agitation against them would have died down after their evacuation. Its sudden increase after the peril had supposedly been removed indicates causes apart from the war. Mr. McWilliams traces in great detail the amazing campaign against the Japanese residents of California from its origins at the turn of the century to its pinnacle of hysteria after evacuation had been accomplished. He shows that while it was primarily racist in character, showing close affinity to the anti-Negro pressures in the South, it received its chief support from groups whose opposition to the Japanese was economic. Although elimination of the prejudice and the economic pressure that were responsible for the evacuation program requires a long-range educational program—which Mr. McWilliams believes should be government-sponsored—immediate steps can and should be taken to restore the basic civil and economic rights of our loyal Japanese Americans. M. S. S.

FICTION IN REVIEW

Women in Love

COME war or come paper-rationing, there is never a dearth of novels about female love. The best of them are still written by men; indeed, so long as women write about themselves and their love as they nowadays do, they should be grateful that neither in life nor in literature do men always take them at their full word. The picture of women, especially in our most talented and ambitious female fiction, is enough to scare any normal man out of his wits. It should also be enough to scare at least some women back into theirs.

Of course one of the troubles with all current novels is their failure of creative imagination and their too great subjectivity. But even more than our men writers, our women writers, especially when they deal with their sexual emotions, have a way of filling the world with themselves alone and of exploiting fiction to promote their own follies and grievances. Substituting intensity for understanding and confusion for dramatic conflict, they produce, instead of good novels, disturbing case histories. Almost without exception, novels by women about women—these days—are one-character books in which the one character is easy to spot as the author. They are seldom art, but they often have the sad authenticity of autobiography.

Christina Stead's new novel, "For Love Alone" (Har-

An illuminating book on the union of *Might* and *Right.*

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court, Brace, $3), is very accurately named: it is an unusually obsessive study of the female love emotion. Miss Stead, one of our most talented and ambitious women writers, is telling the story of the crucial years in the life of a young woman who is seeking—supposedly—an object for her deep powers of affection. Teresa Hawkins is a highly emotional Australian girl who falls in love with a perverse devil of a young man, makes inordinate sacrifices to follow him to London, and there becomes properly disillusioned with him; maturity begins for Miss Stead's heroine when she finally achieves her first mating—with a generous, warm-hearted older man. The outline of the narrative is thin and familiar. What makes Miss Stead's novel an uncommonly interesting variation on the familiar theme is the baldness with which it states the resolution of its sexual problem.

For it is the great irony of most novels about women's fatal urge to love that they regularly turn out to expose, all unconsciously, women's fatal inability to love; and in Miss Stead's novel this irony is even broader than usual. After having spent four years and almost 450 pages in the quest for someone on whom to unload her beautiful burden of affection, the heroine of "For Love Alone" requires only a few weeks and a chapter or two of consummation to reveal that she has been seeking, not a lover, but a sense of personal power. As Teresa herself puts it: "How had she advanced in a few months from the idea that no one would love her to the assurance that she could *control* two men?" (She is on the verge of taking her second lover.) The italics are mine, but the approving emphasis is the author's; and a few pages later Teresa will talk of her desire to "master" men. "For Love Alone" ends with its heroine not only set for her life of conquest but firm in the knowledge that this kind of power is the purest female poetry. The quest for love, in other words, shows itself as the grim business of collecting—shall we call it?—scalps, and the desire to give and receive affection as the desire merely to become the property-owner instead of the property.

The language of property is Miss Stead's own. In the course of the education of Teresa Hawkins "For Love Alone" has many sound things to say about the economic motive in the relation of the sexes. This is to be expected, since our revolutionary sexual literature is necessarily well grounded in classic economic argument. Nor are we surprised that for a large part of the book Teresa is victimized by an unworthy man; even revolutionary literature still likes to rattle this old skeleton. Less expected and much more interesting, I think, are Miss Stead's use of so young a heroine and her very pungent comments on the cruel pressures which our society puts on a girl at the age of marriage.

Teresa is not yet nineteen when we first make her acquaintance, but Miss Stead shows her to be quite frenzied with sexual desire—and this seems to me to be a healthy defiance of the present-day convention which permits sexuality to married women (or children) but not to very young women. By the evidence of most of our novels we must still feel the need to keep within the strict bounds of propriety the activity and even the fantasy of the young girl who is in the market for a husband.

And Miss Stead's heroine not only defies the conventions by being fully developed sexually at so tender an age; she is also improperly outspoken in her fear of spinsterhood. I know no novel, including the novels of Jane Austen, which reveals as frankly as "For Love Alone" the frantic need young women have for a husband and the brutal hypocrisy with which society surrounds their efforts to find one. Most women novelists are unwilling to make the admissions that Miss Stead makes for her sex. Even Jane Austen put up a wall of satire against our temptation to accuse her of sharing with her characters their desperate longing for matrimony.

There are other accomplishments in Miss Stead's novel which I am afraid I have neglected in favor of its significance as a sexual document. Somewhat in the manner in which Elizabeth Bowen so wonderfully recreates the color and smells of an English seaside resort in "The Death of the Heart," Miss Stead very remarkably recreates the raw vulgarity of Sydney, Australia, and its suburbs; the latter feel like a World's Fair after the fair is over. Then, although the general tone of the novel is far too *exalté* for my taste and despite the fact that it constantly goes over the emotional deep end, Miss Stead is capable of punctuating the rarefied air with flashes of real wit and of downright intelligence. And simply in the matter of prose, she often has a salutary carelessness, where she gives the impression of being, rightly, much more concerned with what she has to say than with how she says it. It is a misfortune of our culture that a talent like Miss Stead's should be at the service of so much ardent confusion.

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VERSE CHRONICLE

W. H. Auden

IS AUDEN'S poetry as remarkable as its rhetoric, as brilliant in its general import as it is in its particulars? I have found that I did not remember his single poems in the way I remembered many individual performances of, say, Yeats or Eliot. Perhaps his extraordinary eloquence, while momentarily transfiguring his poems, somehow compromises their formal integrity. And because his eloquence has so often failed to crystallize into worthy structures, it has at times even looked specious—like that of a man who is always talking and never doing anything.

Such appearances are thoroughly belied by Auden's new volume of poems; "For the Time Being" (Random House, $2) is the work of a great and serious artist. To review it is rather difficult. There are a number of dark passages which call for exegesis of the sort applied often to Eliot and rarely to Auden. The poems also testify to his preoccupation with the metaphysics of Being: if I am not wrong, he is half the time talking Kierkegaard. Above all, they raise the familiar question whether Auden has been converted to religion or religion converted to the uses of his poetry. On this last point I believe one thing is obvious. Although Auden's inspiration has been, to put it crudely, now Marxist, now Freudian, now Christian, he is consistently the prophet of modern personality *in extremis*. His theme is a great theme, whatever his particular beliefs or ours.

"For the Time Being" contains two long poems. One is the title poem, described as a Christmas oratorio; the other is called "The Sea and the Mirror—a Commentary on Shakespeare's 'The Tempest.'" The latter seems to me to have many of Auden's familiar structural faults. There is a string of soliloquies by the "Tempest" characters which builds up a dramatic effect; but this is lost in a lengthy concluding oration delivered by a Caliban who is, only too patently, Auden himself. The poet seems to have more on his mind than can be contained in his fable; so he descends like the god from the machine and takes over the proceedings. Yet many of the poem's single passages are magnificent; especially Alonso's speech on kingship, in which Auden's old cry of warning, his intense conviction that *you can't get away with anything*, receives one of its grandest expressions. And he rings fabulous changes on the "Tempest" materials, even though he works as usual more through verbal power than through dramatic inventiveness. He turns Shakespeare's already charmed landscape of musical waters and yellow sands into a world of almost surrealist queerness.

> But imagine the sands where a crown
> Has the status of a broken-down
> Sofa or mutilated statue . . .

But the other poem, "For the Time Being," is probably Auden's best work since "The Orators." I admit that when I heard, several months ago, of Auden's projected oratorio on the Nativity, I feared another fly-by-night improvisation like "The Ascent of F-6" or his Paul Bunyan play. I was wrong: "For the Time Being" is a very well-made poem. To be sure, compared with "Finnegans Wake" or "The Waste Land" it has little originality of structure. When Auden is not being very bad in regard to form he is being very, very good and producing grimly perfect little ballades and triolets. "For the Time Being" is his longest effort in this exemplary mood. It is a quite conventional adaptation of the philosophical poem as perfected by Goethe and imitated by countless writers since. But Auden has given amazing life to the old business of choruses and semi-choruses and talking abstractions.

I will mention here only two of the scenes in the oratorio, beginning with the part called Advent, which opens the poem. Made up of choral odes and a racy speech by the Narrator, this scene announces the world's despair and the death of "all personality" prior to the birth of Christ. It is notable for the way the verse progresses from the traditional accents of

> The prophet's lantern is out
> And gone the boundary stone . . .

to the satirical colloquialism of

> Our resourceful general
> Fell down dead as he drank
> And his horses died of grief,
> Our navy sailed away and sank;
> The evil and armed draw near.

The Advent is followed by an even more remarkable Annunciation. This opens with a colloquy among man's Faculties, who have been abroad in the world of sensuality and decay and who are now exchanging reminiscences. Intuition says:

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. . . I have observed
The somber valley of an industry
In dereliction. Conduits, ponds, canals,
Distressed with weeds; engines and furnaces
At rust in rotting sheds and their strong users
Transformed to spongy heaps of drunken flesh.
Deep among dock and dusty nettle lay
Each ruin of a will; manors of mold
Grew into empires as a westering sun
Left the air chilly; not a sound disturbed
The autumn dusk except a stertorous snore
That over their drowned condition like a sea
Wept without grief.

But we are now leaving the region of despair and entering an atmosphere charged with expectation. The angelic visitation to the youthful Mary is about to occur. One of the Faculties declares:

> The garden is unchanged, the silence unbroken
> For she is still walking in her sleep of childhood . . .
> None may wake there but One who shall be woken.

Whereupon Gabriel appears and murmurs, "Wake," and there follows the fatal exchange between the angel and the girl. In all this the promise of Auden's rhetoric seems at last to be fulfilled.

F. W. DUPEE

Briefer Comments in this issue were written by Joseph Wood Krutch, Sidney Hook, McAlister Coleman, Lionel Trilling, Albert Guérard, Eric Russell Bentley, Marcus Duffield, Rolfe Humphries, and Maxwell S. Stewart.

James Agee's regular column on Films will be resumed shortly.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Murder Will Out

THROUGH two whole acts of "The Visitor" (Henry Miller's Theater) I teased my attention with the search for something which wasn't there—for something allegorical, or symbolical, or at least psychologically subtle and capable of explaining the purport of a play in which the action seemed far more exciting to the actors performing it than it did to any member of the audience. No doubt the fact that the piece is dramatized from a novel by Leane Zugsmith, whose name is associated with "social significance," had something to do with my assumption that more was intended than met the eye. No doubt the further fact that it was produced by Herman Shumlin strengthened this same assumption. But so also did something in the writing and acting of the play itself—something pretentious and portentous which left one ill prepared to discover toward the end of the last act that what one had been witnessing all along was merely a whodunit which comes to a most conventional conclusion when the cops rush in to revive a hero who has just been hit over the head with a bottle.

So far as the plot is concerned, it might, I suppose, be made to serve well enough. It is sufficiently ingenious even if a little more than sufficiently improbable, and the conclusion reveals the real villain to be the very last man you would expect. But the whole method of telling the story and the whole method of acting it are disastrously wrong. Question marks scattered through a story or a play are sometimes interesting and sometimes annoying. In the present case there is no doubt what their effect is. We are meant to be intrigued by the many things which seem unclear. Why did Bud Owen, aged fourteen, disappear mysteriously from the home of his mother and stepfather; why did he reappear just as mysteriously three years later? Is he an impostor? What is the hold he seems to have over the young girl neighbor who was engaged to a youth suspected of having murdered his missing friend? What is the ex-police chief really up to, etc., etc? But instead of being intrigued we are merely irritated by all this hocus-pocus—partly, as I have already suggested, because of something pretentious which seems to promise deep meanings of some sort, partly because of the overwrought playing of all the principal characters.

Against the detective story as such I am very far from having any prejudice. There are today half a dozen or more specialists in the genre who manipulate their material with a very sure hand. They know how to raise immediately the correct expectations and to establish the mood of each of the various sub-species—the mood of dread, the mood of extravaganza, or the mood appropriate to the purely intellectual puzzle. Whatever their limitations may be, they are masters of their trade and get precisely the effect they aim at. But for some reason the inevitable attempt of playwrights to work out some theatrical equivalent of so popular a form of fiction has rarely proved successful. One would find it difficult to mention a dozen detective plays as satisfactory as any one of two hundred detective novels published within the last two decades. A generation ago Earl Derr Biggers's "Seven Keys to Baldpate" started a run on that sort of comic crime play which is also half-farce, but his imitators rapidly grew more and more fantastic and illogical until the comedy-melodrama presently came to depend upon a sort of stagecraft not very different from that of the Messrs. Olsen and Johnson. A few years ago Emlyn Williams provided two or three pieces with the emphasis on horror which were better than anything of the sort written in America. Then there is of course the extravaganza called "Arsenic and Old Lace." But "Angel Street" is very nearly the only straight detective story of really substantial merit seen here in several years, and even dramatizations like that of Agatha Christie's masterpiece of impossible logic "And Then There Were None" seem to run into difficulties when they are put behind the footlights, as under the title "Ten Little Indians" this one was.

Perhaps the theatrical equivalent of this sort of tale would have to be more radically different from it in method and approach than any playwright has yet found successful means of being. One difficulty is certainly that, despite all the action which seems so important in the detective story, the better ones do nevertheless require more exposition and explanation than is easily managed on the stage, where the adapter is faced with the necessity either of seeming very talky indeed or of depending exclusively on action which, by itself, is bound to remain elementary and unconvincing. But one thing is certain: the good dramatic method—assuming that it exists—has not been discovered by those responsible for "The Visitor." It would certainly include some method of defining almost at the rise of the curtain the intentions of the piece, since it is absolutely necessary before settling down to such a story to know pretty exactly what we are in for. And this same good method would also certainly not involve any such overwrought emotionalism as that which keeps the performers in the present play so far ahead of the spectators. It is notoriously inadvisable in comedy to have the participants laugh too loudly at their own jokes. It ought to be equally obvious that in a serious play they should not exhibit feelings more lacerated than seems justifiable to members of the audience.

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE occasion for a disappointing show of Winslow Homer's work at the Whitney Museum (through November 2) is the publication of a definitive biography of the artist by Lloyd Goodrich, the research curator of the museum (Macmillan, $7.50). The book is disappointing too, and Homer's responsibility for that is even greater than in the first case, since the museum may have wished to compose its show mainly of pictures unfamiliar to New Yorkers. And while Mr. Goodrich could have put more life into his book by trying to situate Homer in a larger context, the fact remains that Homer himself had practically no life aside from his art.

It was characteristically American that Homer should have distrusted tradition, books, and the art of others, that he should have been unable to learn from them and have taught himself to paint. It was characteristic of a certain side of New England that he should have been incapable of marrying or of living with others. But it was not characteristic of such a rough-and-ready artist—however so it may have been of more cultured protagonists of the arts and letters in this country—that Homer's store of vital energy should have been so limited or his fear of experience so intense. He liked to fish and go on camping trips. He was attached to his father and one of his brothers. He was afraid of strangers.

He saw something of the Civil War. He lived in New York for a time, went to Europe twice, traveled in the West Indies, and spent most of the latter half of his life on the Maine coast. He was small, dapper, reserved, and dull. He had no inner life worth mentioning. He was able after a while to support himself comfortably by his art; he did not sell too well but not too badly either. By the time he was sixty he had become accepted as one of our greatest artists. He died in 1910 at the age of seventy-four. Mr. Goodrich's intelligent, conscientious, and complete account of this life makes, of necessity, hard reading.

But this takes nothing away from the fact that Homer was of real consequence as an artist. Though he never really touched greatness, he demonstrated originality and strength. He founded an American school of water-color painting, and in oil he developed, independently, certain revolutionary tendencies parallel to those of his more illustrious contemporaries in France.

To my taste those pictures Homer painted in the very beginning, in the late eighteen sixties and early seventies, just after he gave up working exclusively as an illustrator in black and white, are the best of his oils. Possessing an innate and sophisticated draftsman's talent and enough professional competence to keep his values and color intensities aligned, he began with warmly toned canvases in the then prevailing genre style which set themselves apart immediately by their crispness of drawing and design and a new, even if crude, clarity of color. Mr. Goodrich ventures that Homer may have been influenced by the general atmosphere of French painting during his stay in France in 1867, but the evidence does show that he had already independently anticipated the style founded on photographic light values that Manet was establishing—and it is doubtful whether Homer saw any picture by Manet at this time.

Apprenticed to a lithographer in his youth, Homer had copied portrait photographs. And the sharp, simplified, opaque contrasts of shadow and light in his earliest oils, as well as their flatness of modeling and hot, laid-in color, which decorates rather than contributes to the expression of form, may be owed to this early acquaintance with the camera's results. What may also have been responsible was Homer's practice at first of making his paintings from sketches done outdoors under the hard, blazing light of an American summer—a kind of light he was unlearned and naively naturalistic enough to try to capture without interposing preconceptions based on atmospheric effects belonging only to the experience of European light.

Eakins likewise produced his best oils at the beginning of his career, in the late sixties and early seventies; which leads one to speculate whether there wasn't some fertilizing current abroad in those years which transfigured for a moment at least the art of any instinctive realist young and open and talented enough to receive it. Once this moment had passed, both Eakins and Homer withdrew into themselves and paid no further heed to revolutionary outside influences. And in the eighties, if not thereafter, the art of both men suffered a decline.

Homer in the eighties succumbed to a sentimental, picturesque, middle-keyed genre style then popular among French academicists and much imitated by Anglo-Saxon artists; it had for its principal subjects melancholy landscapes and peasants, preferably female. In Homer's case it was the English fisher girls at Tynemouth, where he spent most of 1881 and 1882. Afterward, or concurrently, he seems to have come somewhat under the influence of the Whistlerian tone poem, lowering his color key still farther and confining himself to cool and neutral tones, with the emphasis laid on subtle displacements of darks and lights—a reaction perhaps to the violence with which he had treated them before.

Given Homer's essential tenacity to his own proper gift—not to mention his supposed immunity to influences—a more learned artist would not have been so easily distracted by contemporary fashion. Even so, there were some rewards: mysterious scenes of beaches at dusk in deep blues, violets, mauves, and admixtures of gray, with female figures in the foreground. The poetry was undeliberate but all the more effective for that. Maybe it expressed something of the diffidence and trouble with which Homer approached women. What it certainly did carry was his special feeling for the sea.

There was a streak in him of the popular romanticism of the violent and melodramatic. At Tynemouth he first felt that fascination of the sea in its menacing aspects which was not to leave him the rest of his life. The sea seems for Homer to have been subconsciously connected with sex (for Poe too). One of his chief themes during the eighties was that of women being saved from drowning or shipwreck, their wet clothes clinging so tightly that their figures approximated the nude—which Homer hardly ever attempted otherwise. Later on the theme was to be merely the raging surf, with now and then a woman's figure on shore. As with Stephen Crane, another would-be literal realist, Homer's matter-of-fact vision, directed out of doors, usually alighted on something that moved dramatically, were it only waves or a fish leaping.

In the middle seventies Homer began to use water color seriously. Most critics agree that he made his greatest contribution in this medium, showing a sensitivity to its assets and liabilities such as he never manifested in his oils, where form remained thin and papery, and color brittle in spite of everything. The quick and summary brushwork in his water colors, the bold modulations of values to define form and recession, the advantage taken of the transparence of water and the texture and white of the paper to secure luminosity, the sure instinct with which he laid out, flattened, and simplified his main masses—all this gave something new and important to the art. But it took the brilliance and color of the West Indies to justify Homer's daring to himself. He had not intended to innovate. The brilliance was there before him; he painted it. And it was all part of the logic by which his naively possessed but far from naive gift had to develop.

Some of the lightness and discreet splendor of the water colors flashed into the oils occasionally. But he could never quite cure himself of a coarseness of execution in the latter medium, an inability to exploit the texture of paint for increased resonance of tone and color. The cause lay, I think, not only in the fact that Homer had taught himself to handle oil, but also in a curious contempt he had for the physical substance of his art, for physical substance in general—which contempt had less purchase in the more ethereal and direct medium of water color. Homer's methods of work seem to bear all this out. He would spend weeks and months pondering a motif, waiting for the right weather and light, but once he started to paint he worked fast and almost impatiently. That is, he placed too high a price on the final result and valued the activity itself of painting too little.

It is an anomaly that a New Englander like Homer should have been one of our greatest painters. It seems even more anomalous that he should have been an irreligious materialist—which he was without being aware of the implications—and that at the same time he should have had such disdain for matter. But the anomaly is only a seeming one. The materialist can contemn matter as much as any mystic. Like a good American—and Homer was one—he can love the abstract fact more than anything else.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

STOKOWSKI hired a publicity agent of his own to inform the public that at his concerts at New York's City Center he would appear not only in the roles of conductor and musician but in the other roles in which he fancies himself even more: the indomitable explorer in new music, the tireless innovator in orchestral organization, the indispensable collaborator of scientists in acoustics. I had little curiosity about what the conductor would do with the newly assembled orchestra or what the musician would do to Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony; and even less about Bornschein's "Moon Over Taos" or the effect of abolishing the distinction between first and second violins and the title of concertmaster. But I was interested in whether the new acoustic reflector designed to produce "equalized listening from every one of the 2,700 seats in the auditorium" would have any effect on the bad acoustic conditions in the parquet.

Last spring I sat in H 126, which is front and extreme left, for a performance of "Porgy and Bess," and found it strangely tenuous, confused, and elusive. One reason, I decided after a while, was that Smallens was rushing the work in a way that made it difficult to get hold of. But in addition the sound was rising from pit and stage over my seat to the balconies and therefore not reaching my ears (from such a front seat, moreover, one sees the dancers in a ballet with the lower part of their legs cut off by footlights). And in the rear of the parquet I have found the sound shut out by the balcony overhead.

What difference the new reflector made in the front of the parquet I don't know; but in Q 1 under the balcony, where I sat for Stokowski's concert, the sound was still shut out, with the result that instead of being all around one, as in Carnegie Hall, it came only from the front and without resonance and richness. To satisfy my curiosity about this I had to listen to all the tonal fussing and swelling and heaving in constantly changing tempos that constituted Stokowski's performance of the "Eroica" (it was, wrote Mr. Downes, "one that for formal coherence and proportion would pass the most exigent tests, but it was also of an intensity and pathos, within the classic mold, which nobly and intensely communicated the composer's spirit"); and the directors of the City Center will get no applause from me for sponsoring the corruption of the public's musical understanding with such falsification of great music.

The first of Toscanini's September broadcasts for the armed forces overseas began with the Overture to "Zampa" and ended with Sousa's "Semper Fidelis" and "El Capitán." And it occurred to me that even a musically unsophisticated person listening to these marches that he knew well might be struck by the things that were different about them this time—not just the general liveliness and buoyancy, but the contrapuntal melodies that he had never before heard so clearly outlined and so beautifully modelled; and that in this way he might get an idea of the differences possible in performances, and of the particular qualities of Toscanini's performances, which previously he had thought people only pretended they could hear in order to show their superior understanding.

The second program included the loveliest of Mozart's early sympathies—K.201 in A major; and the performance recalled to me the first time I heard the work—in Vienna early in 1929. All the uproar at that place and time was over Furtwängler; but the great performances I heard were those conducted by Richard Strauss; and one of them was the sharp-contoured and sharp-witted performance of K.201 that he produced with the third-rate Vienna Symphony (not the Vienna Philharmonic). Since then I have heard only the perversely ponderous recorded performance of Beecham, and the Koussevitzky performances that are well characterized by a Cambridge reader's phrase about Koussevitzky's Mozart: "a brilliant façade which conceals the absence of thought." But from Toscanini I heard at last another superb statement of the work: the first movement moderate in pace, fluent and exquisite in contour, all grace and delicate poignancy in effect; the second movement with the same grace and poignancy; the minuet with its amusing fanfares sharp and witty, its trio exquisitely poignant again; the finale a rush of high spirits and verve.

There were several other Toscanini performances last spring which made

DAGOBERT D. RUNES, *Editor*

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me aware of the passing of time, and which I want to speak of; but right now I must say something about "Waltz Academy," Balanchine's third new ballet this season, which he did for Ballet Theater. Give Fred Astaire a popular song and a stage space, and he will use the personal idiom he has made out of the language of American theatrical dancing to fill that space with patterns of dance movement that are intended only to delight us as patterns of dance movement. Balanchine's idiom is the one he has made out of the language of classical ballet that he learned in the Leningrad State Academy; give him a musical score, a stage space framed by a particular setting, dancers clothed in particular costumes, and he will use his idiom to fill that space with patterns of dance movement which, like Astaire's, are intended only to delight us as patterns of dance movement. In "Waltz Academy" Oliver Smith's fine setting gives us a ballet practice room under the dome of some state academy; the young dancers are in practice costumes designed by Alvin Colt; and to waltzes by Rieti—more agreeable to the ear than Stravinsky's music, but not as well contrived for dancing—they do a series of dances, supposedly for their own pleasure, and as it turns out for our pleasure as well. For in the *pas de six,* the *pas de quatre,* and so on we see another example of Balanchine's ever freshly imagined and lovely and witty use of his materials; and in the finale another excitingly intricate contrapuntal texture. It is, as Edwin Denby wrote, "dancing for the pleasure of dancing, a ballet for dancers and dance lovers" (understandably, therefore, for John Martin "nothing happens"), which, as often as one sees it, one wants to see again.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Where Do We Go?

Dear Sirs: From the news at home, you probably can anticipate the troubles of the war-time soldier who in an active theater of operations tries to keep politically and socially aware and to express the thoughts he considers important. All the normal military restrictions are made more severe by the army's cautious attitude toward the present political campaign. Army regulations, as well as the Articles of War, prevent any soldier from using his "official" authority or influence in any manner that can be interpreted as "political." He can "express opinions privately and informally on all political subjects," avoiding any efforts so formal as the writing of "articles" for publication. The wide interpretations possible are indicated by the recent squabbles over newspapers and moving pictures and the banning of the Guide to the Army Air Forces because of President Roosevelt's picture as Commander-in-Chief.

In an active theater, under not too well-defined censorship, under intended and unintended limitations, the soldier is much more restricted and isolated than one realizes by merely reading the rules and regulations. The great mass of daily detail, the discussions and opinions and defining side-slants of purpose and meaning never can be recovered by the working soldier whose time is limited, who rarely has a radio, who rarely sees an English paper or any sheet other than the *Stars and Stripes,* and who, when he finds a quiet, sunny, deserted moment, wants a cup of coffee and a cigarette, lays his mind limply on the bench beside him, and studies his smoke.

Soldier opinions grow stronger and more definite. Soldiers are jealous and resentful—while generous and patient. They resent labor, many for the first time. Similarly, they think more actively—and less fairly—on the confused and half-reported issues of races and parties.

Reduced to the inaction of the observer, the soldier has little left to observe—and no energy for worrying about the lack.

As a civilian, the average American has had no great initiative to learn. As a soldier, he is further anaesthetized by a segregated diet of those few reports which, in someone's opinion, do not constitute opinion.

Soldiers are coming home with questions, half idle, rhythmic: "Where do we go from here?" Like a forgotten relative, like a baby responsibility grown giant in neglect, with fists like clubs, they're coming home, in mass. The time seems late and urgent when you're waiting, sir. You develop huge energies.

Now, which is the best direction? Where do we go from here?

SERGEANT

Somewhere in England, August 15

Hats Off!

Dear Sirs: Hats off to Louis Fischer for his splendid article on the future of the peace in your issue of September 16.

There are millions of people of real good-will in these United States who feel the way Mr. Fischer does. Unfortunately, they are inarticulate and are being constantly confused by the selfish and unscrupulous. May we suggest to Mr. Fischer that he outline a practical program of organization and procedure to have those millions participate actively in the making of the peace?

BEATRICE S. GREENBERG

Kingston, Mass., September 21

Mr. Steel Denies . . .

Dear Sirs: The editors of *The Nation* distorted the caption on Paul Hagen's letter in the issue of October 14. Hagen's letter to Vansittart, as quoted by Hagen himself, states: "I and my associates have persistently requested such facilities from the authorities here. So far without success. I do not wish to miss another opportunity." This remark fully warrants my interpretation of Hagen's efforts, an interpretation which is widely shared in official American circles concerned.

JOHANNES STEEL

New York, October 14

[When Paul Hagen sent his letter to Lord Vansittart via the proper channels, he stated in a covering letter to the British representative for political war: "I inclose a copy of my letter for any American joint control service you would find it necessary to inform. Of course, I do not intend to do anything without their permission."

In his broadcast Johannes Steel said with reference to Hagen's letter to Lord Vansittart, "In this letter Herr Hagen, who enjoys American hospitality, has the temerity to attack American officials who have prevented his return to Germany, and by implication asks the British government to intrigue against and to oppose those American officials who refuse to let him go to Germany to fish in troubled waters." If words mean what they appear to mean, this is a clear case of distortion. Even Hagen's words which Mr. Steel quotes can hardly be interpreted as "an attack." Moreover, far from asking the British government to "intrigue against" American officials, Mr. Hagen made a specific request that a copy of his letter to Vansittart be sent to the American authorities so that they might be fully informed.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Praise from a G. I.

Dear Sirs: I felt that Jerome H. Spingarn's article, Don't call us G. I. Joe, in your issue of August 19 must have expressed what was in the hearts of many fine young men in the service. I copied the whole article on V-mail paper (it filled five V-forms!) and mailed it to a friend overseas. I just have his answer: "An outstanding article . . . deeply appreciated." MAX E. KNIGHT

Berkeley, Cal., October 3

Why Worry?

Dear Sirs: Why worry so much about a "plan for Germany?" If the Allies do with Germany what, involuntarily or voluntarily, they have already done with Italy, the result will be a country so weakened for two or three generations that nobody will need to be afraid of any new aggression. R. A.

New York, October 9

Not a Racist

Dear Sirs: As was to be foreseen, well-meaning liberal opinion tends once more to pave the path for a "just" peace with Germany—a peace that will allow a defeated Germany to become nearly as strong as a victorious Germany would have been. Today's editorial in *The Nation*, A Plan for Germany, goes a long way in this direction in that it indorses the old myth that Nazism was brought to power only by certain social elements ("Junkers, monopolists, big industrialists") clearly distinguishable from the majority of Germans.

The fact is that in the last completely free election Hitler received 44 per cent of the votes cast (and hardly all by "Junkers, monopolists, and big industrialists"), that is to say, as clear a popular majority as is possible in a country with more than twenty parties; and at least two-thirds of the remaining votes came from people who agreed with Hitler as to his ends if not as to his means. The very fact that the events of July 20, 1944, have strengthened rather than weakened the German resistance should make it clear that Nazism is, for the time being, no less pervasive among the Germans than was the belief in holy wars among the early Moslems.

In two respects your editorial does show traces of realistic thinking. You admit that the leadership for a democratic movement in Germany is "not yet visible"; and you look with justified suspicion upon those "anti-Nazi Germans" who "concentrate their main effort upon denouncing Vansittartism." It is all the more shocking, therefore, to find, on page 403 of the same issue, the following sentence: "We do not share the racist views of Lord Vansittart."

You have, of course, as perfect a right to disagree with Lord Vansittart as I have to agree with him. But to say that his views are "racist" is tantamount to

CAREY McWilliams

Author of
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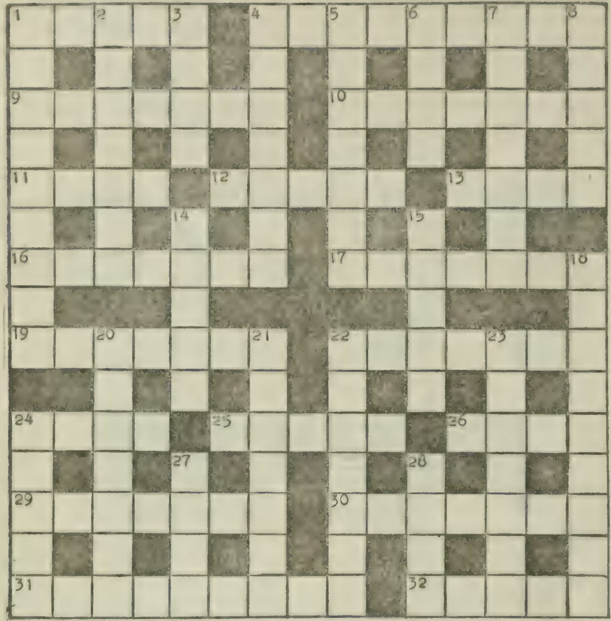
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 87

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Simple Susie thought this book a poor gift: there was nothing in it
4 The hunchback of Notre Dame
9 He "stole the picture" from Pantagruel in the Rabelais story
10 Attackers often pause to do so
11 A pause between bars
12 "The - - - - - that lies in woman's eyes, And lies, and lies, and lies"
13 A dark horse
16 Men attached to the bar
17 Prophetess who dwelt in Merlin's cave
19 Foolish Constance seems to be in her element
22 Thoroughly stewed, the sun-god is in bed
24 Associated with a rose in the Thackeray tale
25 A war casualty
26 Jupiter's wife—and sister
29 It sounds as appetizing style of architecture
30 E. g., a room. Take a backward look at it
31 They stretch out and feel for the tent and twist the laces
32 You can usually get a laugh out of this animal.

DOWN

1 Lady Astor suggested a couple when a Labor M.P. complained of "an 'orrible 'eadache"
2 I join the big fellow and his offspring in a blessing
3 Sir Thomas, in addition
4 These are for the asking
5 Father of Ishmael
6 The Gloomy Dean, formerly of St. Paul's
7 Comparisons are odious—they may also be this, according to Shakespeare
8 A master of brush, or pen
14 Fruit for a very charming damsel
15 "The worthy to be adored"—to the Arab
18 Maiden, in classical mythology, who became a star after her death
20 A great American, with or without 5
21 The sea-unicorn
22 "I'm beset" (anag.)
23 Priest's cassock
24 A different view of merit
27 Verdi opera
28 Shelley wrote of its desire for the star

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. [illegible]

ACROSS:—1 WHEEL; 4 BOO; [illegible] ROSES; 9 CUBICLE; 10 ARTLESS; 11 STATUS; 14 PETAIN; 15 PUNCHER; 16 PIER; 17 MAST; 19 IMPETUS; 20 DORE; 22 ATOM; 24 BRITAIN; 26 WESLEY; 27 AUDREY; 31 MOISTEN; 32 HANSARD; 33 NAIAD; 34 APE; 35 EISEL.

DOWN:—1 WICKS; 2 EMBRACE; 3 LOCK-UP; 4 BOER; 5 ORAL; 6 RATTER; 7 SMETANA; 8 SUSAN; 12 SUMMARY; 13 ACCENTS; 14 PETUNIA; 16 POD; 18 TOM; 21 ROSSINI; 23 TURBANS; 24 BELTED; 25 NUANCE; 26 WOMAN; 28 YODEL; 29 ANNA; 30 THEE

saying that the New Deal is "Communist." Lord Vansittart has stated time and again that his views have nothing whatever to do with racialism ("Lessons of My Life," especially p. 21 and pp. 259-62). He goes out of his way to explain that he writes not as a pseudo-biologist but as a statesman and historian who finds himself confronted with national, not with racial, characteristics: "There is no such thing as a pure German *race*—so much for Hitler's doctrine, not mine. There is only a German *nation*, a focus at which several different races have met and mixed throughout the ages" (Vansittart, p. 260; italics Vansittart's). It is this national character, shaped by historical circumstances and glorified by German writers during the last two centuries, which Vansittart considers dangerous. To call him a racist is beneath the dignity of a paper usually so decent and honest as *The Nation* and amounts to lending support to the argument of the very people of whom you justly disapprove. Let me hope that you may be willing to clarify this point—either by printing this letter or otherwise—regardless of your own attitude toward Vansittartism. ERWIN PANOFSKY

Princeton, N. J., October 7

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The Shape of Things

AS THE COVER OF THIS WEEK'S ISSUE SUGGESTS, *The Nation* feels optimistic about the outcome of the election. Tests of opinion all over the country show a recent rapid upswing in pro-Roosevelt sentiment, and the big registration in politically important centers must be taken as another sign of a probable Democratic sweep. But under all surface appearances run invisible currents whose strength cannot easily be measured. Strangely enough, one of the least certain factors in the campaign is the behavior of the Democratic Party itself. Its total inertia in certain key fights is all too evident. While the Republicans issue frantic last-minute appeals to the voters to save the country from the sinister union of Roosevelt, Hillman, and Browder, some of the Democratic leaders act as if they were worried about the same thing. There are Democratic politicians who would undoubtedly be glad to see the President defeated if that would kill the influence of the Political Action Committee and the liberal elements in the party. The attitude of the Catholic Church is another uncertain factor. It is definitely known that reactionary Catholics have been fighting a bitter under-cover campaign against Wagner in New York, echoing Curran's dishonest attempt to smear the Senator with charges of communism and subservience to organized labor. Influences such as these may not be strong enough to stop the rising Roosevelt tide. But they should be watched. And whatever the result of the election, they provide evidence of that trend toward a new inter-party alignment of reactionary forces which was developing in and out of Congress long before the campaign began.

*

SENATOR GERALD P. NYE, NORTH DAKOTA'S ultra-isolationist, is meeting opposition such as he has never encountered since he first ran for the Senate eighteen years ago. Nye has been engaged in a bitter three-cornered fight. His Democratic opponent is Governor John Moses, who has proved an extremely able vote-getter in the past. Lynn Stambaugh, former national commander of the American Legion, who lost to Nye in the Republican primaries by less than a thousand votes, is on the ballot as an independent. Stambaugh has conducted a more vigorous fight than Governor Moses, whose campaign was interrupted by an operation. Both have attacked Nye's record as an isolationist, but Stambaugh's views on domestic policy are probably no more liberal than Nye's. Whether the three-cornered battle is a help or hindrance to the campaign against Nye is debatable in view of the complexity of North Dakota politics. North Dakota is normally a Republican state, but it is evident that Stambaugh will cut deeply into Nye's Republican following. When Governor Dewey visited the state, both candidates accompanied him, and both have been accorded recognition by the Republican National Committee. On the other hand, the division in the anti-isolationist vote will probably help Nye. So far the contest has been extremely close, with any one of the three a possible winner. Reports from the state indicate that Senator Langer and the Non-Partisan League, both opposed to Nye, may swing the election at the last moment by throwing their support to the opponent with the best chance of winning.

*

PEOPLE WHO BOAST OF BEING HARD-HEADED are frequently the most soft-headed people in the world. Consider the National Association of Manufacturers. It is sponsoring amendments to the state constitutions of Arkansas, California, and Florida, to be voted on November 7, which would give those states more labor trouble than they have had since 1932. The provisions and the language of the amendment are strikingly similar in all three states. The California version begins, "Every person has the right to work, and to seek, obtain, and hold employment, without interference with or abridgement of said right because he does or does not belong to or pay money to a labor organization." If an individual's "right to work" is so abridged or impaired, relief at law can be had "upon the complaint of any person or upon complaint of the district attorney" of any county. Such an arrangement would outlaw every closed-shop contract and probably every union-shop contract, and would seriously impair labor's right to strike. And this, of course, is the intention of its sponsors. In Florida the amendment is supported by the big fruit growers, in Arkansas by the Christian American Association, and in California by the Associated Farmers, whose activities have been described in a report by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor entitled "Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor." The California Chamber of Commerce takes a more realistic attitude. It opposes the amendment on the grounds that it would make for serious labor trouble and interfere with war production.

*

INTERESTING FIGURES ON HOW MR. DEWEY'S "Roosevelt depression" has ruined business and impoverished the American people are provided by the "Economic Almanac" published recently by the National Industrial Conference Board. This conservative sourcebook reveals that corporation earnings in 1937, 1939, 1940, and 1941—the four best pre-war years under the New Deal—were actually one-third greater than in the last four years of "Coolidge prosperity." The total for the four New Deal years was $39,355,000,000, as compared with $29,862,000,000 in 1925-28. Employment was greater in 1940 than in 1929, and retail sales in Mr. Roosevelt's eighth year were not only more than double those in Mr. Hoover's last year but were 16 per cent larger than at the peak in 1929. The most significant index of national economic well-being, as portrayed in the Almanac, is the estimate of annual per capita income, adjusted for changes in the cost of living. In 1929 this reached a top of $681 and then receded drastically. In 1940, under New Deal "defeatism," it rose to $694, and in 1941 soared to $792. This is the record, as attested by the leading research agency of American business, which Mr. Dewey was referring to when he declared in his Philadelphia speech that "there was never a worse job of running the government of this country in all of its history."

*

WHILE JAPAN'S FLEET WAS BEING SUNK OFF THE Philippines, the war in Europe continued in that "dour and hard" phase so eloquently bespoken by Mr. Churchill. The Germans seemed to have recovered everywhere from their disorganization of the summer, and the circle about the Reich was constricting only slowly. The Allied armies in Italy were measuring their advances in feet and regarding their casualties, in an apparently unproductive campaign, with ever-increasing bitterness. The German withdrawal from Greece was masterly as usual, and the British found it difficult to maintain contact. Increased resistance and over-extended supply lines held up the Russians in Southeastern Europe; the central eastern front remained static, while the all-important battle for East Prussia seesawed amid the Masurian Lakes, which cannot be by-passed and must be cleared before the central-front offensive gets under way. In the west the Allies made their best gains heading away from Berlin, not toward it; an arduous British-Canadian drive finally broke the German line from the sea to 's Hertogenbosch, forcing the enemy in slow retreat over the Maas and the Waal, behind which strong defenses are undoubtedly prepared. This action, together with the gradual clearing of South Beveland, left Antwerp open for sea traffic except for the enemy battery on Walcheren Island, at the mouth of the Scheldt estuary. The Germans are certainly worse off than they were six weeks ago, but October is gone, and with it the best hope of victory before winter.

*

THE RECALL OF GENERAL JOSEPH STILWELL represents a severe setback in the United Nations war against Japan. General Stilwell's command was the key to the collaborative efforts of the United States, Britain, and China in the Far Eastern struggle. His extraordinary patience, thoroughness, technical skill, and knowledge of China made possible achievements that could not have been attained by any other American military leader. In his single-minded desire to see the war advanced as rapidly as possible it was inevitable that he should have differences of opinion with both Chiang Kai-shek and Admiral Louis Mountbatten. His clashes with Chiang were the more serious because, of necessity, they impinged on the political conflicts within China. Stilwell always insisted that the distribution of American lend-lease supplies be decided on military rather than political grounds. Anxious to prevent American supplies from being a factor in China's internal struggle, he sought to have them distributed impartially to all groups actively engaged in the war against the Japanese—including the Communists. He was also dead set against permitting Chinese political influence to disrupt the military efficiency of the units under his command. He fought graft and corruption wherever he found them. All this, of course, made him immensely unpopular with the reactionary political groups in the Chinese high command. While the immediate factors behind his removal are obscure, it would appear that we have abandoned our efforts to revitalize China's military contribution to the war. This will not only have far-reaching effects on basic military strategy, but strengthen the anti-democratic forces within China and delay, possibly for years, the solution of that country's political crisis.

First in War, First in Peace

THE real issues have emerged in the late stages of the campaign. President Roosevelt, speaking at Soldier's Field in Chicago on October 28, said: "We are fighting this war and we are holding this election, both, for the same essential reason: because we have faith in democracy." The American people are fighting to destroy those forces which, in a world grown small, menace the very existence of democracy. The war today is the major concern of American democracy. It is not yet won and the cost to be paid is still great. The election provides an opportunity for the American people to give their verdict on the record of their war leaders. It is significant that no fundamental charge of dereliction in its war responsibility has been brought against the Administration by its opponents. The frivolous accusation that in pre-Pearl Harbor days it neglected to prepare the country for war is contradicted by the facts and the record. It comes strangely from a party whose leaders in Congress and outside, from the days of Mr. Roosevelt's quarantine speech in 1937, have accused the President of war-mongering and attempted to block every effort that would have secured us against totalitarian aggression.

It is sound practice in time of war to avoid shifts in command, civilian or military, if the war is going well. The only reason to justify such drastic action would be that in some other major sphere, foreign policy, for example, the Administration was demonstrating incompetence. And while Mr. Dewey has made that charge, we cannot be persuaded that he has made a strong case.

It might have been different had the Republican candidate been Mr. Willkie. We are frank in saying—as we have frequently said in the past—that in many important respects Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy has been unsatisfactory. Here is an issue that might well have been brought out into the open during the campaign. Are we fighting this war for the total destruction of fascism or are we planning to exempt certain island havens for fascists, like Franco's Spain? Are we really concerned about rebuilding democracy in Europe? If so, why are we so lukewarm to the fighting democrats, the armies of liberation? What sort of post-war world is being molded by our foreign policies? These and other similar issues would undoubtedly have been debated on a high level if Mr. Willkie had been chosen as the Republican standard-bearer.

If Mr. Willkie had been chosen. . . . But Mr. Willkie was not chosen. He was repudiated. And it was on such issues and the equally pressing issue of unequivocal American participation in the post-war world organization that he was repudiated by the party which chose Mr. Dewey in his stead. Wendell Willkie had a program for the Republican Party which might have become the American program. But they refused it as they refused him. "There has hardly been a sadder episode in our political history," writes R. L. Duffus in the New York *Times Book Review* of October 29, "than the chilly silence, the stony and inarticulate fury, manifested by the dominant leaders of a great party when Mr. Willkie uttered these simple thoughts."

HOW MANY TERMS?

The weightiest interests of the country require that if the people find a man they can trust they should, if they please, be able to keep him in his place as long as they find him useful; and the reform which most of all is needed in American politics is the creation of a disposition to apply this to all offices from the Presidency down, and the extirpation of the notion that in a highly organized society like ours anything is gained by change for the sake of change. . . . For if the people be not competent to select a candidate for an office so conspicuous as the Presidency, and if after he has served for four or eight or twelve years they are not competent to decide whether it is wise or safe to try him again, on what point of policy or legislation can the popular judgment be trusted?—THE NATION, FEBRUARY 17, 1876.

Thomas E. Dewey was the choice of those who destroyed Willkie—the Vandenburgs, McCormicks, Tafts, Nyes, Hoovers—the isolationist Old Guard. Now Dewey, a man with his heart set on the Presidency, found no difficulty in proclaiming his devotion to a world organization and giving his blessing to the Dumbarton Oaks agreement. But Dewey, the political opportunist par excellence, found it equally easy to endorse as a candidate for the Senate one of the country's inveterate isolationists who had opposed the important measures of preparedness and support to the Allies taken by the Administration before Pearl Harbor. Put Dewey's speech in favor of Senator Wylie of Wisconsin over against Wendell Willkie's heartbreaking Wisconsin campaign and you have a fair measure of the two men. And you have a fair idea of the influences which would dominate American foreign policy should Mr. Dewey be elected. Whatever the President's defects in this field, he has never wavered in his fight against isolation and in his faith in a world organized for peace.

On the domestic front, the next Administration will face an even greater economic task than that faced by Mr. Roosevelt's first Administration in the worst days of the Great Depression. The cost of failure would be chaos and distress exceeding that of the early thirties. The post-war economic problem can be stated in terms of production and employment: the utilization of the vast productive potential now harnessed to war objectives in order to provide plenty and security to sixty million American workers and their families.

It is fair to say that both candidates have emphasized this task as the greatest that the next government will have to tackle. Mr. Roosevelt has the advantage of being able to point to his Administration's impressive record of economic reconstruction during the depression, the extension of social security, and the development of such great public enterprises as the Tennessee Valley Administration and the Grand Coulee. He can say with the conviction of experience that such a program, amplified to meet the increased post-war needs, will form the basis of his domestic policy. It is quite true that this program during the thirties did not eliminate unemployment, as Mr. Dewey has so frequently reminded him. Nevertheless, the limits to his success were placed by basic factors in the capitalistic system with which he chose to temporize rather than by the inefficiency of the agencies he set up or the radical nature of his economic policies. Mr. Dewey, for his part, has indicated that he would not scrap any essential Roosevelt reform but it is safe to predict that he would view with even greater awe the venerable and deeply lodged institutions of capitalism that Mr. Roosevelt left inviolate.

Of one thing we are fairly sure: neither party is apt to evolve any drastic or revolutionary post-war plan, nothing, for example, as "socialistic" as that recently outlined by Mr. Churchill's Conservative-dominated coalition government in England. Whatever the average American may fear from Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Dewey, he need not fear socialism. Both men and their parties are firmly wedded to the capitalist, free-enterprise system. Indeed, we fear that this tender regard for capitalistic folklore and mores will be a serious handicap in solving the post-war economic problems.

As between the attitudes of the two protagonists it is a matter of emphasis. But the difference in emphasis is important. The ghostly hand of Mr. Hoover appears in Mr. Dewey's domestic policies just as the ghostly hand of Mr. Dulles is evident in his foreign policies. The "interests" will get the better break from Mr. Dewey; the people—the farmers and the workers—the better break from Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Dewey, though accepting the Roosevelt social and labor legislation, is basically against controls and for free enterprise. Mr. Roosevelt, accepting free enterprise, is basically a planner. He has seen social and economic planning work in peace and war. He is realistic in seeing government firmly established as a shareholder in the economic prosperity of the country. He believes that it is the major responsibility of government to take the steps necessary to bring about full employment, the full utilization of natural resources, and full social security. We shall see more social planning, not less, in the next term of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The war itself has convinced him of the value of planning production and distribution in terms of specific objectives.

One of the most grimly amusing of Mr. Dewey's arguments has been that under his leadership Congress will display a unity that has been utterly lacking in the later phases of the present Administration. Now the fact is that in the conduct of the war itself there has been no serious disunity: even the obstructive tactics of the Republicans ended with Pearl Harbor. In foreign policy, while the opposition was most vocal in the days of the isolationist-interventionist struggle, it has smoldered along and recently emerged in the revisionist attacks of Vandenburg and LaFollette on American commitment to an international body with power to act against an aggressor. In regard to domestic policy, Mr. Dewey is right: unity has been sadly lacking. The attack by Republican Congressmen and Southern Democrats on the Administration has been unrelenting and has already seriously damaged plans for civilian controls in wartime and for the reconversion of our economy to a peacetime basis. But Mr. Dewey's solution for Congressional-Presidential unity gives his whole case away. It means, if it means anything, that the common ground on which Congress and the President will meet will be chosen by the dominant group in the Republican Party—by Vandenburg, Nye, Wylie, and Taft in the Senate; by Martin, Fish, Dirksen, Hoffman in the House. It means that Republican legislators will behave like patriotic citizens only if they can do so in support of a Republican President. Otherwise they will sell out their country's interests without a qualm.

This sort of political blackmail is peculiarly shocking at a time of crisis like the present. It throws doubt on Mr. Dewey's fairest-sounding promises, on his many professions of high principle. It offers perhaps the best reason why so many Americans of independent political opinion will vote for Franklin D. Roosevelt next Tuesday.

America and Franco

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

TWO years ago next week American troops disembarked on French soil in North Africa. This first land assault on Nazi-occupied territory was a hazardous venture and one of the gravest dangers it faced was the possibility that Franco's army in Spanish Morocco would cut off our one overland communication route across North Africa. No one there made the mistake of considering Franco a trustworthy neutral. The American Fifth Army was held on the border for almost a year to protect our supply route and the rear of our military operations. This was the chief service Franco performed for his German ally at the critical hour of invasion: by containing an entire American army he delayed Nazi defeat in North Africa for many months.

But this service was only one of many. In a half-dozen North African towns Franco's consulates were the headquarters of the Nazi supply system behind our own lines. Specifically, in Algiers, Oujda, Oran, Sidi Bel Abbès, Casablanca, and Marrakesh Nazi agents to the number of several hundred operated from the offices of Spanish consuls, themselves also in the service of the enemy. And because of our "friendly" relations with Franco, not only were the American authorities unable to put a stop to the espionage, but couriers passed freely from these offices, under the protection of the United States army, to deliver their reports in sealed pouches to Hitler's agents in Melilla and other Nazi espionage centers in Spain.

Britain and the United States justified their continued dealings with Franco on the ground that open hostilities with Spain might bring disaster to our whole operation by cutting the main sea route through the Straits of Gibraltar as well as overland communications in North Africa. Any price was worth paying, they maintained, to keep Spain out of the war on Hitler's side. So Franco was able to collect immense blackmail both in the form of oil and other supplies and in diplomatic support.

Meanwhile Spanish Republicans in North Africa, who had risked their lives along with French sympathizers to prepare the way for the Allied landings, were quickly jailed by the French fascists who came to power after our deal with Darlan. They stayed there for months.

Was this price worth while? I don't want to argue that here, although I believe a consistent anti-fascist policy from the start would have made the question unnecessary. I am ready to suppose, for the sake of my major point, that the blackmail we paid Franco was justified in 1942. We were trying to supplement our limited military resources with every variety of diplomatic deal. But what is the situation today?

In the two years that have passed the German armies have been driven out of Africa and are in retreat on every front in Europe. The balance of military power has shifted overwhelmingly to our side. The land bridge between Franco and his Nazi friends is in Allied hands, and Spain is isolated. Except as a nuisance, the Spanish dictator is of no military importance one way or the other.

Of course, Franco does all he can to help Hitler. Despite his continued pretense of "true" neutrality, he goes right ahead, with a certain impressive stubbornness, supporting the great "anti-Communist crusade" to which he dedicated his efforts in 1936. To the limited extent possible, he still uses Spain as a base of German operations. The impressive list of the kinds of help being rendered Germany by fascist Spain, published the other day in Walter Winchell's column, added much specific detail to a picture whose general outlines are well known. But for all this Franco is less a military menace than a danger to the professed political aims for which we fight.

On another page of this issue J. Alvarez del Vayo places Franco in his proper political setting. His chief value to Hitler lies in his services to international fascism. Spain provides a port of embarkation for fascist propaganda and other weapons of political penetration now and after the war. Today, as always, the Spanish fascists are actively at work to perpetuate and spread anti-American feeling and pro-fascist intrigue throughout Latin America. In this they have the unqualified support of reactionary clerical elements—support Hitler could never fully command.

Washington knows this. And it knows, besides, that Franco's power is threatened by an earthquake of popular resentment; in all parts of the country the people are moving. It was inevitable that when France shook off its Nazi-fascist chains, Spain should do the same. Only the other day Ambassador Hayes for the first time reported to the State Department that unrest was rising. The very existence of an armed force of Spanish anti-fascist fighters across the border in France has stirred the hopes of the repressed and suffering people of Spain.

We are on the edge of a new Spanish war. And this one, like the last, will be the crucial test of Allied policy, will determine for good and all whether our armies are fighting merely to defeat a rather too aggressive national state or are fighting to wipe out an international threat to freedom and democratic institutions.

So far State Department officials have met inquiries about American policy toward Spain with a bland denial that anything much was going on over there. And the newspapers have carried a report from George Tucker of the Associated Press saying that first-hand inquiry had failed to reveal any evidence that Spanish fighters in the French *maquis* had crossed the border. But the weight of evidence is on the other side. From Madrid have come numerous dispatches reporting armed clashes between Franco's troops and the Spanish guerrillas from across the border. It was announced only the other day that Franco had sent General García Valiño, the army's chief expert in mountain warfare, to command the forces in the north. It is known, too, that the unrest inside Spain is taking the form of organized guerrilla fighting, especially in the south and in the mountains of Asturias, Santander, and Navarre. Whatever may be the impression of one or two American correspondents, the mass of reports coming in from Toulouse, from Madrid, from London, and from the left press in Paris leaves no room for doubt that Franco is facing the first general threat to his power since Hitler and Mussolini set him up in their line of business.

How shall we behave, what will be our policy in the new Spanish war that is about to begin? Shall we recognize this time which side is our side? Or shall we help fascism maintain itself in Spain while we send our soldiers against the armies of fascism in Germany? So far there are no signs that we intend to drop Franco. So far it looks as if we may already have used our enormous influence—we and the British—to induce De Gaulle to accept a Franco ambassador. So far American policy seems to be—as in 1936—one of fixed support of British policy; and British policy seems unalterably directed toward preserving reactionary elements in control in the countries bordering the Mediterranean. Every move made by Britain in Greece and in Italy indicates continued support of Franco in Spain—or of an equally reactionary substitute when Franco can no longer be propped up with money and oil and diplomatic favors.

But meanwhile Spain will once more become a political catalyst precipitating the forces of reaction and change in each country. Mr. Churchill, I predict, will find rough going if he tries to revive the old farce of non-intervention on the stage of 1944. There are dock workers on the Clyde and miners in South Wales who still look on Spain as the sovereign test of the political meaning of this war; and many far less revolutionary members of the trade unions and the Labor Party will share their resentment if the government upholds Franco in a new struggle in Spain. He may risk this anger, counting on his power as war leader to carry him through. But at least he will have to decide whether a reactionary Spain is worth the price he will have to pay for it.

And what about the United States? We are specifically pledged by the President to the overthrow of fascism and the establishment of the Four Freedoms everywhere. And in this case our material interests coincide most directly with our pledges of decency. Franco today is the enemy of all we plan and fight for, particularly in Latin America. He is of no use to us whatsoever. If we continue to support him, in defiance of our principles and of our obvious interests, it will be either because we have underwritten British policy in the Mediterranean or because we share the Vatican's views on the way to bring order to the peoples of Europe. Or both.

I do not know the answer, but it is certain to emerge soon in some official action or expression. The State Department will not be able to lie low and say nothing for very long. There are no briar patches left for American diplomacy to hide in.

How to Predict the Loser

BY J. K. G.

LAST time, I suppose there were quite a few people who guessed that Franklin D. Roosevelt would be elected again. In my case it was not a question of guessing. I knew. You see, I had a system that was bound to work. And when the returns were all in I was wrong in only one state.

If you think back, in 1940 everybody was saying that it was going to be a nip-and-tuck affair. Through the summer Gallup gave Roosevelt a bare edge—51 per cent on August 4 and 51 per cent on August 25. Then Roosevelt went ahead. The Battle of Britain was on, and isolationists did not speak about our inviolable shores with quite the same assurance. By September 20 Roosevelt was in the lead with 55 per cent and by October 6 had 56 per cent. Then came the Willkie spurt. On Gallup's showing, between October 6 and November 3 Willkie's vote had risen from 45 per cent to 48 per cent. It looked like anybody's race.

Those were the days when the zealots on both sides made enthusiastic and reckless promises. A Democrat would say that "if Willkie won he would move up to Alaska." And a Republican would insist that "if That Man got in again he would clear right out to a South Sea island like Truk or Saipan—right off the map."

Even the New York *Times* was caught up in the spirit of the thing. Here are a week's headlines:

October 27: VOTE SURVEY FINDS WILLKIE GAINS
Gallup Reports Increases in 23 States, with ½ per cent Rise in Popular Vote for Him.

October 29: STATE FOR WILLKIE, SURVEY FINDS
Gallup Test Finds Republican Upswing has Given Nominee Slight Lead in Race. But President's Visit May Turn Tide Again in New York, Study Holds.

October 30: TRENDS TO WILLKIE ACCELERATED IN NATION, SURVEY FINDS
Analysis Gives Roosevelt 53 per cent of Popular Vote to 47 for Republican and 1½ per cent Gain for Latter. Neck-and-Neck Finish Forecast.

November 2: WILLKIE GAIN SEEN IN THREE MORE STATES
But Trend in Michigan Starts Back to the President, Gallup Survey Finds.

November 3: ELECTION RESULTS IN DOUBT, SURVEY OF NATION SHOWS
Close Popular Vote Likely with Landslide in Electoral Count Possible Either for Willkie or President Roosevelt.

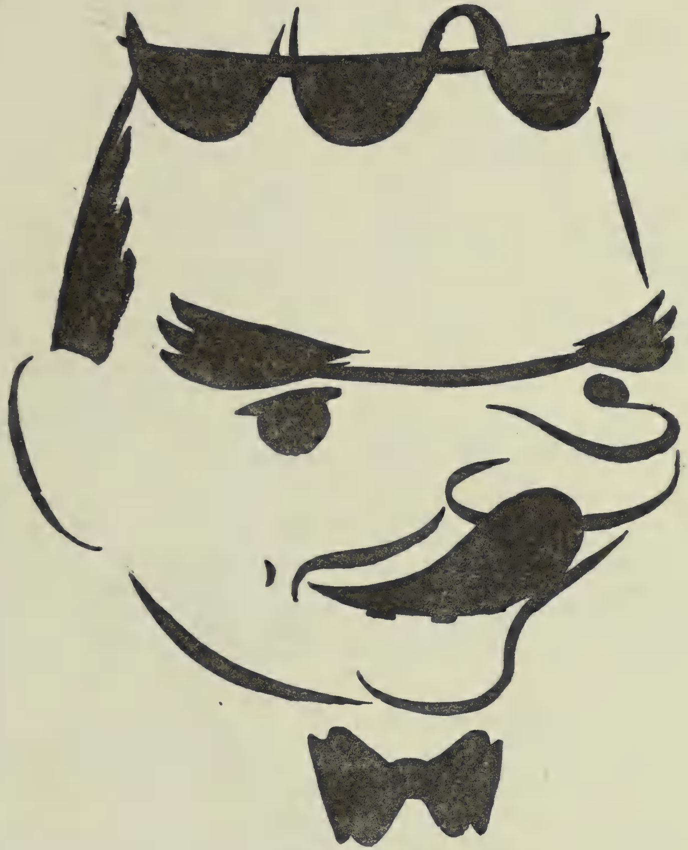
November 4: RESULT IN BALANCE—GALLUP SURVEY
Study Closed Yesterday Noon Indicates 52 per cent for President in Popular Vote.

Well, there you had it. It was anybody's guess. That is, it was anybody's guess who did not have a system that would predict accurately. Now, anybody who knows anything about it will tell you that any good system of predicting—whether in horse racing, roulette, or elections—is made up partly of hunch and partly of science. Gallup was all right as far as science went, but he couldn't afford to introduce the element of hunch. For instance, he took three good columns in the *Times* of November 4, 1940, when his last release went out, to explain the chances and probabilities entering into the likely result. And at the end he concluded it was a toss-up; and that's just where we were at the start. At the same time Gallup was pretty useful as a basis for the system and particularly useful when it came to those states where a few points either way would upset the result. Gallup himself warned that 3 or 4 per cent had to be allowed as a margin of error. So I listed those states that showed between 47 and 53 per cent for either candidate:

	Willkie	Roosevelt
Connecticut	47	53
Idaho	51	49
Illinois	52	48
Massachusetts	49	51
Michigan	52	48
Minnesota	49	51
Missouri	51	49
New Jersey	48	52
New Hampshire	51	49
New Mexico	47	53
New York	51	49
Ohio	51	49
Pennsylvania	51	49
Wisconsin	52	48
Wyoming	47	53

Now, these states commanded quite a sizable chunk of electoral votes. Taking the final Gallup poll at absolute face value and allowing no margin for error, the electoral vote for all states added up to Willkie 248, Roosevelt 283. A shift of eighteen votes away from Roosevelt would give the election to Willkie. A shift of a substantial number of these states would mean a landslide one way or the other.

This was the point at which I fell back on my hunch. I figured that the national situation really called for the re-



Drawing by [redacted] Herrmann

"Little Man, What Now?"

election of the President. It was bound to be tough going in the years ahead, and I had a feeling most people thought the same way about it. Willkie was a big man, all right, but he had come up fast and had not really established himself by the time people came to vote. Then I knew the country was pretty worried about the isolationists who had crowded into the Republican camp. So I had a strong hunch that Dr. Gallup's margin for error could safely be counted for Mr. Roosevelt.

That's where I put it—all of it, the whole 4 per cent, adding it to Mr. Roosevelt's vote in the pivotal states I had down on my list. The result was rather spectacular. With one lusty sweep I moved Idaho, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania over from Mr. Willkie's column into Mr. Roosevelt's. In a minute I had stolen no fewer than 185 electoral votes from Mr. Willkie and given them to Mr. Roosevelt. It was a good job. From a neck-and-neck race, the election was converted into a win-in-an-easy-canter for the President.

As I said at the beginning, I made one mistake. Michigan, after days of counting and recounting, finally came down in the Republican column by 6,926 votes. However, who was I to complain? The system worked.

Well, this time again it looks like a close race. In the poll of October 27 Dr. Gallup gives his estimate of the popular vote as 51 per cent for Roosevelt, 49 per cent for Dewey. A few days before, the *Fortune* poll gave Roosevelt 53.5 per cent against Dewey's 46.5. The newspapers are carrying the headline: PRESIDENCY RACE IS NECK AND NECK.

The states listed in my 1940 column crop up again. The margin is a little narrower; but the picture is essentially the same. Gallup brings a few more states into the pivotal category: Kentucky, Delaware, Oregon, Oklahoma, West Virginia, Maine. For the states in my 1940 list the Gallup 1944 percentages are these:

	Dewey	Roosevelt
Connecticut	48	52
Idaho	52	48
Illinois	52	48
Massachusetts	50	50
Michigan	53	47
Minnesota	53	47
Missouri	51	49
New Jersey	52	52
New Hampshire	51	49
New Mexico	51	49
Ohio	53	49
Pennsylvania	50	50
Wisconsin	54	46
Wyoming	53	47

There are a lot of electoral votes in those states and the other pivotal states listed by Dr. Gallup. For the entire poll of October 27 the Dewey column adds up to 255 electoral votes, the Roosevelt column to 206, with 70 electoral votes evenly split. I have a hunch that this year, too, a few intangibles may have been missed in the sampling. And then, there is that margin of error. I have just tried adding 4 to the Roosevelt column of percentages. The result is rather spectacular!

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE POLL-TAX SCANDAL is again attracting attention in Pennsylvania. The constitution of that state makes the payment of such a tax within two years one of the requirements for the qualification of a voter, but it was found long ago that a great many men would rather go without voting than pay it. Then the campaign committees began to pay such taxes, and the practice has now reached such dimensions that the two party machines in Pennsylvania have this year purchased 95,000 poll-tax receipts. . . . Theoretically there is a good deal to be said in favor of such a qualification for the suffrage, but practically it seems to work more harm than good wherever it is retained.—*November 1, 1894.*

MR. McKINLEY IS FILLING a large space in the newspapers at the present time, but the common remark of the Republican politicians is that "he is not in it." This is a comprehensive phrase, implying that the Governor of Ohio is struggling for the Presidential nomination of his party, but that he has not the ghost of a chance.—*November 1, 1894.*

"GLIMPSES OF UNFAMILIAR JAPAN," by Lafcadio Hearn. . . . Living among a people so simple in their tastes and habits as the rural Japanese, Mr. Hearn, who suggests the literary chameleon, has absorbed the form and color of his environment. . . . No other artist, paint he in words or in pigments, has so thoroughly succeeded in catching and fixing those Japanese traits which are so elusive, yet so ingrained and innate.—*November 8, 1894.*

THE CAPTURE OF PORT ARTHUR by the Japanese promises the speedy close of the war. . . . China has led a precarious existence for years, owing to the enormous number of European and Western speculators who want to "develop her resources," and they will get at her eventually; but nobody supposed that Japan would put in the entering wedge. —*November 15, 1894.*

THE ROUND ROBIN READING CLUB offers to individuals and classes a discriminating and personal guidance in the study of Literature. (ADVT.)—*November 15, 1894.*

THE CRITICS OF FOOTBALL last year, although much abused, had sufficient influence on the amateurs of the game to bring about a change in the rules. We were told that the game had been made more "open," and that the Napoleonic operation of breaking the enemy's ranks with a "wedge" would be no longer resorted to; that more reliance would be placed on agility and less on avoirdupois. But the new football appears to be very like the new Tammany: *"Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose."* The game on Saturday at Springfield between the two great teams of Harvard and Yale was by the testimony—unanimous, as far as our knowledge goes—of spectators and newspapers, the most brutal ever witnessed in the United States.—*November 29, 1894.*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: Charles Kingsley, "Hypatia"; Maurice Maeterlinck, "Pelléas and Mélisande"; John Muir, "The Mountains of California.'

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE Second Battle of the Philippines will undoubtedly rank as one of the decisive naval engagements of history; one wishes for a new Mahan to interpret its significance. This particular infantryman can only whistle his admiration for the gallant sailors and fliers, Australian as well as American, who have cut the Japanese fleet's effective strength by 50 per cent, thereby reducing considerably the probable duration of the Far Eastern war.

The United States Pacific Fleet has been waiting for this showdown battle for almost exactly two years, ever since the Japanese suffered their last major defeat off Guadalcanal. We wanted the battle not simply for the pleasure of sinking enemy ships but for the freedom of action we would gain in the Pacific. Because the Japanese would not give battle, we had to cover every major Pacific operation with a force large enough to engage the entire Imperial Fleet, should it venture forth. Thus the true strategic function of the enemy's fleet-in-being was to tie up major elements of our fleet strength in the job of guarding every amphibious force that moved forward; conversely, the true strategic significance of this great victory is that amphibious blows can now follow more frequently and over a wider area, since the Pacific Fleet will be able to cover each force with a smaller number of vessels.

Last week's victory was so overwhelming that it is easy to overlook the very real danger we were in and the very real chance of success the Japanese possessed. (A commander necessarily takes risks; if he wins he is a hero, and if he loses he is a villain. If the fog had not suddenly lifted over the Prince of Wales and the Repulse that day in December, 1941, leaving them naked to Japanese aircraft, Admiral Tom Phillips might have ranked with Nelson.) The Japanese admiral who ordered three naval forces to converge on the Allied ships off Leyte has probably committed hara-kiri by now, but he might have become another Togo had it not been for the amazing performance of the American fleet train, the daring calculations of Admiral Kinkaid in the south, and the persistent skill of Halsey's and Mitscher's fliers in the north.

The fleet train's performance meant that Halsey's Third Fleet was still ready for combat after more than a month away from base, sweeping through Japan's "basic sea area" like a typhoon. The main Japanese force came down from Formosa or the home islands intending to drive the supposedly battle-exhausted Third Fleet away from its covering position northeast of Luzon. But planes from Mitscher's Task Force 58, attached to Halsey's command, got into the air first and sank four enemy carriers and two cruisers, and probably sank two battleships. The other ships sunk or probably sunk make this perhaps the greatest achievement of carrier aircraft in this war.

Meanwhile Admiral Kinkaid, with his Seventh Fleet tied close to Leyte Gulf by the necessity of covering the amphibious forces, still half at sea and half ashore, received intelligence that two enemy forces were converging on him; one through the Sibuyan Sea and the San Bernardino Strait south of Luzon; the other through the Sulu Sea and Surigao Strait, between Leyte and Mindanao. Thomas C. Kinkaid—a name to remember—instead of waiting in Leyte Gulf to meet two attacks, split his force and made two attacks. Some of Mitscher's planes helped handle the San Bernardino force. While Kinkaid's escort carriers were battling off the east coast of Samar, his surface fighting ships moved into Surigao Strait, where with the aid of MacArthur's planes they destroyed the entire enemy force of sixteen ships, including two battleships definitely sunk. The final score showed that the Japanese lost twenty-four ships, with another thirty-four probably sunk or damaged; the United States lost the light cruiser-type carrier Princeton, two escort carriers, two destroyers, and a destroyer-escort. MacArthur's planes sank some enemy transports retreating southward to Singapore, and Chennault's Fourteenth Air Force flew out from China to sink at least one destroyer as it headed back to supposed safety—a nice index of the constricting circle about Japan.

Plane losses are not yet tabulated, but the enemy lost at least 150 aircraft to Kinkaid's fleet alone. How many of these were shore based is not known, but one of the remarkable factors in this great battle was the failure of shore-based aircraft to play a decisive role. The Japanese commander must have counted on them heavily, or else he was a fool to send ships into two such constricted channels as the San Bernardino and Surigao straits—which narrow to five and four miles respectively—but they failed to provide the required cover. In balance, the battle should dispel any lingering beliefs that a carrier force operates disadvantageously in contact with land-based air power. The quality of the weapons and of the fighting men is what counts.

The immediate result of this famous encounter is that the liberation of the Philippines is assured. The enemy is said to be fighting only rear-guard actions on Leyte, but these may continue for some time. The quick sweep up Samar gives weight to Major Eliot's suggestion that the enemy division there may have been moved across to Leyte, where it is doomed. The defeat of the fleet further suggests that there will be no important reinforcing of the islands, while MacArthur will be able to draw on his own reinforcements up to the full capacity of available ships.

Meanwhile Halsey and Kinkaid, with Spruance and the Fifth Fleet still in reserve, are freed for operations elsewhere. The possible advance from Saipan to Formosa, mentioned here last week, now becomes a probability of the near future. The Volcanoes and Bonins, on the direct road from the Marianas to Japan, are likewise tempting. Beyond these lie the home islands and China, one or both of which will certainly be reached a good deal sooner than was possible before last week's battle. I hope someone will reconcile General Stilwell's New England obstinacy with Generalissimo Chiang's more subtle Methodist outlook; Vinegar Joe is the ideal man to press home that final victory.

The C. I. O. Looks Ahead

BY PHILIP MURRAY

WE IN the C. I. O. have learned there are many things affecting the welfare of the worker and his family which cannot be solved by collective bargaining alone. We know that questions of social insurance, taxation, education, public and private health, and other matters must be fought out in legislative halls.

So we have extended our fight for democracy from the workshop to the polling place. We are not intimidated from organizing politically to campaign for the ends which we believe are right. After all, the current slander against the Political Action Committee is not so great as the malicious campaign carried on in 1937 and 1938 against the organization by the C. I. O. of the great masses of industrial workers. We managed to survive that!

Our enemies are complaining because we are effective. Even though they disliked our convention resolutions about political and legislative objectives, they really did not begin to worry and rant until we started an organization to make those resolutions mean something in actual achievement.

I will assert the Americanism and patriotism of the members of the C. I. O. against any of its detractors and defamers. The C. I. O. will yield to no one on its record for advancing the cause of democracy. In its struggle to make the peace fulfil the desires of men of good-will, who is showing, day in and day out, a greater concern to preserve and extend the institutions which have made the United States a great nation?

Some three years ago our organization published a plan to win the war. That plan set out in graphic fashion certain practical, constructive, workable details which encompassed the creation of industry councils—that is, a council in each of the major industries, composed of representatives of business, labor, and government, to prepare the production schedules of the given industry for war purposes, to provide the means whereby necessary expansion could be made, to increase the production of essential war goods, to establish and build plants in communities where the need for them was evident.

The plan suggested, in addition to the creation of industry councils, a National Production Council to coordinate the work of each of the industries, so that the practice of duplication might be prevented and rules established which would provide to each of the industries maximum efficiency.

The plan was turned down at that time, but out of it, of course, grew the labor-management committees which have been created in so many war plants all over America. Through these committees, management has often been able to make use of the ingenuity of the workers to accelerate production and increase efficiency and thus to hasten the successful conclusion of the war.

The creation of a National Production Council, together with industry councils, to map out plans for maximum production and efficiency in all the plants throughout the country during the post-war period is just as essential now as it was three years ago, when it was originally presented to the government of the United States. Labor does not seek protection in the narrow sense of the term. Labor will get all the protection it wants if every worker who wants a job and is able to work can get a job at decent wages and under proper working conditions.

There is a certain tendency abroad in the land to define the phrase "full employment" so as to befuddle and confuse rather than clarify. By full employment I mean that every person who wants employment can get a job for which he is qualified. I don't mean, and I don't believe any sincere advocate of full employment means, that there ought not to be one solitary unemployed person. We have full employment today, and there are upward of a million people who are out of work on some given day of the month. These are workers who are temporarily unemployed—not at work because they are changing jobs, or because they have personal reasons for being away from a job. Those people are trying to obscure the issue who insist that every last person must be on a job before we attain full employment. Those who advance this point of view are using it as a stepping-stone to the conclusion that only under regimentation and dictatorship can there be full employment.

This is malicious nonsense. Any unemployment that exists because a worker himself chooses to be away from his job is not serious because only a relatively few people would be involved and only for short periods of time. Moreover, full employment in peace time is something different from full employment in a war period. All reasonable people realize that we deliberately utilize certain groups of workers during a war who are not in the labor market in peace time, including housewives, students, retired people.

There is also a lot of upside-down talk about free enterprise and government responsibility. Often, the very people who most loudly condemn government consideration of unemployment as a problem, and who allege that free enterprise alone can resolve the question, are the ones who for themselves participate in market quota systems, international cartel arrangements, and tariffs—frequently with government support.

"Free enterprise" is being used as a convenient slogan to attack government enterprise which benefits the common man. The issue of whether government shall function in our economy or not is a false one. Government enterprise and government controls are in our economy to stay. The only question is the extent of government participation, the precise role that government is going to play in our economy.

The C. I. O. does not contend that only government can produce jobs for all, just as we do not believe that unbridled competitive business can do so. Nor does labor have a royal road for easy achievement of these desirable ends. We contend that each group has a contribution to make, and that there must be teamwork on the part of labor, industry, and government in organizing production around an over-all national plan and component industry plans. Labor, management, and government got together successfully to produce the weapons for victory. We can stick together to build an enduring prosperity.

Destructive as war is, we can discern some positive gains. Now we know how great can be the volume of production, and that it can be raised even higher. In the face of an all-compelling national purpose, the myths of business-as-usual have been swept away in our pursuit of maximum production. The necessities of war have demonstrated that only mental stubbornness has heretofore prevented the full utilization of our human and material resources.

The masses of people have come to understand this point. They have come to understand idle man-power and idle facilities as anti-social and perhaps immoral. It has seemed important that every man and every machine be put to some useful work. That attitude is going to carry over into peace time. People are going to ask—in fact, they are asking now—if we have been able to do all these things in war, why can't we do them in peace? Can a job for everybody who wants one be achieved only by the awful destruction of war?

Now we know from experience that certain essentials can be assured to everyone, regardless of race, color, or creed: a job at union wages, or a farm, business, or profession that provides a regular income; a well-built home, properly equipped with all the facilities of living and decently furnished; good food, clothing, and medical care; good schooling for children, with an equal chance for all for healthy and happy growth; an adequate income, through social insurance, in case of sickness, old age, early death of the wage-earner, or unemployment.

This desirable and attainable goal for every American cannot be accomplished by private business alone. Government must accept the responsibility for securing and maintaining full production, which is the only way we can attain this universal minimum security.

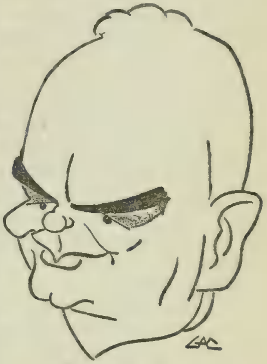
There is a false notion that war goods were manufactured because government placed limitations and control upon private business, after which business was forced to accept war orders. The present cry is that government should remove all controls at the end of the war emergency and business will come through with everything that is needed. The real contribution of the War Production Board was not that business was limited in its use of materials, or controlled in its product, but rather that definite goals were set and all plants and facilities, materials and man-power were coordinated to produce the military goods called for by those goals.

In the post-war period the mere release of controls will not bring maximum production. We must continue to use the War Production Board method of setting goals, and cooperatively combine our intelligence and resources to achieve them. The elimination of poverty, like the elimination of foreign enemies, is necessary to bring real security.

Business spokesmen like to declaim about "a favorable climate for business." There is no more favorable climate than the assurance of a market. With government withdrawing purchases of a hundred billion dollars a year at the end of the war, there must be consumer demand to equal and exceed the expenditures for war goods. The guaranty of a market for the maximum volume of business can be provided through a National Production Council, mentioned above, with functional representation of labor, industry, agriculture, and government. Such a council—with its component industry councils—could plan for those levels of production required for maximum employment. There would still be room for enterprise to top these goals and advance to new heights of prosperity. The purchasing power thus created would guarantee the consumption of the products.

Government must provide the vehicle through which national planning can be accomplished. All branches of organized labor supported the Murray-Kilgore-Truman bill in the United States Senate during this past spring and summer. The George bill that passed is a pale imitation, and the Congress still has the duty to provide effective planning legislation.

There is a common mistake of compartmentalizing in one little cubbyhole our domestic problems and in another cubbyhole our international problems. Is there any question in anybody's mind what the effect will be of another world depression? The continued prosperity of Americans is directly tied to the prosperity of the people of all other nations. There must be a vigorous, long-term program of international commerce, and the federal government must be involved constructively. Economically and in every other way the United States will emerge from this war as the most powerful nation in the world. Perhaps more important, events in the United States will be of great significance to the rest of the world. We know there can be no peace for the United States with other nations at war. It is equally true that if reaction in the United States should become dominant it would constitute a staggering blow to international stability and well-being.



Drawing by George Corrado

Philip Murray

The organized labor movement since its beginning has been in the vanguard of human progress. The unions which make up the C. I. O. will be a force through which millions of workers will seek continually to improve their conditions of working and living. High wages, low prices, good quality, and large output are the ingredients of a prosperous peace. I submit that the time has passed when the American people will accept worn-out slogans for the realities of economic and social security. They have seen—and have participated in—a miracle of production performed for war. They know that we have the cooperative intelligence and the material and human capacity to make the same and greater achievements for peace.

[*This article is the address delivered by Mr. Murray at the* Nation *conference in New York on October 8.*]

Destroy Franco Now!

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

AGAIN we arrive at the point of departure. Again Spain flares into the news, reminding a world that too easily forgets that this war is a single, indivisible struggle in which frontiers are less important than ideas and political power is at least as important as military power. The guerrillas fighting Franco both inside Spain and across the French border afford new proof, if any were needed, that an attempt to confine this war within national frontiers and conventional diplomatic procedures will mean just one thing—the survival of fascism after the military defeat of Germany.

To those who understand the real character of fascism, it has been obvious that it would try to secure its place in the post-war world. That is the principal reason why I have always believed that the Nazis would offer stiff resistance to the Allied offensive and that the war in Europe would last longer than people generally supposed. Reports about atom-freezing and plague bombs and other German secret weapons may be regarded with skepticism, but the expressed determination of the Nazi leaders to fight until the end is neither a propaganda trick nor a theatrical gesture.

The situation became perfectly clear after July 20. Until that date, it was still possible to argue that a conflict between the army and Hitler might bring about the collapse of the Nazi regime. But such speculations had to end at the moment it became evident that the party had won and that the heads of generals were rolling without provoking a revolt within the army. It is certain now that every passing month will strengthen the control of the party and the Gestapo over the rest of the population. Moreover, it is clear that if the road to Berlin is not opened with the same speed as was the road to Paris, Nazi leaders will gain time to transform the war of armies into a guerrilla war and to direct the Nazi movement underground.

From this point of view Nazi resistance is not as senseless as some observers make it appear. It would be inconceivably stupid if the aim were a negotiated peace. Although German information services may have deteriorated, Berlin must know that feeling in Great Britain, in the United States, and in Russia is opposed to a negotiated peace. Even arguments for a "soft" peace evoke a hostile reaction in the United States. Nazi resistance would be equally absurd if it were founded on a hope of dividing the Allies. The recent conversations in Moscow between Churchill and Stalin have proved again that an irreparable rift among the three major Allies is inconceivable as long as the war against Germany goes on. No, German resistance makes sense only as an expression of the determination of the Nazis to outlive a military defeat.

Fascism's hope of survival has been nourished by the Allies' failure to develop a consistent democratic policy in the conduct of the war. It was evident long ago that there was something more than "military expediency" in the willingness of the Allies to deal with notorious fascists. At any rate, it could no longer have been military expediency after Hitler's armies began to withdraw in successive defeats. It was rather "political expediency," clearly designed to prevent revolution in Europe.

Encouraged by this outlook, fascism prepared to continue the fight. Two years is not too long for such preparation. Every underground movement in the occupied countries has required that much time to gain real strength and efficiency. But the underground movements in the occupied countries have a limited objective—to sabotage the armies of occupation and to purge the nation of quislings and native fascists. The underground movement which the Nazis are creating has a much more ambitious aim: to keep the fight against democracy alive not in one country but everywhere; politically to sabotage the peace so that after a few years fascism will again feel capable of attempting world domination.

The Nazis began to organize an underground at the end of 1943, when defeat on the Russian front made ultimate victory begin to seem improbable. They intensified their activities when the Allies landed in France. But it was not until the Anglo-American armies reached the German frontier that Hitler publicly proclaimed the guerrilla war as a natural phase in the "people's war." As the Nazis visualized it, the "people's war" served a double purpose: to repair as far as possible the painful deficiency in reserves, and to plan the transformation of the regular armies into a guerrilla force while the battle of resistance was still being waged. Hitler needs the winter of 1945 for that.

Considered in this light, German resistance is not merely a futile Wagnerian gesture. It fits perfectly into a political plan. It confirms the theory of those of us who have maintained from the beginning that this war, more than any other, is as much political as military. If the Allies had waged the war with a clear determination to destroy fascism and to establish democracy everywhere in the world, these plans of Hitler's would be doomed to the same fate as his military strategy. Under existing circumstances Hitler is hardly a fool to hope that fascism may survive military defeat. He sees well-known fascists being used by the Allied authorities in administrative posts in the liberated parts of Italy. He can even look at Germany, where American military authorities have appointed as the new mayor of Rötgen, one of the first cities to be conquered, a man who is described in the New York *Times* as "an opportunist and pro-Nazi." Hitler knows that nothing which has happened since 1939 has changed the minds of people who occupy key positions in Allied administrations. There are men in the State Department and in the British Foreign Office who only a few months ago were telling their friends that if the Spanish war began again they would take the same position they held before—in favor of Franco and against the "reds." Surely Hitler has reason to believe that not all is lost for fascism when influential persons in the American industrial and financial world talk, privately but unhesitatingly, about the certainty of a new war—this time against Russia.

Any weakening of the European movements of resistance would play into the hands of fascism and help it to rise again after the war. Even from that point of view a few more months of fighting in Germany may prove extremely useful. Had the war ended in the autumn of 1944, the resistance forces in France would have been strong enough to influence the political processes of Europe. In Italy the powerful republican movement would not have been obliged to waste a large part of its strength in fighting the maneuvers of those who want to save the House of Savoy at any cost. Everywhere the underground elements, fortified by the prestige of their decisive contribution to victory, would have been able to demand a strong anti-fascist policy from their governments.

Six months more of war, waged inside Germany, may be utilized by reactionary elements in the United Nations to reduce the forces of resistance in the rest of Europe. Once the countries have been liberated and the military phase of the struggle is over, there will be an ever-growing chorus of voices insisting, in the name of "order" and "reconstruction," that the forces of resistance retire from the political scene. Even now, in the reaction of a part of the Allied press to the belated recognition of De Gaulle, it is easy to discern a certain feeling of confidence that the head of the Provisional French Government will repay the generosity of the Allies by suppressing the restless *maquis*. For my part, I feel certain that the people will frustrate these reactionary plans—assuming always that the forces of resistance refuse to allow themselves to be disarmed and betrayed. But it is perfectly understandable that the fascists should gamble on reactionary success.

Propaganda very similar to that spread in the days of "better Hitler than the people's front" is again beginning to be heard. For example, the surprisingly few acts of violence committed in France and Italy and Greece have been terribly exaggerated in the press. There are people who see "the hand of the Soviets" in every demand of the hungry populations for more food or for the nationalization of certain basic industries or for the punishment of traitors. The propaganda is either of fascist inspiration or it expresses the irresponsible attitude of reactionary interests which are willing to play into the hands of the fascists in the hope of maintaining their own power. In either case it may produce the same misconceptions among the middle class as did the propaganda against the Loyalists during the Spanish war.

For its survival after the war, fascism requires bases from which to operate. Hitler may continue to resist for six months, perhaps a year, but it is mathematically certain that one day all Germany will be occupied by the Allies and disarmed. At least during the first years after the war severe controls will be imposed. Fascism needs bases outside the area of military occupation; Madrid and Buenos Aires are the two which have been selected.

The maintenance of these bases under reactionary dictatorial regimes is indispensable to fascism. One year of fascist dictatorship in Argentina has given excellent results. But Buenos Aires alone, without contact with Europe, cannot serve fascist plans. Madrid is also vital. Thus a little dictator who has 90 per cent of the Spanish people against him and a horrible record of crime and failure has been transformed by the force of events into a fundamental link in the fascist conspiracy.

That Spain has served as a Nazi base of operations under Franco has been confirmed many times. Only last week Walter Winchell presented to his millions of readers concise and overwhelming evidence of Franco's assistance to Hitler—assistance which continues to this day. It is not necessary to repeat the story here. But it is essential that every citizen of the United Nations look squarely at the problem which the existence of such a regime creates in Europe and the world.

Let us be clear, the question of Franco's survival or downfall affects not only Spaniards but all those who are fighting to defeat the Axis. We Spanish Republicans are determined to finish with Franco, whether we are helped or not. It may take six months, a year, five years, but we shall overthrow him no matter how sympathetic Mr. Churchill may feel toward him and no matter how much more Spanish blood must be shed. But the men and women of the United Nations who understand that the peace may be ruined by the fascist plot now in preparation—they also have a responsibility to decide whether the fascist dictator of Spain shall or shall not be kept in power.

It was in Spain that this war began, and it is in Spain that this war can be politically won or lost. As in 1936-39, the Spanish question is essentially an international question. We now have the authoritative opinion of the former Under Secretary of the State Department, Sumner Welles, that the policy followed by the Western democracies in the Spanish war was the greatest blunder that could have been made. The price paid for it was the present war. A similar blunder would be committed were the United Nations to revive now, in any form, the policy of false non-intervention. To prevent Spain from becoming the main base of the next fascist assault, it is essential that Franco be destroyed. But not after a year, when most of the evil will have been done. He must be destroyed now.

Polls, Propaganda, Politics

Checking the Checkers

IN PREVIOUS election campaigns all sorts of dubious results of polls were published in the last week, but this year efforts to plumb public opinion have been kept on a remarkably high level. Though the group of magazines which finances the *Fortune* poll is strongly in favor of Dewey, the latest *Fortune* release, dated October 26, gives Roosevelt 53.5 per cent of the popular vote and Dewey 46.5 per cent.

The New York *Daily News* is conducting a poll for the entire state of New York which will, in the end, be based on nearly 50,000 interviews. On October 26 it gave Dewey 51.3 per cent against Roosevelt's 48.7 per cent. This poll is unusual in that the *Daily News* reports exactly where it was taken, thus making possible a real check-up on the validity of the sample. Good sampling depends on two things: the areas picked must be so distributed that together they can be considered representative; and within each area all people must have an equal chance to be interviewed. This column commissioned Dr. Raymond Franzen to check the *Daily News* poll for the first and most important requirement. The test was based on the following question: If the same poll had been made in 1940 would the vote in the sample areas have been representative of the vote in the whole state? The answer was complimentary to the *Daily News.* With such a sample they would have overestimated Republican strength by only 1.3 per cent, a deviation which may very well be due to the fact that the present poll is only about half completed.

The Chicago daily *Times,* a pro-Roosevelt paper, is running a poll for Illinois which at this moment gives Roosevelt 50.07 per cent and Dewey 49.93 per cent. A check of its sampling has not been feasible, but the *Times* has run polls before and has an excellent record for careful operation and success in prediction. Of course such a close tie makes one outcome as probable as the other.

The one prediction effort which is open to criticism is that of *Newsweek.* This magazine asks 118 newspapermen distributed all over the country to give their expert opinion every month on the probable outcome of the election; their latest prediction is 230 Democratic electoral votes, 232 Republican electoral votes, and 69 toss-ups. It is well known that even the most honest expert will be influenced in his appraisal of the situation by his own conviction. Newspapers in this country are editorially for Dewey three to one. Therefore even a representative sample of newspapermen would be likely to overrate the Republican chances. Actually *Newsweek's* selection of experts is even more one-sided. The political affiliation of about two-thirds of the newspapers on its panel are known from a recent survey by *Editor and Publisher.* This column checked the *Newsweek* experts by that list and discovered that the ratio of Republicans to Democrats is more than five to one.

The latest Gallup results, released on October 27, do not permit any specific prediction. Gallup gives 179 electoral votes definitely to Roosevelt and 66 definitely to Dewey, but 286 electoral votes are left uncertain because the poll figures are between 47 and 53 per cent. Among doubtful states Gallup now includes Kentucky, where he reports a 2 per cent drop in Roosevelt's sentiment, and Illinois, where he credits Roosevelt with a 2 per cent gain since his release of two weeks ago. A change of 3 per cent away from Roosevelt is reported for West Virginia, whose proximity to the Pennsylvania mine fields might make this important. For Pennsylvania itself Gallup again reports a fifty-fifty break.

It is regrettable that the two other careful newspaper polls come from states which present no problem because all data place them safely on the Republican side—Iowa and Minnesota. After Senator Ball's statement that he would not vote for Dewey—but before he came out for Roosevelt—the Minneapolis *Sunday Tribune* released figures that showed no decline of the Dewey majority in Minneapolis. This corroborated our conviction that campaign events of this kind, even if they receive much attention in the formal media of communication, have little effect on the masses of voters.

The soldiers' vote still remains an unknown quantity. The only pertinent inference which can be drawn from civilian poll data is that the proportion of Roosevelt voters among the younger age groups, from which the soldiers' vote is naturally recruited, is considerably higher than in the older age groups. But many other factors will play a role here, such as the possible anti-labor sentiment in the army on the one side and the "charismatic" role of the Commander-in-Chief on the other; it is possible, too, that the soldiers may think that one of the two parties might get them home earlier.

PAUL F. LAZARSFELD, Director, Bureau of
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In the Wind

AN OBSERVER IN ITALY writes: "I continue to meet people who are *not* leaders; people who need shoes, garments, candles, fats, sugar; people who are hunting for a rabbit for twenty hours, who are obliged to mill the scarce corn and wheat in a coffee mill; who are going around with shoes kept together with pieces of wire and string and with jackets which no second-hand dealer in the world would buy. But all these people speak very clearly, and they know very well what they are talking about. They say, pointing their fingers toward a villa: 'There they were giving balls for the Germans, and before the Germans they were entertaining the Fascists. Today they dance with the Americans, but tomorrow the balls will be led by us.' "

MEANWHILE, IN AMERICA a Republican writes to the editor of the Memphis, Tennessee, *Press-Scimitar:* "The real domestic issue at stake is for the part of the people who vote to decide whether the private and corporate property owners or the employers class shall remain dominant and direct affairs as formerly, or shall the wage workers who have the votes continue to carry on through their political prestidigitators whose chief mission in life is to stir up strife by creating class hatred."

ELECTION ADVICE from Karl Struss of Hollywood: "Let us repudiate, in the coming elections, the ringleaders of all nations who have allowed the slaughter of humanity to commence and to continue. . . . All those in authority everywhere throughout the world during the past ten years are equally guilty of this crime against humanity. . . . Therefore, the peoples of this planet should demand the immediate abdication of all the present rulers of all nations."

FESTUNG EUROPA: A Norwegian pastor who has cooperated with the Nazis had to cross a fjord recently and couldn't persuade anybody to row him across. He had to get the Nazis to intercede for him. They ordered a farmer to row him across. The boat was so leaky that the pastor had to bail furiously all the way, and by the time they reached the other side he was soaking wet and on the verge of collapse. He staggered ashore and watched the farmer empty the boat and start for home. "But," he cried, "you certainly don't intend to row across alone in that leaky boat?" "Yes, I guess so," said the farmer. "I've put the plug back in the bottom."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best items.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Partisan Europe

Domodossola Won and Lost

BY MARIO BELLINI

WHEN the history of the liberation of Italy is written, the record of the Allies in cities like Cassino and Chiusi will do them honor; in others the wisdom of Allied leadership has not been so apparent. One of these is Domodossola.

On September 10 Italian partisans attacked Domodossola and the nearby valleys on the border of Switzerland in such considerable and well-organized strength that after a short fight the German and Fascist garrisons were forced to surrender. The Allies had promised full support to any organized movement to drive out the Germans and Fascists, but although the town had great strategic importance, the patriots of Domodossola received no help. On October 16 the partisans had to abandon this border stronghold and take to the mountains.

Domodossola is at the Italian end of the Simplon tunnel, on the modern railroad which connects Italy with the great German industrial centers of the Ruhr and the Saar. Supplies for the Germans in their Italian campaign were carried by this road, and as long as the Italian partisans held the Domodossola region, these supplies did not reach the Germans. In addition, German-operated war factories in Piedmont and Lombardy were paralyzed by the partisans' capture of the electric-power plant in the Ossola valley.

After the valleys of Ossola, Antasca, Antrona, Rognanca, di Vedro, Antigorio, and Centovalli, with a total population of about 100,000, were liberated, Professor Ettore Tibaldi formed a provisional government of six experts chosen from the various partisan groups. In each village a commissioner was appointed to take charge of the local administration and to maintain order. The change of rule was effected with almost no bloodshed. A few top-ranking Fascists were executed; some collaborationist women had their heads shaved. But the primary task of the provisional government was to continue the fight against the Germans. The spirit animating the partisans was expressed in a proclamation issued by the Matteotti Brigade: "One goal lifts up our hearts and hardens our will—Milan, where so many of our brothers are suffering in prison or are killed every day by the ruthless brigands of the Fascist militia. Patriots of the Matteotti Brigade, the dawn of battle has arrived! Soon, very soon, we shall be called on to give proof of our courage, of our capacity for sacrifice. We must be ready. In the name of Matteotti, that brave and loyal martyr for liberty, we will march again to liberate our brothers."

The provisional government faced difficult problems. The Germans and Fascists had made off with all the provisions. Twelve hundred children were suffering from undernourishment. There were no medical supplies. Switzerland quickly recognized the provisional government and generously offered hospitality to three hundred children; some relief was provided by the Swiss Red Cross. But no substantial aid from the Allies was received.

On October 6 Colonel Federici, commander of the partisan units, in an interview with a correspondent for the *Tribune de Genève,* declared: "We need young men to fight in the mountains. That is why we called upon the youth. Men older than twenty-eight we prefer to keep in the power plants, for we need fuel and light; we also need men to till the fields. We number 10,000, of whom half are Ossolans. We are all armed. We requisitioned all sporting arms in the valley and have also taken many arms from the enemy. We could do great things if only General Alexander, as he promised in a broadcast, would send us more guns. We have prepared two airfields, and we are waiting." The next day the same paper stated that the partisans' "urgent appeals had gone unheeded, and the Allies had failed to send food or arms." It added that the impression prevailed among the partisans that the hesitation of the Allies was due to "not easily ascertainable motives." The provisional government contained anti-monarchist elements, and that may have had something to do with it. At any rate, the airfields were never used. The desperately needed artillery never arrived.

Early in October a strong German and Fascist force containing 2,000 S. S. men and supported by tanks, flamethrowers, and heavy guns launched an attack upon Domodossola from Lake Maggiore. The partisans fought with tremendous courage for two weeks, but finally had to flee. Today the railroad is again carrying munitions to the Germans; the great turbines of the Ossola valley are again providing energy for German war plants.

On October 16 the *Tribune de Genève* said: "The patriots in northern Italy have been dealt a heavy blow, and the prestige of the Allies, who did nothing to help the Domodossola partisans, is sinking." In spite of all the Allies' declarations of good-will, in spite of the fifty million dollars provided by the UNRRA for Italian relief, one fact stands out with painful clarity: the Allies have systematically refused to recognize the efforts of the Italian people to fight fascism, to "earn their way back" to a place in the democratic sun.

A Quisling Among Quislings

BY JOHN W. GERBER

FOR four years vivid accounts of the heroism of the resistance in the occupied countries were passed on to us by persons on the sidelines; for the past four months new lurid details have been supplied by the underground fighters themselves. One might think that the flavor would have gone out of such recitals. But the story of the patriot uprising in Slovakia, of which we now have the first installment, promises to read like an old-fashioned romance of Balkan intrigue.

The central figure seems to be one General Ferdinand

Catlos. Before the war the General was an obscure officer in the Czechoslovak army, but when the puppet Slovak government was formed in 1939, he was raised to the position of Minister of War. Under his rule two Slovak divisions were sent to Russia, where they deserted to the Red Army almost en masse. Our knowledge of his activities since then is largely limited to what has been reported in German newspapers and over the Berlin radio.

Until the end of last August Catlos enjoyed the full confidence of the Germans. A Nazi broadcast on August 29 represented him as urging the people of Slovakia to welcome the Germans as friends. But on September 2 the radio announced that Monsignor Tiso, the Catholic puppet President, had dismissed General Catlos as a "traitor." In those four days the Slovak army under his command had ceased to be a servile force at the disposal of the Germans and become an army of liberation.

The Axis press told later how this blitz change was effected. General Catlos was careful to allow no one in his Ministry of National Defense whom he could not entirely trust. Very early he began to send Slovak nationalists to the front and to train the rest of the army in guerrilla warfare. He kept all material relating to this activity in files marked "confidential" and "secret." Not till August 29, the very day the German radio praised him for his remarkable organizational work, did he call his officers together and reveal his plans. On that day, at Banska Bystrica, he told them that the time had come to proclaim the new Czechoslovak republic and to join the partisans in the fight against the German invader.

The coup threw Slovak quislings into complete confusion. Dr. Tiso appointed his brother Prime Minister and announced that "renovation" of the army was under way. All soldiers still in Slovakia were disarmed until they could be investigated individually. Even the police and the Hlinka guards underwent reorganization. A report from a Czech source said that elements of the Hlinka guards in one town joined in hailing the republic. Never did a Trojan horse running wild among Trojan cavalry produce greater disorder. It was the master-stroke of a quisling against quislings.

Catlos's part in the whole affair is as mysterious as his present whereabouts. The Germans insist that he was a traitor from the start, cloaking his treachery behind anti-Communist speeches. Czechs here in New York say that his record is against him and that "it is extremely unlikely that he would be accepted by the people after his record of treason to the republic."

He disappeared on August 29, immediately after the momentous meeting with his officers, and nothing more has been heard of him. A German broadcast from Bratislava on September 7 spoke of the fate which awaited the traitors and said that Catlos, the "organizer of the putsch," had gone over to the "bandits" but had been arrested by them. This has not been confirmed from any other source.

One thing, however, is undisputed. Slovak patriots, strengthened immeasurably by the army officers and soldiers who went over to their side after Banska Bystrica, have scored a series of important successes against the Germans. Their contribution has real value now that the Red Army has crossed the frontiers of Czechoslovakia.

From the point of view of political warfare, the Slovak resistance has proved two things: first, that a government with a clean democratic record and a clear-cut democratic policy like Dr. Benes's can win the support of the people despite the most pernicious Axis propaganda—nowhere was nationalistic feeling more whipped up than in Slovakia; and, second, that if the people have truly revolutionary inclinations, they will revolt no matter how severe the repression. The Gestapo in Slovakia has been alert and brutal, but the Slovaks are waging their own war of liberation.

Watch the Labor Party!

THE British Labor Party will hold its annual conference in December, and until then there will be continuous discussion as to the policy the party should adopt. This is a question which affects not only the British but progressive elements everywhere, for the entire democratic future of Europe may be determined by the stand British Labor takes. It is the only force in Great Britain capable of opposing the reactionary tendencies of the English Tories.

Mr. Churchill may sound like the most agile Jacobin when he addresses Mr. Molotov, Ambassador Harriman, and Anthony Eden as "comrades" in Moscow, and when he speaks in laudatory terms of the "workers' and soldiers' councils." But his policy in Italy, Greece, and Spain would not have pleased the great man who now lies in Red Square, under the massive stone known as the Lenin tomb. Instead of hearing Mr. Churchill sing the "Internationale" in Moscow and perhaps a few bars of "Giovinezza" when he is in Rome with Prince Humbert and Badoglio, we should prefer to hear him repeat the sober measures of the Atlantic Charter, of which he is one of the eminent authors.

Only Labor can prevent Great Britain from becoming the champion of every reactionary cause in Europe, under its great war leader, whose prestige will have been greatly increased by victory. But to do this, Labor must first regain its political independence. When the final balance is taken, a tremendous inequality will be apparent between the service Labor rendered England and the war effort by entering the coalition government and the part Labor has been allowed to play in the formulation of British policy. At not a single international conference, from the first meeting in the Atlantic to the conversations in Quebec, has Mr. Churchill been accompanied by a Labor member of the Cabinet. The Prime Minister has always taken with him a large number of civil and military authorities, but never one of his Labor colleagues. And surely most of England's decisions in foreign affairs, so contrary to everything Labor represents, were taken without the participation of the Labor ministers, if not in total disregard of their opinion.

Now Labor has decided to enter the elections "as a party." Commenting on that decision, the London *Economist* writes, "Whatever may be the present intention of the Labor Ministers, this can only mean in practice that the party will leave the present coalition as soon as the general election impends." But as the London *Tribune* very pointedly remarked, "To disembrace yourself from the Tories is one thing. To plan their rout is another." There is still a strong right wing in the party which would prefer to continue in the coalition government. Only against its stubborn opposiion did the majority decide to fight in the elections as an independent party.

To become really strong, strong enough to win the election, the British Labor Party must develop what it has not had until now, either during the war or before the war—a clear political line and an aggressive leadership. The discussions preceding the December conference will indicate whether we can hope to see British Labor taking a decisive part in the struggle for a progressive Europe.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

NOW that the Reich has lost the occupied countries and has also been cut off from any communication with Spain, Portugal, and Turkey, it has achieved the goal about which it has raved for years—autarchy. For the first time Germany can now in truth rejoice in an autarchic economic system—and that with the battle lines and the enemy air forces right at its borders.

This column has previously called attention to the consequences of the forced autarchy with respect to coal, the basis of the whole German economy. After the loss of French, Dutch, Belgian, and Luxembourg coal, on which the German war machine had drawn heavily for years, the only source left was the Ruhr, where 80 per cent of Germany's production is located. But the bombings and the proximity of the front so disorganized production and especially transportation in the Ruhr region that a calamitous restriction of this last source of supply could be foreseen. This column declared that within a short time a killing coal famine was bound to develop, and now the signs of it are multiplying. Of course German newspapers scarcely ever print anything about the amount of coal available for industry. But the *Völkische Beobachter* of October 7 contains some extremely symptomatic references to the so-called "simplification measures"—a very discreet euphemism—now governing private consumption.

> An order prohibiting the sale of coal to theaters and vaudeville houses has been issued by coal headquarters. The coal formerly intended for these places has been diverted to other purposes. Every coal consumer will have to economize to the utmost. Local boards have fixed the dates when public buildings, restaurants, movie theaters, and the like can start their heat. Householders have been advised to start it as late as possible. All who can collect branches, stumps, or pine cones should do so. Waste lumber of any kind should be used to the greatest possible extent.

Coal is of course more important for Germany than any other commodity, since it is the raw material of all other fuels, including oil and electricity. But an ominous shortage threatens in a great many other indispensable products, especially iron, hardening alloys, and bauxite, from which aluminum is made. For all these things Germany has now lost its main sources of supply, and the situation of the Reich today is simply not comparable to that of the Reich six months ago. The Reich of today, with its finally achieved "autarchy," is doomed, whatever happens at the front. And it will not be long before its absolutely desperate situation becomes apparent. After our hope of a speedy end to the war was disappointed by the stiffening of German resistance, the mood here swung in an instant to the other extreme. People envisaged a long final struggle, dragging out mile after mile. I venture to assert that the terrible industrial strangulation which Germany is suddenly—and for the first time—experiencing will bring the catastrophe more quickly.

Reports from the front say that among the German soldiers recently taken prisoner are men with only one leg or one arm. A Swiss newspaper contains an item which may be regarded as relevant:

> A new method to instil "enthusiasm" has been introduced in the German army. It consists of an electric-shock treatment for soldiers who feel incapable of front service because of previous injuries. The treatment is continued until they finally beg to be sent back to their units. The procedure is this: the apparatus is attached to some part of the body, usually the leg or arm, and at short intervals the victim receives a shock of 250 volts. The German soldier calls this treatment being "ironed." No one who has experienced it will ever forget it. It is simply a form of torture by which wounded men are induced to return to the front. Many soldiers are said to prefer suicide to this agony.

The Swiss paper which printed this item was the *Arbeiter Zeitung* of Schaffhausen, a city on the German-Swiss border.

Official German propaganda continues to speak of secret weapons. Aside from some metaphysical chatter, this is the only reason it offers for expecting a change for the better. One can understand, then, the sensation caused (according to neutral reports) by an article in the *Bochumer National Zeitung* of September 30 which decried talk about the new weapons.

> Let us be honest: although we knew what was awaiting us in the summer of 1944, it has turned out even worse than we expected. Interest in the war is greater than ever; the "new weapons" especially are the center of all thoughts. Oil is constantly being poured on the fire by speakers and writers until one gets the impression that there are too many good intentions. That is why this shouting about "new weapons" should stop. It would be better to depend on the ancient, eternal dynamism of the German people, which has never failed. When a house is on fire, it is crazy to call loudly for a new kind of fire-extinguisher. The fire must be fought with the good old means still available. And the German house is indeed on fire. The German clock strikes twelve. In this crisis our only decisive weapon is the heroism of our lines. . . . Let us be pleasantly surprised by new weapons, but let us continue to fight at home and at the front with the old reliable ones. Let us not see our salvation in inert matter—in V-1, V-2, V-3, or any other secret weapon.

The sensationalism of this article is heightened by the fact that its author was the Gauleiter of Swabia, Karl Wahl. For one of the highest dignitaries of the regime to contradict important official statements so provocatively is an unprecedented anomaly. Why he did it and how he could do it is a mystery. But at any rate he must have some knowledge of what the secret weapons actually amount to.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

I ARRIVED IN NEW YORK twenty years ago in September. On my first day I set out to look for a job and found myself in almost empty streets. It was a Jewish holiday, but I had come from Utah by way of Montana and I had never heard of Jewish holidays. I had had a few Jewish friends, who were Gentiles to us Mormons (one of my present Jewish friends says he wants to go to Utah so he can have the curious experience of being regarded as a Gentile). I had even become aware that Jews had disabilities. They were barred from sororities at college. But the "good" national sororities didn't have chapters at the University of Utah in my day because Mormons were not allowed to join *their* exclusive ranks. I wasn't particularly conscious at the time of this perfect little study in prejudice reduced to the absurd, but I suspect it has had something to do with my immunity to race prejudice and my conviction that anyone who has it is to that extent stupid as well as cruel.

HENRY MILLER has just issued a new collection under the lovely and improbable title of "Sunday After the War" (New Directions, $3). I first made the acquaintance of Mr. Miller in "Tropic of Cancer," which was published in Paris and found its way here some years ago. It had terrific vitality and was very funny. It could not be published in this country and probably never can be because it is what is known as "pornographic" literature. I use quotation marks because the word has a pejorative sense. I can't think of an English word, incidentally, which describes that kind of writing without at the same time passing a moral judgment on it. If you say a book is frank about sex, for instance, the implication is that you think it's admirable. Surely the French must have a neutral word for this sort of thing, though I don't know what it is.

Miller came to this country several years ago and he has published several volumes here. The present one, which is a miscellany, is the first of these I've read. The best things in it, as far as I'm concerned, are Reunion in Brooklyn and a mad piece which is described as another fragment from "The Rosy Crucifixion," one of Miller's "works in progress." He's very good at titles—another of his works in progress is "The Air-Conditioned Nightmare." The two things I've mentioned have, up to a point, the flailing vitality and humor of "Tropic of Cancer," and I still get an irrational pleasure out of such sentences as "The black floral pieces are dripping with condensed milk," though by now they rank as period pieces, as dated as Dali.

When Miller goes "straight" and serious—and he does it pretty often in this book—he gets prosaic and wordy. I respect, but am not much moved by, his invocations to Greece; from his pieces on D. H. Lawrence I got only the sensation of having been out in a downpour of words; his lashing out at America is often funny and effective but just as often rather silly—he can get into a frenzy, in 1944, over the idiocy of mechanical refrigerators. As for his constant insistence on his status as an artist, it makes me feel that he protests too much. He indulges himself much as Sherwood Anderson did, by assuming that anything he writes is art because he is an artist and has written it. I doubt if he ever rewrites.

Mr. Miller is now by way of becoming the center of a circle in California—which is notoriously heavy-making. If he wants to preserve his figure he had better head back toward Paris, his natural habitat, where his veritable books can appear as they list.

SPEAKING OF PERIOD PIECES, I understand that dealers are getting rid of their Victorian items. They expect another boom in post-(another)war modern.

UP TO THE PRESENT, if a doctor wanted to become a psychoanalyst he got his training under the auspices of such organizations, authoritative but nevertheless private and voluntary, as the New York Pychoanalytic Society, which has its counterpart in other cities. Now a clinic for training and research in psychoanalysis has been established in the Department of Psychiatry at Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons. Qualified physicians will be admitted, after they have undergone an analysis, to a three-year course of resident graduate training in psychoanalysis and psychosomatic medicine. On fulfilling all the requirements, which are strict, they may register for the degree of Doctor of Medical Science.

This is interesting and important news, if only because it establishes psychoanalysis as a "respectable" medical technique. The new clinic will provide an opportunity for experimentation which has not been possible in private practice. It should put an end to exploitation of the technique by unqualified persons who could not hitherto be held to account. At present only doctors of medicine are allowed to practice analysis in this country, but even with this limitation there have been many abuses, and the patient has had no formal way of checking on the competence of analysts. This recognition of analysis as a legitimate technique should also break down the idea, which is still widely held, that resort to analysis is somehow disgraceful if not an indication of insanity. The time may even come, though I admit it is far distant, when analysis will be regarded as one of the processes of education.

SOME YEARS AGO the *New Yorker* viewed with humorous alarm the appearance of a funny paragraph in *The Nation* —or was it the *New Republic?* The comment contained a broad hint that liberal magazines should keep their place and leave the laughs to frivolous weeklies like the *New Yorker*. But it was not so long after that, as I recall, that a note of seriousness appeared in The Talk of the Town. There has always been an owl in the *New Yorker's* make-up, and last week the old bird stepped out and delivered a serious political harangue that filled the whole first page. He cited Tom Paine. He put forward a slogan: Federalists of the World Unite! And the whole thing was reprinted as an advertisement in the New York *Times,* obviously in an effort to influence public opinion. The first thing we know the *New Yorker* will be holding week-end conferences on the issues before the electorate; it will be up to *The Nation* to point out in the unfrivolous weeks ahead that there's a clothing store on Printing House Square named Wolf's, and a Bliss Exterminator Company in West Fifty-fourth Street.

The German Question

THE CONTROL OF GERMANY AND JAPAN. By Harold G. Moulton and Louis Marlio. Brookings Institution. $2.

OUR SETTLEMENT WITH GERMANY. By H. N. Brailsford. The John Day Company. $1.75.

THE PROBLEM OF GERMANY. An Interim Report by a Chatham House Study Group. Oxford University Press. 85 cents.

THE temper of revenge is still rising in all the Allied nations as the news of Nazi frightfulness continues to complete the picture of the worst terror which mankind has faced since the Assyrians devastated Mesopotamia. This temper is understandable enough. It is, in fact, at least partly informed by a sense of justice. Men feel that the moral sense of mankind must be vindicated against this evil; furthermore they would like some guaranty against its recurrence, and the most obvious, though hardly the most efficacious, deterrent is simply to render the foe impotent.

The three books which have just appeared on the problem of the treatment of the foe are so judicious and prudent in their consideration of the various alternatives confronting us, and they explode so many emotional solutions of the problem, solutions which the Vansittarts and Rex Stouts of our day present as the ultimate political wisdom, that one could wish a wider distribution for them than they are likely to have. Moulton's and Marlio's "The Control of Germany and Japan" is primarily a careful analysis of the effectiveness of various types of control—economic, political, and military. Brailsford's discussion ranges over the whole issue of the future of Germany in the family of nations. It distils the same kind of dispassionate wisdom which made Brailsford one of the most trusted guides of the liberal world in the past generation. "The Problem of Germany," which Chatham House presents anonymously, deals with the problem primarily from the standpoint of British policy.

There is substantial agreement in the three treatises on quite a few points. All of them recognize that punishment as such, however justified by reaction to the German evil, solves no problem. The evil which the Germans have done could not be adequately punished without starting a whole new chain of evil. "It is irrelevant," declares Brailsford, "to ask what punishment the Germans deserve in requital for the hell they have let loose on earth. . . . What we have to plan is the welfare of all the peoples concerned and not an anticipation of the Last Judgment." The Chatham House report makes the important point that the complete moral, political, and economic breakdown of Germany after defeat is a more rigorous punishment than any which can be devised. "If," it declares, "the headache which follows Germany's prodigious debauch is not remembered, its artificial prolongation will not avail."

Brailsford has the greatest degree of faith in the democratic forces of Germany as the final instrument of reformation in Germany. Moulton is not concerned with this problem, and Chatham House makes a careful inventory of all the perils and possibilities of German politics. All of them recognize that the height and depth of evil achieved

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DUELL, SLOAN AND PEARCE

A POST-WAR PROGRAM FOR JEWS

The following letter to Secretary of State Cordell Hull was made public October 19, by Lessing J. Rosenwald, President of the American Council for Judaism, Inc.

The Council, a nation-wide organization of Americans of Jewish faith, has as its program the acquisition of a status of equality for Jews all over the world.

The Honorable Cordell Hull,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I respectfully submit the following in behalf of the American Council for Judaism, Inc., of which I have the honor to be President:

We are deeply impressed by the fact that our Government is demonstrating its concern with basic human problems, the solution of which will be essential to the maintenance of peace and the attainment of security upon which the hopes of the world are based. We are heartened by the conferences on relief, education and international cooperation. We are especially grateful that our Government is actively engaged in alleviating the plight of persecuted and under-privileged people everywhere; recognizing that when persecution and injustice are permitted to endure, they leave the world scarred with hatred, miseries, wars and devastation.

As American citizens of the Jewish faith, we present herewith our views on one aspect of these problems—the situation confronting our co-religionists abroad.

The official history of the Nazi accession to power in Germany began with a long series of odious acts of discrimination, persecution and violence against Jews. These acts mounted in ferocity until they attained the indescribable horrors of extermination camps. I shall not here recapitulate the full chronicle of this infamy. The tragic facts are fully known to you.

A sober regard for a world free from fear and from the persecutions which breed hatred and war, have, no doubt, persuaded you that the fullest consideration must be given for the restitution, restoration and future security of all the victims. You have, yourself, proclaimed the high standard that we must have a world in which Jews like all men are free to abide in peace and in honor. In an effort to realize that goal, we submit the following as the cardinal consideration:

Jews living in all parts of the world as members of a religious faith are entitled, as of right and not on sufferance, to full equality all over the world.

We, therefore, ask this—and only this—for our fellow Jews: equality of rights and obligations with their fellow-nationals. This means equality in the countries in which Jews live and choose to remain; equality to return to those lands from which Jews have been forcibly driven; equality to migrate wherever there is an opportunity for migration. We urge this as the cardinal concept by which post-war plans affecting Jews must be measured. We trust that the United States of America, in accordance with its traditions, and in its own enlightened self-interest will exert its fullest influence for the universal acceptance of this concept of full equality of rights and obligations.

Jews were singled out as the first victims of Axis aggression and have, therefore, suffered longer than others. Precisely because this is true, their future, if it is to be more hopeful than their past, must not be built upon policies that continue to segregate them for any treatment departing from the principle of full equality.

Fundamentally, the solution to the problems of Jews, a religious and not a national group, rests on recognition of the inalienable rights of the individual. Once that concept of human freedom is unqualifiedly accepted, Jews will require no special measure.

Accordingly, we look confidently to our Government to aid in the restoration to, or if need be, acquisition by, Jews of equality of religious, civic and political rights inherent in full citizenship. Restitution shall be provided with equality for all citizens, based upon the degree of injury suffered.

We also look to our Government for assurances that in all programs for resettlement, repatriation, reconstruction and migration, it will steadfastly call for adherence to the principle of equality of all nationals regardless of race or creed.

Millions of all faiths have been uprooted by this war and may need or desire to find new homes. In their be-

(*Continued on next page*)

half we urge the maximum simplification of migration policies and procedures; economic aid to migrants; and the extension of generous support to all potential centers for larger post-war immigration in those territories holding forth promises of development in the near future.

We urge our Government to use its good offices to guarantee that in those potential centers of immigration not now having the status of a sovereign nation:

1. Immigration shall not be limited by racial or religious qualifications but shall be determined by the expanding economic capacity and political stability of these territories.

2. The institutions of self-government shall be speedily established as soon as populations demonstrate a capacity for self-government—and by no other standard.

One such territory is Palestine. The adoption of these principles would mean abolition of the British White Paper of 1939 and its unjust discrimination against Jews.

We urge the adoption of the following principles in a clear declaration of policy on Palestine that would take the place of all previous documents and commitments which have been variously interpreted, and which have led to confusion among our co-religionists and others. Such a policy should, we urge, stress the special character of Palestine as part of the religious heritage of Judaism, Christianity and Islam and make adequate provision for the maintenance of the holy places under international control. It should aid immigration consistent with the fullest possible economic development and political well-being of the country without special limitations or privileges. It should lead to the earliest possible acquisition of self-government, in which all fulfilling the requirements of citizenship shall be free to participate.

We oppose the establishment of Palestine or any locality as a Jewish State or Commonwealth. We regard as fundamentally undemocratic the procedures involved in such an establishment, such as a preferred status in immigration to those of one religious faith and an arbitrary and indefinite postponement of self-government.

Such proposals will, we believe, embroil Jews now in Palestine in continuing civil strife and place in jeopardy the equality of status of Jews everywhere who are integrated in their respective homelands and do not wish to be party to a Jewish State or Commonwealth. Our emphasis, therefore, is on the attainment of the status for Jews of full equality for citizenship—its rights and its responsibilities.

We are, of course, aware that stipulations of equality are not, in and of themselves, adequate to prevent serious discrimination and the engendering of fear and insecurity. We therefore urge their implementation by the establishment of appropriate international machinery, to which those deprived of such rights may turn and obtain redress.

Finally, we commend for the earnest consideration of our Government the adoption of a policy to implement the principles set forth above; a policy whereby the United States of America, when it is contemplating the extension of assistance to a country, will consider, as one of the major factors, that the country under consideration accepts the concept of equality of all its nationals without regard to race or creed. Such a condition to the extension of American aid, either alone or in concert with others of the United Nations, would be an effective, practical demonstration of our determination to foster the principles of democracy in the post-war world.

The foregoing is submitted to you, Mr. Secretary, in the earnest belief that every effort toward the elimination of persecution and discrimination is a contribution to world peace and is, therefore, in harmony with our fundamental national interest.

I should be very happy to put myself and this organization at your disposal for any services that we may be able to render.

Very respectfully yours,

LESSING J. ROSENWALD

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM, Inc.

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in Nazism was partly the consequence of compounding the more obvious evil of Nazi nihilism with the older evil of a predatory militarism, deeply rooted in Prussian history and borne by the aristocratic class. When we add the general ineptness of Germans in the field of politics it is perhaps justifiable to take a sober view of the German future and not to expect too much in the way of emergence of a full-blown democratic government. Democracy requires a margin of stability and well-being which the Germans will lack for a long time to come. None of these studies subscribe to the obscurantist view, now assiduously propagated, that we have to deal with a totally depraved nation. The problem of Germany remains a vexatious one, however, even when this is recognized.

There is considerable agreement on the question of the dismemberment of Germany as a method of insuring its future impotence. Moulton makes a careful analysis of various dismemberment plans and comes to the conclusion that economic as well as political dismemberment would not only wreck the Germany economy but adversely affect the economic health of the whole of Europe. Political, without economic, dismemberment, on the other hand, would be unavailing as it would not destroy the war potential. Brailsford declares: "Germany could be kept dismembered only if the other powers remained vigilant, united, and ready for action. On that assumption, however, dismemberment is unnecessary." Chatham House gives a very qualified approval to a plan for federalizing Germany, after reviewing the abortive separatist policies after the last war.

All the studies oppose a general deindustrialization of Germany. All of them point out how important the German economy is for the whole of Europe and how this form of punishment would spread economic chaos. Moulton and Marlio make the most careful analysis of various types of industrial control over Germany, including the internationalization of the Ruhr, control of raw materials, key industries, aviation, electric power, etc. They dismiss some forms of control as completely impractical and accept others as offering moderate prospects of success. The various analyses prove how difficult it is to destroy military potential under modern conditions, when industrial potential is the most important military potential, as our own American experience has abundantly proved.

All the studies come to the conclusion that the organization of the world, and of the European and Asiatic continents, is a prerequisite for a solution of the problem of the enemy and vanquished nations. Brailsford tends to picture an ideal solution of the international problem, in the achievement of which he himself does not have too much confidence. Despite their varying viewpoints, the studies agree in placing the emphasis where it belongs. Without an adequate unity among the victorious powers measures against the enemy nations will either not be carried out—as, for instance, disarmament—or they will contribute to the anarchy of the world—as, for instance, dismemberment. Even if an over-all solution of the international problem is achieved, the question of the vanquished nations is a perplexing one; but it is important to recognize it as the secondary and not the primary problem.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

BRIEFER COMMENT

The "Exposed Surface"

NOT MANY BRITISH TRAVELERS, writing about this country, have been so friendly as D. W. Brogan is in his new book, "The American Character" (Knopf, $2.50); and probably almost none have known both the past and the present life of the United States so well as he. This makes for an extremely disarming treatment of our national character, and the fact is that Mr. Brogan is not only an agreeable and well-informed observer but, at many points, a very astute one. On such matters as public education in this country Mr. Brogan delivers himself of some of the most sensible judgments this reviewer has encountered—from Europeans or, indeed, Americans. His book, however, was intended for a British audience, and though naturally we too may learn things from it, an American reviewer is bound to remark that Mr. Brogan's liberal-minded, even-handed friendliness has blinded him to some of the darker and also, curiously enough, to some of the higher manifestations of human life in this country. A few of the ugly and destructive forces abroad in the United States, in the past and today, Mr. Brogan does indeed glance at, but his total picture makes much too light of them. At the other pole, he is too determined, like most Europeans, to see only what Van Wyck Brooks once called the "exposed surface" of our life—the practicality, the cult of success, the easy cheerfulness, the folksiness—to have much time left for the other and possibly more interesting side—the deep-seated personal tensions, the rooted sense of guilt, the fears and the failures, the quixotry and the stubborn idealisms, the devotion to faint hopes and to lost causes, that have been quite as characteristically, though less obviously, American. Benjamin Franklin, not Jonathan Edwards, is still the European stereotype—accepted by too many of us also—for our national ethos. N. A.

Geddes, Challenger

IF YOU must label a man, Patrick Geddes was a biologist—a student of Huxley, a pioneer in sexology, co-author with J. A. Thomson of a great book, "Life." Even as a scientist, his career was unconventional: no degree; his one steady position a summer job endowed by a friend. "P. G. Unlimited" roamed far beyond botany, his official subject. He founded students' hostels, cleared slums, established "Outlook Towers" which were museums and laboratories of regional surveys, was active in India as city planner and sociologist; he died at Montpellier, where he had created a Collège des Ecossais, for this Scot of the Scots found his spiritual home in France.

Proteus is a scandal to the specialist. Best defined as a sociologist, a disciple of Comte and Le Play, with a dash of Carlyle, Ruskin, and Morris. In all things a biologist: city, region, culture were to him organic entities.

Philip Boardman's book, "Patrick Geddes: Maker of the Future" (University of North Carolina, $5), is thorough and delightful. The author knew Geddes, and gives us a living portrait: shaggy, explosive, magnetic, voluble, unex-

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE period in the twenties when the talk was of jazz as the proper material for American symphonic music and of Gershwin as its proper composer was recalled to me not only by Koussevitzky's references to Gershwin in his *Life* article but by Toscanini's broadcast of the Piano Concerto with Oscar Levant last spring—the first performance I had heard since a Stadium performan

Films

JAMES AGEE

TO ANYONE who has noticed, except with relief, the recent absence of this column, I want to apologize. I am sorry, too, that it will take me a couple of weeks to catch up. There ought to be some special tense for this warmed-over sort of reviewing; I can think, instead, only of a rough emotional equivalent: how much I wish I could have made a screen biography of Thomas E. Dewey, with Raymond Walburn in the title role.

Well, let me, like the Young Pretender, seize opportunity by the crupper. Of the movies I have seen lately the one I liked best was "To Have and Have Not." It has so little to do with Ernest Hemingway's novel that I see no point in discussing its "faithfulness"; it is, rather, a sort of call-house version of "Going My Way." It is not, I scuttle to explain, an upstairs story about priests. But like the better film it gets along on a mere thin excuse for a story, takes its time without trying to brag about its budget or to reel up footage for footage's sake, is an unusually happy exhibition of teamwork, and concentrates on character and atmosphere rather than plot. The best of the picture has no plot at all, but is a leisurely series of mating duels between Humphrey Bogart at his most proficient and the very entertaining, nervy, adolescent new blonde, Lauren Bacall. Whether or not you like the film will depend I believe almost entirely on whether you like Miss Bacall. I am no judge. I can hardly look at her, much less listen to her—she has a voice like a chorus by Kid Ory—without getting caught in a dilemma between a low whistle and a belly laugh. It has been years since I have seen such amusing pseudo-toughness on the screen. About

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8 BOOKLETS BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

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all that Howard Hawkes and his writers (William Faulkner and Jules Furthman) and Bogart try to do is to set this arrogant neophyte off to the best possible advantage, to cover up her weaknesses—or turn them into assets—and to toss campstools under her whenever she wobbles. This in itself is a pleasure to watch; so is the way she rewards them; still more, I enjoyed watching something that obviously involved relaxed, improvising fun for those who worked on it, instead of the customary tight-lipped and hammer-hearted professional anxiety. I also enjoyed Hoagy Carmichael and his tunes, and the picture's general romantic, kidding appreciation of honkytonk. The best of it had for me at least a little of the nostalgia of highballs that taste like rotten mahogany, defective mechanical pianos at implacable fortissimo, or gents-rooms strangled with the fragrance of mentholated raspberries. This sort of slumgullion is, I must grant, fully as specious as stuff like "The White Cliffs of Dover" and perhaps even more reprehensible, since—I flatter myself—it seduces a better class of people. I still have a weakness for it, and cannot recommend "To Have and Have Not" to anyone who hasn't.

For "Thunder Rock," a much more high-minded movie, I can't say as much. It is well produced and on the whole very well acted, especially by Barbara Mullen; there were moments when it really moved me; and it is not only on the side of the angels but sometimes takes their side with passion and some eloquence. But angels bore me at least as much as anyone else when they ar-

TER COMMENT

d Surface"

ITISH TRAVELERS, writing about this
so friendly as D. W. Brogan is in his
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such matters as public education in this
this sort of intrepid [illegible]

not only shaming but frightening. Such self-congratulatory, horribly late approval anaesthetizes us against an awareness of matters which, ten years from now, will become the material for bold, bitter, instructive pieces of sure-fire hindsight like "Thunder Rock."

"San Diego I Love You" is a coarse-weft, easygoing little farce about an inventor (Edward Everett Horton), his daughter (Louise Albritton), a girl-shy financier (Jon Hall), and some pleasant comics (notably Buster Keaton). I can't exactly recommend it, but if you see it by accident it will cause no particular pain. "Bride by Mistake" is more nearly a comedy of manners, I suppose (the heiress who wants to be sure she is loved for herself alone, etc.); its lines and characters are often almost human, and I thought that Laraine Day, whom I have not seen play comedy before, was attractive both in person and performance. I would like to see what Ernst Lubitsch could do for her. I rather liked "1812," a Russian film, when I saw it. Thinking it over, it reduces to a few flamboyant military shots, a lot of Moscow-Arty close-ups, and a good deal too much smell of studio. "Tall in the Saddle" is a medium-silly Western, done, however, as if those who made it knew that, and were getting and giving what mild pleasure they could out of the knowledge. "Dangerous Journey," an Armand Denis travel film, offers a script so inexpressibly smug and jeering that even a caption writer for the *National Geographic* would choke over it; one terrifying sequence in which a Burmese priestess and a king cobra carry on a dancelike dialogue about fertility; a scattering of other interesting shots, some of them lifted from "Dark Rapture" and most of them lamely put together; and a very gratifying one in which some sixty savage canoeists, paddling like mad, founder themselves, their craft, and Mr. Denis.

Christmas Books

Early Christmas buying is perhaps more important in the book trade this year than in any other branch of the merchandising field, because publishers *know* it will be impossible to fill late orders.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE period in the twenties when the talk was of jazz as the proper material for American symphonic music and of Gershwin as its proper composer was recalled to me not only by Koussevitzky's references to Gershwin in his *Life* article but by Toscanini's broadcast of the Piano Concerto with Oscar Levant last spring—the first performance I had heard since a Stadium performance with Gershwin himself around 1927. I heard Gershwin's performance of the work a half-dozen times in all—enough to fix its general characteristics of deftness, lightness, and precision in my mind. And having for years heard of Levant as the authoritative performer of Gershwin I was completely unprepared for the heaviness and crudeness and lack of precision in his treatment of both instrument and music. The orchestral part, however, was superb.

Then there was Toscanini's broadcast of Respighi's "Pines of Rome," with its phenomenal concluding crescendo that carried my mind back nineteen years to his memorable first concert with the New York Philharmonic at which I had first heard it. And thinking back further I realized that thirty years had passed since the very first performance I had heard conducted by Toscanini—"Madama Butterfly" with Farrar, in January, 1914. It would be gratifying to recall that at the age of thirteen I knew enough to hear every subsequent performance of his that I could get to; actually it was Farrar's performances that I went to; and all I heard Toscanini do before he left the Metropolitan a year later was a few performances of Giordano's "Mme. Sans-Gêne" in which she sang. Great works, great singers, a great conductor, historic performances—all these were available to me each week; but I went to hear Farrar in Puccini or Giordano or worse.

I did, of course, hear the other singers—either when they appeared with her, or when they appeared at the Sunday concerts which I attended in order to hear Carreño or Busoni or Casals or Hofmann or Kreisler play a concerto and a group of solos. It was at such concerts that I heard Frieda Hempel sing *Ernani, Ernani, involami* and "Voce di primavera" and other things of the sort; and again it would be gratifying to recall that I was as smart as some of the youngsters nowadays are about such matters, and never missed a chance to hear her. Actually, however, I took her only as another singer with a beautiful voice, and only whenever she happened to come along—in a few Sunday concerts, in a "Marriage of Figaro" with Farrar as the Cherubino, Matzenauer as the Countess, De Luca as the Figaro; in a New York Symphony Mozart program; on one of the records which my family acquired with its first phonograph. That was around 1922; and it was in 1934 that, happening to play over this old record of *Deh vieni, non tardar* from "Figaro," I was overwhelmed by the voice, the musicianship, the style I had not appreciated before. A couple of years later I was similarly impressed by some recorded performances of hers that were broadcast by WQXR, especially by the one of *Der Hölle Rache* from "The Magic Flute"; and I acquired her HMV record of *Caro nome* from "Rigoletto" and *Sempre libera* from "La Traviata," which caused me to marvel at the life and character which this music acquired from her brilliance of voice and style. But the climax came last year, when someone played an old and battered Victor record of her performance of an aria from "Les Huguenots," and I heard the supreme example of vocal art of my entire experience. One hears always about Sembrich, Melba, Tetrazzini, never about Hempel; they were, as records testify, extraordinary singers, but she was, I am convinced, the greatest artist of them all.

I wish that when conditions permit Victor would bring out a volume of her recordings. This is the kind of thing a record company is justified in doing only on an advance subscription basis; and I'm ready to put my money down right now.

Edwin Denby has said illuminating things about the poor quality of the Ballet Theater's performances of classic works this season. The trouble, he imagined, came from the change of classic ballerinas. "For a ballerina is not only a super-acrobat with extra publicity. She is also an artist whose performance shows you the heart of a ballet. She sets the tone; the other dancers can add to it but cannot go counter to it; and so her quality is of crucial importance to them. Indeed, company, ballerina, and chief choreographer need to have a sort of affinity, an unconscious confidence in one another if they are to become com-

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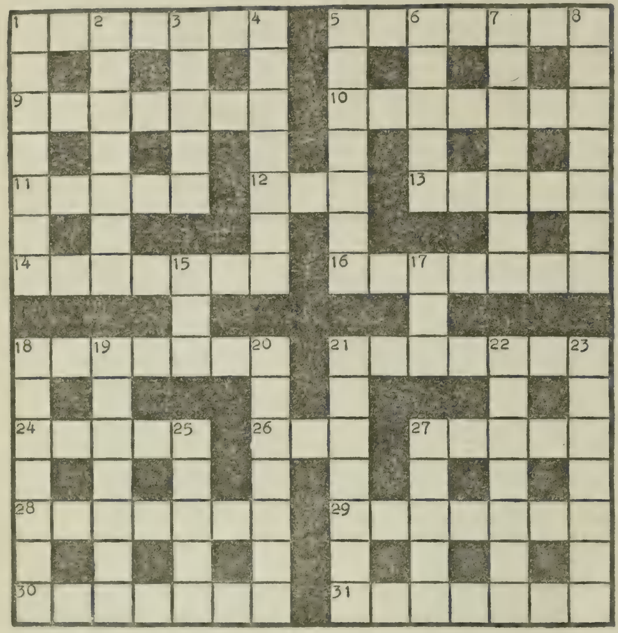
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 88

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 The man who buys this gets a rum for his money
5 A waste place
9 Conceited as a hold-up man's victim (hyphen, 5-2)
10 They cut graceful figures on the ice
11 A drug from a fish
12 The villain laughs
13 "Then up spake Peter, one old salt, Salt Peter, bold and true"?
14 A couple of lines making complete sense
16 Not a horse race, though most ran in it
18 Depressing if wet
21 Name that's often first in America, but last in England
24 Can you fathom it?
26 As - - - as a day in June (!)
27 Objection
28 Gets together
29 Lapsed, or relapsed, perhaps
30 Hurried to be seated after tea
31 Old Rose changes her nationality

DOWN

1 But for its head, this bird might be hot stuff
2 You will need these even for a soupcon
3 Toothed tools
4 Try one member apiece
5 In the days of sail, to do this was equivalent to scoring a hit in the engine-room
6 It strikes the visitor as being an African rather than a European country
7 We live in thoughts, not in these, wrote the poet
8 Tom runs for the medicine
15 The same
17 Somerset Maugham wrote of cakes and this
18 Abed most of the night
19 Unfortunate heroine of Fletcher and Beaumont's *The Maid's Tragedy*
20 What the renegade does to his coat? (two words, 5 and 2)
21 It drops its eggs into other birds' nests
22 Good knight—Simon!
23 Rose red screen in a church
25 Caught when laid by them
27 Monasticism was not a healthy sign in him

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 87

ACROSS:—1 ALBUM; 4 QUASIMODO; [illegible] PANURGE; 10 REGROUP; 11 REST; 12 LIGHT; 13 ROAN; 16 TENDERS; 17 MELISSA; 19 SILICON; 22 BRAISED; 24 RING; 25 TRUTH; 26 JUNO; 29 MOORISH; 30 MOORAGE; 31 TENTACLES; 32 HYENA.

DOWN:—1 ASPIRATES; [illegible] BENISON; [illegible] MORE; 4 QUERIES; [illegible] ABRAHAM; 6 INGE; 7 ODOROUS; 8 ORPEN; 14 PEACH; 15 ALLAH; 18 ANDROMEDA; 20 LINCOLN; 21 NARWHAL; 22 BETIMES; 23 SOUTANE; 24 REMIT; 27 AIDA; 28 MOTH.

pletely effective. The mutual adjustment comes by working together and there is no way of forcing it." The Ballet Theater achieved such an adjustment with Markova; it has not yet achieved it with Toumanova; and for a company accustomed to the lyricism and serenity of Markova this has been made especially difficult by what Toumanova has brought to the same roles. "Miss Toumanova," wrote Denby after her performance in "Giselle," "with her large, handsome, and deadly face, her sword-like toesteps, her firm positions, her vigorous and record-high leg gestures—and with her bold and large style of dancing—by nature makes a very different figure from delicate Miss Markova." The classic performances I have seen have been bad, then, because of the frightful hamming that Toumanova has learned to do in her two years away from ballet, and because of the effect of this hamming on the company. And also its effect on the music: the outrageous distortion of musical phrase that it produced in the second act of "Giselle."

But there is hamming also in the modern works. The chief offender is Kriza, who hurls his chest at the audience on every beat of his drum-solo in "Graduation Ball," and whose similar violent distortion of what Robbins used to do as the Youth in "Three Virgins and a Devil" completes the ruin of that piece in performances nowadays.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

PHILIP MURRAY, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, rose through the ranks of the United Mine Workers. During the last war he was a member of the National Bituminous Coal Production Commission; in 1935 he was a member of the National Industrial Recovery Board and the NRA Advisory Council. He is a registered Republican.

MARIO BELLINI is the pseudonym of a former member of the Italian underground now in the United States.

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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F. D. R. Is In

THE Roosevelt victory was no surprise. In spite of Republican claims—Mr. Brownell in his final official statement predicted Dewey's election by a "tidal sweep"—all independent tests showed the rapid crystallizing of Roosevelt sentiment during the past few weeks. Our own Campaign Roundup on October 21 reflected this unmistakable trend. The "pivotal states" so dear to the hearts of the poll takers appear mostly to have decided for the President. As we go to press there are a good many indications of an Electoral College landslide.

But if the President's reelection was expected it was no less welcome. It ended a fight the outcome of which was so important that anxiety persisted in the face of all reassuring signs. The country clearly sensed the ominous significance of the choice before it. This was no ordinary election; a world was at stake. The *Nation* has been severely impartial in judging Mr. Roosevelt and the Democratic Party, as our readers will agree; we have disagreed with and criticized both on many major issues. But we say with the assurance this record gives us, that the defeat of the President would have been an international calamity in this particular year. We felt reasonably confident it would not happen but none the less, realizing the many unpredictable elements in the campaign, we greeted the result with a sense of profound relief.

Perhaps this relief arose partly from an exercise we forced ourselves to undertake during the last week before election. As a form of campaign discipline we reread the *Nation* editorials during the Harding fight in 1920. The thing that struck us was not the extreme isolationism of the prophet of normalcy. Quite the contrary. It was rather his hearty, if vague, support of the idea of international cooperation. Though his election doomed the League, and killed Woodrow Wilson, his campaign was fought on the assumption that some sort of organization was needed and would, as a matter of course, be effected by a Republican administration. Then, as now, the emotional—which means political—demand for assurance that the country would not have to face a new world war was too strong to be ignored or denied by the Republican candidate.

Harding was elected; and there was no international cooperation; and there was another world war. But Thomas E. Dewey has been defeated and so we need not speculate on either the sincerity of his promises or the willingness of his party to allow him to keep them. We need only see to it that Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose sincerity about international cooperation is beyond any doubt, is not prevented from finishing the great job he has dedicated himself to for the past four years. We believe he will finish it. His victory, won in large measure on the issue of world organization, will give him immense strength. He has received the people's mandate in such unmistakable terms that even the most recalcitrant isolationist will hesitate to challenge it. The election returns have announced to the world that 1944 is not 1920.

The feeling of relief is not limited to the United States. It is a significant fact, as American correspondents abroad have reported, that the other nations awaited the election results with as anxious anticipation as we did. And the peoples of the democracies greeted them with the same intense satisfaction. Only the enemy countries and their fascist supporters hoped for the election of Mr. Dewey; and this was not because he endorsed their cause or their ideas of government—certainly he did not—but because he had arrayed behind him, and had never repudiated or rebuked, the most extreme isolationist and reactionary elements in his party. It was Mr. Dewey's misfortune—but it was also his fault—that he was backed by the Hearst-Patterson-McCormick axis. For this reason he was the candidate inevitably favored by our enemies. For this reason the democratic peoples of the world, whether they live under democratic regimes or dictatorships, cast their uncounted votes for F. D. R. There is little doubt that Mr. Dewey's election would have prolonged the war; whether justifiably or not it would have created the hope among our enemies that stiff resistance would result in easier terms, perhaps in a negotiated peace, the fear among our allies that victory would not mean security.

This danger has been averted. So has the great concern in other countries lest the present Administration's rather timid approaches toward international economic cooperation be abandoned altogether. The recovery of the world—and our own successful change-over to peacetime production—depends on the progressive leveling of trade barriers, the establishment of international agreements to mitigate the ferocity of national competition, the encouragement of industrial development in backward regions. Nothing in either the Republican record or its present program offered the smallest promise of such a policy. While the efforts initiated by

Roosevelt and Hull will have to be greatly stepped up if they are to avert the economic crises that lurk beyond the ending of the war contracts, at least they look in the right direction.

But the chief benefit of Dewey's defeat will be felt here at home. In terms of policy we can now expect the generous concern with human welfare that was demonstrated in the bad days after 1932. In view of the size and infinite complexity of the difficulties the end of the war will bring, we must be thankful to have as President a man who has piloted the country through one depression and whose social philosophy is liberal if not either radical or bold. The interesting preview of Mr. Roosevelt's probable policy during the period of readjustment already beginning, presented by I. F. Stone in this issue, offers reason for at least restrained optimism.

But at this moment of victory the negative reasons for rejoicing seem larger than the positive ones. With the impression of the campaign still hanging over us, our strongest feeling is one of joy at the nation's vigorous repudiation of the doctrine of fear and hate on which Governor Dewey based his campaign. The people of the United States have said that they do not believe the reelection of the President means control by Communists or the dictatorship of one faction of organized labor. They have said that they are not to be stampeded by an appeal to anti-Jewish or anti-alien prejudice. The arguments to which Dewey descended in his frantic scramble for votes during the last weeks of the fight have been refuted at the polls, and the air of this country is clearer as a result.

This, too, is a cause for relief. It was a disgrace that such arguments should have been employed at all in a national campaign in America. If Dewey had been elected, for whatever combination of reasons, the issue of race and class bigotry would have darkened his Administration and the mood of the country as a whole.

By the same token the magnificent effort of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee and the other independent groups fighting for Roosevelt and a progressive program has been overwhelmingly justified. This result may be of historic importance in American politics. Labor, in particular, has shown what it can do when it organizes for political action. No one can imagine after this campaign that it will crawl back into "pure and simple" unionism. It is a political force and will continue to be. That it will "take over the Democratic Party" as the Republicans have loudly asserted is unlikely. That it has achieved a position of immense strategic advantage is certain.

The political situation is so fluid that different combinations and alignments are possible during the next four years. But it is not too early to say that the old machines in both parties have proved inadequate to the challenge of the election; their prestige was never so low. In both parties the machines still hold power, but their failure to use it effectively surely marks the beginning of their decline. As the result of Roosevelt's victory we predict great changes. And we greet this prospect too with satisfaction and relief.

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IMPORTANT NOTICE

The war is taxing the nation's transportation facilities to the limit, and with the oncoming Christmas rush there undoubtedly will be increased delays in the delivery of your copy of *The Nation.* We regret this inconvenience to you, but it is a matter entirely beyond our control. Delays are caused by conditions arising after the issue has been cleared at the New York Post Office.

This week please take into consideration the fact that in order to report the final election results *The Nation* had to go to press Tuesday midnight instead of Monday afternoon.

The Shape of Things

THE RECORD-SMASHING VOTE OF 1944 WHICH IS being tabulated as this issue goes to press proves beyond a shadow of doubt that democracy in America is a going concern. The total which looks as if it will surpass that of 1940 is all the more extraordinary because of the 11 million men and women in the armed services, many of whom found it exceedingly difficult to secure a ballot on account of state voting requirements. It is also surprising because of the millions of workers and their families who moved from their original homes to war production centers. But it is the vote of the industrial workers which bears the closest study. Heretofore, the American worker has not given a good account of himself at the polls; the voting percentage in this group has been the lowest of any group in the country. Now as we study the figures before us from New England, from Detroit, Philadelphia, Cleveland and a dozen other war industry cities it is quite evident that the industrial worker has accepted a new responsibility in choosing the leaders of his nation. This is partly due to the challenge of the wartime election in which he feels a special concern. It is more particularly due to the advent of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee. The vicious attack concentrated against P. A. C. by the Republican leaders was a tribute to its effectiveness. Long after the scaremongering attempts to discredit the Political Action Committee and the libelous attacks on its leaders are forgotten, the student of American history will record that in the campaign of 1944 it brought a new vitality into American democracy.

*

THE NEW AMERICAN POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS became more clearly defined as the campaign progressed. The bitter struggles which have marked the last years of the 78th Congress found their larger counterpart in the struggle in the nation as a whole. The temporarily closed party breaches failed to conceal the basic cleavage between those who stood doggedly for the preservation of deeply-lodged interests—economic and nationalistic—and those who, with greater daring, affirmed the ascendancy of the national well-being and of a world order constituted to maintain the peace and extend democracy to the peoples of all lands. The traditional Democratic-Republican political division fails to express this basic difference. While the old-guard isolationists favor the Republicans in domestic matters both parties harbor reactionaries of all stripes. It is this fact that makes the emergence of the P. A. C. and its campaign allies—the Liberal Party, the National Citizens Committee, and the various independent groups which supported the President—so significant. These may well be the core of a dynamic popular movement that in the years to come will change our political pattern. It is quite evident that the American people are determined not to repeat the tragedy of 1920 or the resultant tragedy of the Great Depression. The 1944 election gives the world good cause for hope that an invigorated American democracy will give leadership to all free peoples in the post-war world.

NEXT TO THE REELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, we count the return of Senator Wagner the best single result of the vote on November 7. First, because in terms of character and service no man in the Senate deserves better of his constituents; second, because the candidate who opposed him fought him on the dishonest issue of communism and did his best to turn the Catholic vote against the Senator; third, because we shall need Wagner's point of view and particular qualifications more than ever in the coming years. Among all the members of the Senate no one has been more consistent in his support of collective security and a democratic foreign policy. This is particularly important in view of the almost certain return of several of the most intransigent Senate isolationists. Moreover, the domestic issues on which he has fought so gallantly—social security, the rights of labor, opposition to monopoly, the intelligent planning of our industrial life—these will be the major issues we must deal with when the war is over. The reelection of Senator Wagner is significant in its own right but it is also significant as a symbol. It means that the New Deal is not dead, either in the Senate or in the hearts of the voters.

*

BUT PERHAPS EVEN MORE INSPIRING SYMBOLISM is to be found in the defeat of Hamilton Fish. After all these years in which we have suffered under Fish isolationism, Fish reaction, Fish stupidity, the disappearance of this incubus seems almost too good to be true. The congressman from Dutchess County can now exercise his Junker instincts on his ancestral acres. His defeat is the result of a valiant nonpartisan campaign which is greatly to the credit of the men and women who conducted it and the successful candidate, Augustus W. Bennet.

*

THE RECALL OF GENERAL STILWELL HAS HAD the effect of bringing out into the open a lot of facts about present-day conditions in China that badly needed airing. Nothing was gained by pretending that all was sweetness and light in our relations with Chungking while the military, economic, and political situation deteriorated before our eyes. But the disclosure of the problems which our representatives have faced in China will not solve those problems. Nor will Stilwell's recall in itself contribute to an improvement in Chinese-American relations. On the contrary, the effort to revitalize China's war machine has suffered a setback. Some writers argue that with Stilwell out of the way Chiang Kai-shek may be willing to undertake the military and political reorganization for which the United States has been asking. The President's action in sending Nelson back to Chungking indicates that he still hopes for an agreement that will enable the United States to work closely with China in a final drive against Japan. But the fact is that Chiang's efforts to strengthen the military fronts in recent months have frequently been sabotaged by local war lords, and he has never been strong enough to deal adequately with the usurer-landlord combination which has thwarted war production. Moreover, his hatred and fear of the Communists have become such an obsession that there seems little possibility of his cooperating with them either militarily or politically. General Stilwell is the one American who has sufficient experience and understanding of China to provide the kind of leadership essential in the present critical situation. Without him, effective cooperation with China seems even less probable than before his recall.

* * *

FRANCO'S INTERVIEW WITH THE UNITED PRESS in which he declared his constant friendship for the Allies met with little success in the Allied press. Even the conservative London *Daily Mail* found his manner of changing sides "insufferable." Speaking at Braintree, Tom Driberg, Independent M. P., said: "Franco is the most ludicrous and the most nauseating phenomenon of the moment . . . a nasty little rat . . . a fascist Mr. Hyde and a somewhat shop-soiled Dr. Jekyll. I hope he will be kept a long way from the peace table." Franco's was certainly the most cynical pronouncement of the war. From the fall of 1939 until the very moment the German armies withdrew from the Spanish frontier, the Spanish dictator made dozens of statements and speeches which give the lie to his latest remarks and make his demand for a seat at the peace conference "a piece of insolence of which only a representative of the most stupid and arrogant ruling class in Europe could be capable," to quote the London *Daily Herald*. The interview proves Franco's panic and confirms every report of mounting opposition to the Franco regime inside Spain. He is scrambling madly to get Allied support to replace that which the Axis powers can no longer give him. But surely, decent dealings are impossible with a man who has acted as Franco has during the last four years and who has spoken as he has spoken now to the United Press correspondent. Viewed from any angle, such an insult to the intelligence of the American people can be answered in only one way—by breaking diplomatic relations with Franco and declaring once and for all that only the representatives of a Republican Spain will be acceptable at the peace conference.

* * *

CANADA'S MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, Colonel J. L. Ralston, has handed his resignation to Prime Minister MacKenzie King. Back from an inspection tour of Canada's fighting forces, Colonel Ralston pressed the Prime Minister to make available as overseas reinforcements the 70,000 Home Defense soldiers whose service is restricted to Canada. Mr. King has the power to make these troops available for combat action, but so far he has refused on account of vigorous French Canadian opposition to conscription. Until this recent cabinet crisis, the Prime Minister has appeared to be justified in his policy, aimed at preserving Canadian unity: more than three-quarters of a million Canadians, many of them French, have volunteered for Canada's armed forces, and the recent election in Quebec showed a sharp decrease in the strength of the most active anti-war group, the Bloc Populaire. But with growing casualties from the heavy fighting in Holland and Italy, the resentment in English-speaking Canada has deepened against the 70,000 "zombies," only about 20 per cent of whom are French Canadians. General McNaughton, who has been named to replace Colonel Ralston, has not an easy task. Formerly in command of the Canadian army overseas, he was recalled at the beginning of this year, allegedly on account of serious disagreement with top British generals on the question of keeping the Canadian army intact under Canadian command. He has since declared himself in favor of a volunteer rather than a drafted army. Unless it is shown that sufficient trained reserves are not available as reinforcements he is unlikely to attempt to remedy an early failure to win French Canada whole-heartedly to the war effort by the compulsory enforcement of selective service, which would lead only to a widened chasm between the two races.

* * *

OTTO OF HAPSBURG IS AGAIN IN THE NEWS. After the collapse of the ill-fated "Hapsburg Legion" in 1943, almost everybody forgot about Otto. But not his friends in the State Department. On November 2 the Archduke arrived in Lisbon, "allegedly," as Frederick Kuh cables *PM*, "in possession of assurances from the U. S. A. that he would be allowed to return to Austria when that country was freed." It is really touching—this eagerness of our officials in Washington to see that European émigrés who desire to return to Europe are given all the necessary facilities. But it would be still more praisworthy if equal facilities were extended to those who are not of royal blood. While Archduke Otto found it easy to settle the usually complicated problems of exit permits, visas, and transportation, Julius Deutsch, the Austrian Socialist leader, has been waiting for months and months, according to our information, to leave for England. Many well-known anti-Fascist Italians have been denied permission to go back, to say nothing of Spanish Republicans. In order to travel through Allied countries today, a Spaniard must be a pro-Nazi Franco agent, like those who compose the Spanish delegation to the International Aviation Conference in Chicago, and whose presence there has provided one of the motives for Russia's refusal to participate. Yesterday Carol of Rumania; today Otto. Freedom of movement for kings and archdukes, but not for anti-fascists.

* * *

THE SEEDS OF RACIAL HATRED THE NAZIS HAVE planted throughout Europe will continue to bear their sour fruits long after all Nazi laws have been repealed. Rumania has been liberated, but the condition of its 270,000 surviving Jews remains desperate; and there is every indication that the series of sorry evasions by its government will be paralleled in other countries. Premier Ion Antonescu's quisling regime was overthrown and Prince Michael set up in his place by the Russians on August 23; on August 30 the constitutions of 1866 and 1923 were reestablished, eliminating all racial and religious discrimination *de jure;* but when the Jews returned from the labor camps to the towns in which they had formerly lived they found their homes and their jobs occupied by "Aryans," and the government refused to do anything about it. Joseph Levy wrote to the New York *Times* on October 22 that "even the leaders of the Communist and Social Democratic parties . . . refuse to intervene on behalf of these Jews. These leaders are courting non-Jewish Rumanian wage-earners, 'who must not be antagonized.' " The next day Soviet Ambassador Andrei A. Gromyko announced in Washington that all discriminatory legislation against Jews in Rumania had been "annulled." In the circumstances, the announcement was meaningless. On October 26 the Rumanian Foreign Minister told the Jewish Telegraph Agency that the government would issue specific decrees abolishing discrimination "shortly." On October 28 the American Jewish Committee asked Secretary Hull to "make representations" to the Rumanian government, and on October 31 the American Jewish Conference and the World Jewish Congress said the liberation of the country remained "an empty gesture" as far as the Jews were concerned.

Not United Enough

TWO RECENT incidents serve to underscore the precarious character of the unity among the big three "United Nations." One is the sudden Soviet refusal to take part in the international civil-aviation conference at Chicago. The other is the difference which has publicly developed over the question of oil concessions in Iran. Neither is in itself a major matter, but they are disturbing because of their broader implications.

We do not pretend to any but the most fragmentary knowledge of the facts behind these incidents. But it would seem that both might have been avoided by a little advance consultation among the Big Three. Although the civil-aviation conference was preceded by technical conversations between the Americans and the Russians and the Americans and the British, the plans for the actual conference itself do not seem to have been dicussed before the invitations were sent out. The Russians object to sitting down with representatives of Spain, Portugal, and Switzerland, countries which have not recognized the Soviet Union. Spain has even sent armed forces to fight on Russian soil, and Portugal and Switzerland are accused of permitting anti-Soviet activities on their territory. Certainly Russia's grievances against Franco Spain are more substantial than our own against the Argentine, which was not invited. Frankly we welcome the Soviet slap at Franco. It is time we recognized our enemies for what they are and treated El Caudillo as a pariah. His inclusion in the conference admits Axis stooges into post-war aviation councils while antagonizing our Soviet ally. The Soviets, incidentally, seem to agree with the anti-monopolistic position taken by the United States government on post-war air matters, and their participation would strengthen its hand.

Not too much is known of the dispute in Iran. It would seem that Standard-Vacuum, Sinclair, and Royal Dutch Shell had been dickering with the Iranian government for oil concessions during the past year and had almost reached an agreement when the Soviets also asked for concessions. The Russians were not competing with the Anglo-American oil companies; they wanted concessions in northern, the Anglo-Americans in southeastern Iran. But the result of the Russian request was that the Iranian government, with the diplomatic backing of the British and American governments, decided to grant no concessions at all rather than give any to the Soviets. We do not presume to pass on the merits of the dispute, but we do know that oil is a highly inflammable commodity in international diplomacy. If the Big Three permit a controversy of this kind to break out publicly while they are still fighting a common foe, how much chance is there for a stable common front among them when the war is over?

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

MR. CHURCHILL now tells us that he cannot guarantee the end of the European war before next summer, although he still leaves himself a loophole by mentioning the more hopeful estimates of some of the military leaders. General Eisenhower has yet to retract the statement he made on leaving the Mediterranean command at the end of last year—that the European war could be won in 1944 if everyone, at the front and at home, did his duty; but it now seems most probable that the war will indeed go into 1945, perhaps well into 1945, even though nearly everyone has done his duty.

In war, however, the performance of duty always runs the risk of not being sufficient: one's will is continually opposed by the will of the enemy, and the best of strategic plans can collide with the enemy's counter-plans. The high hopes of August and September were justified by the facts of the situation as they then appeared; it is not through any now apparent fault of the Allied generals and soldiers that the favorable circumstances of that time have been replaced by definitely unfavorable circumstances. The one foreseeable adverse circumstance was that the Germans by retreating would be able to concentrate their available troops along less extended fronts, supplied immediately from their base areas via much shorter lines of communication. The second adverse circumstance, which might have been guessed at from past experience, was that the German armies would recover quickly from the deterioration of their long retreats on the eastern and western fronts, and reorganize their defenses by a series of brilliant tactical improvisations. The third adverse circumstance, decisive in the west and probably unforeseeable, was the protracted defense of the French ports, which upset the Allied time-table by preventing the accumulation of sufficient material to force a break-through of what remains, after all, a very formidable defensive position, the Westwall and the outworks which lie before it.

It is still true that the end of organized resistance will probably come suddenly, once this position is breached. The ill-fated Arnhem affair was a daring and gallant attempt to finish the war in the west at one blow, by putting Allied troops completely across the Rhine and going right around the end of the Westwall; the failure of that attempt presaged a long delay while strength was built up to break through the wall. It is also still true that the wall will be broken just as soon as, but not before, a major offensive can be mounted, for German reserves in the west are too thin on the ground to stage an effective counter-offensive, and we know that no static defensive line can withstand a determined and concentrated attack by superior weight of men and metal. The question is, When will that come? Every indication now points to the conclusion that it will not come soon enough to spare Europe the horror of another winter of war, or to spare our soldiers the slow agony of many casualties spread over a lengthy period of time without apparent result—the same thing that happened during two previous bitter winters in Tunisia and Italy.

It is not likely that the final clearing of the approaches to Antwerp will seriously affect this judgment. Having been driven from the great port before they could carry out extensive demolitions, the Germans held the ground around the mouth of the Scheldt for nearly all of 1944's last two months of good fighting weather. We now have to sweep the Scheldt from Antwerp to the sea for the many and cunning mines which have undoubtedly been sown in the interim; and once the port is finally opened, we face the very real possibility that the enemy will be able to bombard Antwerp with pilotless aircraft. His launching platforms behind the mouths of the Rhine would be closer to Antwerp than they were to London, and now may come the time for V-2 or even V-3 to go into action.

Italy, of course, could never become a decisive theater of operations in the best of weather, far less in winter. That campaign has been useful in so far as it has provided southern bases for the aerial pincers and tied down upward of twenty-five German divisions which were badly needed on other fronts; but future historians will have to decide whether the pressing of the campaign beyond Rome justified itself in terms of the casualties incurred. The southeastern front is still fluid, with the Russians making good progress toward Budapest, but again the problem of supply over very long lines of communication may prove insuperable, and the theater is so far removed from the sources of German resistance that victory from this quarter is unlikely.

That leaves us with the main eastern front, where the Germans have massed two-thirds of their available divisions. Here the factors of a shorter front and a decided advantage in length of supply lines tend to balance the Red Army's superior man-power and its firm hold of the initiative. The Germans are stressing the importance of the battle for East Prussia. General Dittmar called East Prussia "the cradle of the Prussian-German idea of state" last week, adding that "a definite defensive victory could be won" there. Such a victory does seem to have been won, at least temporarily; and until the Russians clear East Prussia, any major offensive on the central part of the front would be threatened in flank.

Victory may come from either the east or the west; victory in the winter time may be possible in the east, where the ground freezes hard enough to permit long gains, but the enemy must be assumed to be prepared for another full winter's fighting. The only consolation is that it will be a harder winter in Germany than anywhere else in the world.

F. D. R.'s Post-War Program

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 2

AMID the trivialities of the election campaign the press seems to have overlooked Mr. Roosevelt's first concrete, though veiled, hint of how he proposes to achieve full employment after the war. In his speech at Chicago promising sixty million peace-time jobs, the President made one statement that deserves close attention. It may hold the key to his post-war program. "I propose," he said, "that the government do its part in helping private enterprise to finance expansion of our private industrial plants through normal investment channels." This is cryptic and may look like double-talk, but it merits patient exegesis.

Let us, however, put it to one side for a moment and glance at the other work-producing measures touched on in the Chicago speech. These are familiar. Mr. Roosevelt spoke of continued government aid to private housing built for those who can afford it and of federal aid to local authorities in providing "for those very low income groups that cannot possibly afford decent homes at this time." He spoke of public works—"new highways, new parkways . . . thousands of new airports." He spoke of new "TVA's" on the Missouri, the Arkansas, and the Columbia. He seemed to be thinking of continuing some such agency as the Smaller War Plants Corporation into the post-war period when he said that he wanted to give small businesses "every facility to buy government-owned plants, equipment, inventories," and when he added that "the special credit and capital requirements of small business are going to be met" (better, we hope, than they have been in the past under the influence of Jesse Jones). None of these measures are new. All are useful, but none are important enough to cope with a major slump, to create sixty million jobs, or to guarantee full employment. They are substantially the same measures that helped to stimulate revival but failed to wipe out unemployment before the war.

But the President's reference to "helping private enterprise to finance expansion of our private industrial plants through normal investment channels" is something new. It sounds like the Federal Housing Administration on a wider scale. The FHA encouraged home construction and financing through normal construction channels and for the ordinary commercial market by putting a government guaranty behind the loans. It would seem that Mr. Roosevelt is thinking of a setup under which industrial expansion would be financed by government-guaranteed bank loans or credits.

What kind of industrial expansion does the President have in mind? He spoke of encouraging business men "to replace their obsolete and worn-out equipment with new equipment," and offered additional accelerated depreciation for tax purposes as another inducement for replacements. But I should imagine such replacements could hardly be a major factor, since much of America's industrial equipment has already been modernized as part of the war-production program. The President also spoke of encouraging industry "to expand its plants." He said he foresaw an expansion of our peace-time productive capacity that would "require new facilities, new plants, new equipment capable of hiring millions of men." But before such new expansion can become possible, we must succeed in utilizing the greatly expanded industrial capacity we have. The rough estimate is that thanks to expansion and improvement of facilities during the war, our industrial capacity has risen about 50 per cent. It is generally agreed that living standards must be increased about 50 per cent if we are to achieve full employment of machines and men after the war. Not until then can we think of any major expansion of plant.

I am inclined to believe that the President was talking of government guaranties for expanding not merely plant capacity but also the output of existing plants. I know that many Administration economists are thinking along such lines. Let us suppose we were prepared to make a survey of our post-war capacity to produce, industry by industry, and of our capacity to consume, industry by industry. Such a survey would show us what our needs were in terms of both present potential output and feasible plant expansion. Now no single entrepreneur could take the financial risk of stepping up his peace-time output 50 per cent, much less of adding to present plant capacity, without some assurance that the rest of industry would move forward with him, thus creating the expanded purchasing power necessary to absorb his expanded output. Let us suppose the government were prepared to help industry do that kind of planning and to protect business men against loss by providing government-guaranteed bank credits for industrial expansion. On such a basis we would stand a chance of achieving full employment. Is that what is in the President's mind?

Mordecai Ezekiel of the Department of Agriculture, one of the few early Brain Trusters still surviving, put forward a program of this kind in 1939 in his book "Jobs for All Through Industrial Expansion." The sentence I have quoted from the President's Chicago speech—about helping industry to finance expansion through normal commercial channels—sounds as if it were an echo of a passage in the Ezekiel book. "Industrial concerns," Ezekiel wrote, "will first work out programs of expansion for their industry. Next they will sign contracts with the designated government agency to produce that increased production. Then they will go to their own banks for whatever funds are needed to finance the increased output. . . . Loans to expand production will be safe loans. They will be backed both by the general industrial expansion program and the government underwriting." In such a program, fully tapping America's capacity to consume, one can indeed foresee, as the President does, a peace-time expansion requiring "new facilities, new plants, new equipment—capable of hiring millions of men."

Mr. Roosevelt at Chicago, bowing the campaign knee to the great American sacred cow, affirmed his belief "that private enterprise can give full employment to our people." It cannot do so for any extended period except within the framework of some such general economic planning, with government aid and leadership. That way lies the possibility of avoiding serious social conflict after the war, for it could provide full employment without essential disturbance to private ownership and profit. It might also provide a happy compromise for so energetic, enterprising, and individualistic a country as our own between the inevitable bureaucratic tangles of a completely centralized and government-owned economy and an anarchistic hit-or-miss economy which breaks down periodically. If Governor Dewey is elected, it will take the suffering of another great depression to start us in the direction Mr. Roosevelt seems to have in mind. If the President wins next Tuesday, we have a chance of moving toward full employment more quickly and less painfully; and I think the Chicago speech offers the first preview, though dimmed for political safety, of how Mr. Roosevelt proposes to get us there.

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

ISAAC DON LEVINE [an anti-Bolshevik in 1944] again cables the Chicago *Daily News* that the power of the Bolsheviki is only strengthened by external attacks and that no matter what happens to them the Soviets will endure. In reply to five questions submitted by Mr. Levine, Lenin over his own signature declares that the Soviet government is prepared to prove that it represents the majority of the Russian people; that it stands unwaveringly on the peace terms agreed upon with William C. Bullitt; that it is willing to guarantee absolute non-interference in the internal affairs of foreign countries; and that it is decidedly for an economic understanding with all countries, "but especially with America."—*November 1, 1919.*

NOTHING SOUNDS SO MUCH like a return to peace as the news that Sir Thomas Lipton has again challenged for the America's Cup.—*November 1, 1919.*

THE WEEK HAS BROUGHT OUT clearly how completely Senator Lodge controls the situation as to the treaty. One reservation after another has been adopted, including, by a vote of forty-six to thirty-three, the one interpreting Article X of the Covenant in almost precisely the same language which Mr. Wilson on his tour said would "cut the heart out of the treaty."—*November 15, 1919.*

THE SITUATION IN ITALY clearly does not improve. D'Annunzio's spectacular occupation of Zara , . . . with the tacit connivance, it would appear, of Admiral Millo, gives further proof of the extent of disaffection in the Italian army and navy and of the weakness of the Nitti government in the face of the approaching crisis. . . . One need not take seriously the rumored intention of D'Annunzio's followers to upset the monarchy and make D'Annunzio President of Italy, to see that Italy itself is near the brink.—*November 29, 1919.*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: Henri Barbusse, "Light"; Theodore Dreiser, "Hey Rub-a-Dub-Dub"; Robert Frost, "North of Boston"; D. H. Lawrence, "New Poems"; W. Somerset Maugham, "The Moon and Sixpence"; Eugene O'Neill, "Beyond the Horizon"; Thorstein Veblen, "The Vested Interests and the State of the Industrial Arts."

Trafalgar for Japan

BY BERNARD BRODIE

THE status of Japan as a major sea power came to an end on October 24, 1944. While our victories at Midway and Guadalcanal were of perhaps equal strategic significance in that they hastened the overthrow of early Japanese naval superiority in the Pacific and thus enabled us to seize the initiative, the Second Battle of the Philippine Sea reduced Japan to a position where its remaining fleet strength was insufficient to affect materially our strategic plans.

Among the casualties of the battle was the recently popular theory that the Japanese navy shunned the Nelsonian tradition of decisive actions for command of the sea, that it regarded itself as merely "a floating wing of a powerful army," existing exclusively for convoy escort. There was never anything in the writings or pronouncements of responsible Japanese naval officials to support such a doctrine, and an unbiased reading of Japanese naval conduct, especially during the first year of the present war, should have prevented any such misconception from developing. As Admiral Sankichi Takahashi, former commander-in-chief of the Combined Fleet, put it in a speech at Kokura in February, 1944: "In sea battles the power that gains command of the seas last wins, and annihilation of enemy naval strength is the most important way to attain this end." The Japanese have always believed that. They believe it still, and the conviction must cause them considerable heartache.

In their attack at Pearl Harbor and in all the events which followed up to Midway, the Japanese were clearly bidding for command of the Pacific. And in the first four months of the Guadalcanal campaign they bitterly contested our invasion of what was after all a remote outpost. But their efforts cost them too dearly. After the crucial battles of November, 1942, the Japanese navy had for all offensive purposes shot its bolt. It had suffered more severely than the American navy had, and it had already been outdistanced in the construction race.

In later fights the Japanese showed more caution. We were given little opportunity during our advances of 1943 to sink or damage important Japanese warships. By the time of our invasion of the Gilberts in November of that year, the Japanese had clearly withdrawn the bulk of their fleet to Asiatic waters, where it was held in reserve for some decisive issue or occasion of opportunity. The enemy meanwhile attempted to stay our progress as best he could with aircraft and occasional light surface forces, besides, of course, his land garrisons, which being isolated were considered expendable. His submarines were forced more and more into the task of supplying with at least a trickle of goods the otherwise inaccessible enclaves of men whom we had by-passed in our advance. Japan was paying the price of having recklessly ferried armies across seas over which it could not maintain control. The Japanese navy adopted a fleet-in-being strategy which seemed subsequently to grow ever more abject.

OUR INCREASING MARGIN OF SUPERIORITY

The Japanese had no real alternative. Here was a nation which was third-rate industrially and which possessed only an obsolescent and already grievously damaged fleet in mortal combat with the greatest industrial power on earth—one which had pulled out of the hat in just two years of war a new and incredibly powerful navy. And the American navy was seconded by another, which had hitherto been the premier navy of the world. Small wonder that the Japanese tried to conserve their warships! All navies do, but the Japanese navy had more reason to than any other.

Moreover, our margin of superiority kept growing constantly, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Our quantitative growth, in fact, entailed in itself an increasing qualitative advantage, since accretions to our strength always meant an increasing proportion of *new* ships and planes in our fleet. By the middle of 1944 our fleet was already predominantly new, while the Japanese fleet remained predominantly old. In battleships, for example, our ten new ones alone were more than equal in combat strength to the whole Japanese battle line of old and new ships. Our new aircraft carriers of the Essex class were not only far more numerous than Japanese carriers of comparable size but also much superior. In light carriers, escort carriers, heavy and light cruisers, destroyers, and the all-important auxiliaries of the fleet train, our expansion was tremendous, while the Japanese were not able to replace losses, except possibly in carriers.

And the American conception of the "balanced fleet," pushed through against a public opinion misled by air extremists, was coming into its own. The aircraft carrier operating in large concentrations proved to be a very different thing from the carrier operating singly or in small groups. Such concentrations demonstrated their ability both to maintain their own security against enemy air attack and to command passage for the fleet through and among the enemy-held island groups of the Pacific. Thus our fleet had restored to it most of its old freedom of movement. And with our carriers we combined fast new battleships, which not only ran interference for the carriers but functioned as offensive agents on their own. The whole produced a force able to assert itself anywhere on the seas against any kind of enemy opposition whatever.

The Japanese, on the other hand, having gone all-out for the carrier after Pearl Harbor, the Coral Sea, and Midway, sought to fill their needs in large vessels of this category not only by converting liners but also by wholly or partially converting battleships. Perhaps with their pressing need and lack of resources there was little else they could do. Yet the Japanese rejection of "the balanced fleet" was in part ideological. The same Admiral Takahashi already quoted declared on March 4, 1944, in a speech at the Kyushu Steel Works that the Japanese battleships ought to be scrapped and their steel used for the construction of more aircraft!

Thus the Japanese tended to put all their eggs in one basket, which might not have served them so ill if the basket had been more adequate. But their carriers were insufficient in number, their planes grossly inferior in performance, and most inferior of all in comparison with the magnificent equipment of our own ships was the quality of their anti-aircraft armament—a vital though usually overlooked component in air-combat potential. As a result, in the two battles of the Philippine Sea Japanese carrier planes proved almost impotent against American combat vessels, while American carrier planes demonstrated their continuing ability to carry out deadly execution of enemy ships.

Nor can one forget personnel. Making all due allowance for the bias of national pride and for the indisputably superior quality of our material, it is by now clear that American strategic and tactical conceptions have been throughout the war far superior to those of Japanese naval leaders, and that the American pilot or ship's crewman has been on the whole a better man at his job than his Japanese counterpart.

Japanese naval spokesmen have for many months openly admitted the inferiority of their fleet in all categories of naval vessels. Occasionally, as for example at a public round table reported in the magazine *Fuji* for September, 1943, Japanese airmen admitted the inferior quality as well as the hopelessly insufficient number of their aircraft. Yet there could be no doubt, their Bushido spirit being what it is, that the Japanese would never surrender with an even partially intact battle line. Somewhere along our line of advance it was sure to be thrown in. The question was, where? Until it was met and disposed of, every advance we made had to be a major fleet operation, and we could extend ourselves only as fast as we could extend the operating radius of our ships—which meant converting newly won positions at utmost speed into operating bases for our combatant fleet and for its tremendous train. That we were able to advance as rapidly as we did is a miracle of modern naval logistics.

Our invasion of the Marianas in June of this year finally presented the Japanese navy with a challenge it could not ignore. The result was the First Battle of the Philippine Sea, which because of its supposed inconclusiveness was written off by a disappointed press as an abortive action. But the Japanese had never intended to let us have a surface action in those open waters, for while they could not afford to lose Saipan and Guam, neither could they afford to lose their fleet in defending them. They did, however, come out with the bulk, perhaps the whole, of their available carrier strength and with those few battleships fast enough to provide cover without becoming an embarrassment. And the resulting action was a disaster to the Japanese. A very considerable portion of their fleet carriers was sunk or severely damaged, as became evident in the larger action of four months later, which was notable for the paucity of Japanese carriers involved. The replacements for the trained pilots lost must have reduced the effectiveness of those carriers which remained. Destruction and damage to other categories, including battleships, were perhaps greater than we at first believed.

LAND-BASED VERSUS CARRIER-BASED AIRCRAFT

After this débâcle the Japanese were forced to rest their remaining hopes primarily on their land-based aircraft. As soon as we came within their "basic sea area," enemy propagandists constantly reiterated, our fleet and with it our hopes of ultimate victory would be crushed by Japanese land-based air forces. The Japanese fleet would then enter the battle to consummate the destruction and would thus again become cock of the walk in the western Pacific. It was the wholehearted commitment to this prospect which explains in part the unprecedented—even for the Japanese—build-up into a great propaganda victory of the "Battle of Formosa," which the Japanese fleet never entered and which was in fact an unmitigated defeat for the Japanese air force.

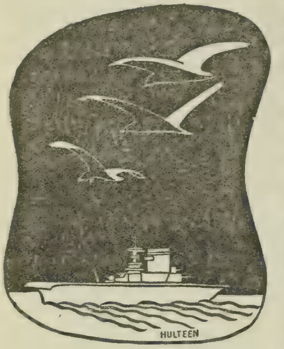
There was nothing essentially novel in this strategic conception. It was the *Kräfteausgleich* theory of the German navy in World War I translated into a new tactical environment. Its realization depended basically on the presumed superiority of "unsinkable aircraft carriers" to those which float and move. And vociferous proponents of that superiority were to be found in the United States as well as Japan.

Our successful assaults on the Gilberts, the Marshalls, the Marianas, and the Palaus, as well as our conquest of the archipelagoes in the southwestern Pacific, might have given some pause to exponents of the doctrine that naval forces could not contend with land-based air forces, but in each of those cases we were attacking islands of very limited area and therefore capable of operating only limited numbers of aircraft. The distances by which they were separated from each other precluded effective mutual support. And being both short of aircraft generally and obliged to disperse those they possessed over wide areas, the Japanese were not even able to provide their distant outposts with the number of planes which those bases could have supported.

In the Ryukyu-Formosa-Philippines area, however, we were for the first time assaulting what was in effect a large land mass which because of its position was the key to the enemy's whole strategic system. It could be expected to be

Courtesy Abbott Laboratories **Drawing by Joseph Hirsch**

supporting a very substantial part of the enemy's total air force, which, indeed, from the toll we took was found to be the case. In the seven weeks preceding our landings in the Philippines on October 19, more than 1,900 Japanese land-based airplanes were destroyed in air combat and on the ground at the cost of about 160 of our own planes lost in combat (that is, not including operational casualties). In addition, our carrier aircraft chopped off during that period at least another 20 per cent of Japan's already crucially attenuated shipping, besides inflicting considerable damage on shore installations. The immediate result was not only the neutralization of enemy air opposition to our landings but also the immobilization of the Japanese garrisons dispersed among the islands and the serious reduction of enemy means of reinforcement.



Of the vast conglomeration of American ships in the fleet and its train, only two "medium vessels"—presumably cruisers—had to retire from the area prior to our landings because of battle damage. Among close students of the communiqués there was some mystification, mixed in more skeptical quarters with outright disbelief, at the immunity of our fleet in the face of what is normally considered the most hazardous kind of operations. Prior to October, 1944, a long succession of communiqués announcing carrier strikes and amphibious landings of unprecedented audacity were almost monotonous in their steady reiteration of the statement, "There was no damage to our ships." Yet no real reason for mystification or disbelief existed. Our immunity was but the normal reward of operating in overwhelming quantitative and qualitative superiority in all departments and particularly in that of air warfare.

Our naval fighter planes operating from our carriers had proved tactically superior to the best land-based planes which the Japanese were able to send against them. This advantage no doubt surprised many who had assumed that carrier planes, because of special limitations in design, must inevitably be inferior to land-based planes. But it is always a question of *whose* planes one is talking about. While our navy Hellcats and Corsairs do not have quite the margin of superiority in flying performance over the best Japanese fighters that our Mustangs and Thunderbolts enjoy, they have margin enough, and they have a comparable advantage in fire power and armor.

Besides, in the Ryukyu-Formosa-Philippines operations, which covered a large area, we usually managed to make ourselves numerically superior to the enemy at the particular point of attack. Our great carrier groups have provided our navy with what is the only truly mobile air force of any size in the world. It is an air force in which not only aircraft themselves but also their floating bases are capable of rapid movement—and it enjoys all the advantages of mobility, such as ability to concentrate and to achieve surprise. The enemy's ability to combine or coordinate his separate groups of aircraft, on the other hand, depended on forewarning and on the distance between his airfields.

As our operations in the area approached their culmination, Admiral Soemu Toyoda, apparently misled by the mendacity which seems to characterize not only the Japanese Propaganda Ministry but even more the field reports of Japanese commanders of all echelons, sent out his fleet to have a look. What it saw was not good. The United States Third Fleet, far from having been largely destroyed, still enjoyed complete possession of the overwhelming fire and air power with which it had approached the enemy coasts, and it was obviously spoiling for a fight. Discretion seemed, for the time being, to be the better part of valor.

LEYTE MEANT NOW OR NEVER

There the matter might have rested had our landing on Leyte not followed hard upon. Japanese political and military leaders had several times publicly acknowledged that loss of the Philippines must inevitably mean loss of the war for Japan. For not only would the Philippines present us with a great staging base for future operations against the Chinese coast and ultimately Japan itself, but the establishment of our naval and air forces in that archipelago, together with our earlier seizure of bases in the Marianas and the Palaus, would enable us to sever Japan's communications with all the lands between the Bay of Bengal and the Solomon Sea. And these lands contained, besides the vast wealth of strategic resources for which Japan had originally gone to war, the cream of the Japanese army. No nation could afford such a loss. And, again, Japan could afford it less than any other.

It was simply a case of now or never. A more critical strategic situation could not arise unless Japan itself were being invaded, and the Japanese could not wait that long to use their fleet. The ratio of strength would never be less unfavorable to them than it was now. On the contrary, with our construction program continuing at top delivery level and with the collapse of Germany impending, further delay might mean the loss of their last chance. Besides, here at last was their chance to fight a sea action within range of what were—or rather had been—large, land-based Japanese air forces.

Thus the Japanese fleet moved in for the showdown fight. They unquestionably threw in all they had in major combat units—all, that is, which was not immobilized by previous damage. Those commentators who have insisted on the basis of their own calculations that only a half to two-thirds of available Japanese carriers were present are simply not aware of the dire straits to which the Japanese fleet had already been reduced. Admirals Nimitz and Halsey have somewhat better knowledge of the facts. They know what they are talking about when they insist that for all practical purposes the whole Japanese fleet was present and that it was halved. The half which escaped did so in a very bad state of repair. To be sure, a few light cruisers and destroyers may have been absent on convoy duty. None the less, the very low number of destroyers present in proportion to larger vessels reveals conclusively the terrible attrition which the enemy has suffered in this type. Despite the frequent use of the word by press and radio analysts, it was anything but an "intact" fleet which the Japanese brought to the Philippines.

NOT A JUTLAND BUT A TRAFALGAR

There is no room in this article for an extensive analysis of the battle itself. And although at this writing the magnificent Pacific Fleet Communiqué No. 168, which summarizes the battle, has already been released, information is still too sketchy to warrant such an attempt. We know that the enemy moved into action in three separate formations, a behavior which had proved costly to him before and which bore out merely his continued devotion to certain illusions concerning the transferability of land tactics to sea war. We know that despite initial damage and loss to our submarines and carrier aircraft he pressed on to within gun range. Only the northernmost of his three formations had carriers with it at all, and all formations came to a close-range action. The most critical phase of the battle, involving the two southernmost forces, was settled in our favor largely by the fire of our battleships and cruisers, thus giving the conclusive answer to still another controversy. Incidentally, it was several of our old battleships rather than our new ones which happened to be at the right spot at the right time.

The most important of our own casualties was the light carrier Princeton, one of at least nine of the Independence class. Lost as a result of land-based air attack, she seems to have been the only ship which fell to any enemy aircraft at all, whether land-based or carrier-based. The other American ships lost—two escort carriers, two destroyers, and one destroyer-escort—seem to have fallen mostly to surface attack. The Princeton, incidentally, is the first American combat vessel of greater than destroyer size to be lost to enemy air attack in twenty-one months of war—the first, that is, since the cruiser Chicago was sunk off Rennell Island on January 30, 1943. Thus the complete failure of Japanese carrier aviation in the face of the powerful air defenses of our fleet is confirmed, and can now be spoken of in the past tense. Our own carrier forces attained the scores to which they have become accustomed, and at a lesser cost than ever before.

Our losses as compared to those of the enemy and especially as compared with our existing strength can be described only as trivial. Those of the enemy were devastating. The battle was therefore not a Jutland but a Trafalgar. A number of important enemy ships—especially some six battleships—got away, and of these some will be repaired. They have lived to fight another day; but it will not be a fight to challenge our command, as the recent battle was. It will be a mere *banzai* charge, a last act of desperation to redeem failure by suicide.

There remains, of course, a great deal of hard fighting—ashore. Sea power has never had any other ultimate purpose than to enable armies to fight land battles where they want to fight them and under the best possible circumstances. Though Trafalgar contributed greatly to Napoleon's final downfall and perhaps made it inevitable, the downfall did not take place until ten long years after the battle. The inevitability of Japan's downfall as a result of its naval defeat is much clearer, and the event will certainly not be delayed for ten years, but we must still send large armies to the Far East. Our victory off the Philippines, however, will make it much easier to transport those armies to the desired places and to supply them, and greatly reduces the amount of resistance which our forces will ultimately have to overcome—not only on the sea and in the air but also on land.

End of the Party Truce

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

London, November 2, by Cable

BRITAIN'S over-age Parliament—its full term actually completed four years ago—has been given another reprieve, but its days are numbered, for Churchill has undertaken to hold an election within two or three months after the end of the German war, which he now suggests may last until early summer. The end of the National Government is also in sight, for in introducing the Prolongation of Parliament bill, the Premier gracefully abandoned the hopes he once expressed of carrying on the coalition in peace time. As long as the German war continued, he said, there should be no change in government, and in this decision spokesmen of all parties concurred. But he agreed that once the main purpose of the party truce had been achieved there must be a reversion to party politics, and the electorate must be given an opportunity to express its views at the polls.

This decision became inevitable four weeks ago when the national executive of the Labor Party issued a statement that the party would fight in the general election independently and would have nothing to do with a "coupon election," with seats allocated by agreement between the different groups in the coalition. The Labor Party, the statement continued, "will go before the country with a practical policy based upon the Socialist principles in which it believes and will invite the electors to return a majority pledged to support a Labor government to implement that policy." This announcement was definitely in accordance with the wishes of the rank and file and produced a very stimulating effect, for although nearly all members of the party have accepted the National Government and the political truce as war-time necessities, there is an increasing desire to have free hands in tackling the tasks of the peace. The Tories also have been growing restive, as parliamentary attention turned more and more to matters of post-war reconstruction and they found themselves confronted by legislation which had to give some recognition to the views of the other parties. Thus the Labor statement proved a signal for the removal of the dust sheets from the political machinery.

"There is an odor of dissolution in the air," remarked Churchill yesterday, "and parties are inclined to look at each other across the House with an increasing sense of impending division." The Premier went on to deprecate strongly the emphasizing of party differences while the war was still in the critical stage, pointing out that there would be plenty of time for party oratory between the dissolution and the poll. But the Labor spokesman, Arthur Greenwood, replied that it was certain that in the new session opening shortly there would be legislation which "the Premier may hope won't prove controversial but which in many quarters of the House will be regarded as controversial." With many months of parliamentary time now available, the government can hardly fail to bring forward bills embodying the proposals summarized in a series of White Papers on social and economic reconstruction. In the session now concluding, the Education Act has passed and the Town and Country Planning bill has been approved by the Commons, though it is encountering querulous but probably ineffective scrutiny from the landowning peers. The schemes for national health service and all-in social insurance are now ripe for translation into statutory form.

These proposals carry the stamp of the National Government. They were drafted after long discussions and may be said to represent roughly the least Labor could take and the most the Tories could swallow. The attitude of the Labor men to whom I have talked is that they should be accepted for what they are worth; they move in the right direction and lay the foundation for further progress. However, there is a strong body of right-wing Tory back-benchers who regard the whole planning program as a menace. They have kept fairly quiet as long as the proposals did not advance beyond the White Paper stage, recognizing perhaps the election value of such documents. But when asked to vote for turning such proposals into the law of the land, they are apt to gag. On town and country planning the Tory revolt scored some minor successes but suffered a sharp defeat on the main issue of compensation. This experience will probably prompt the diehards to seek a postponement of further measures which place them in the dilemma of either allowing the passage of laws which outrage their deepest instincts or incurring the onus of splitting the government. Labor, on the other hand, will undoubtedly press for the completion of as much as possible of the National Government program so that the political arena may be cleared of these issues of social reform and made available for a fight on fundamentals.

Meanwhile Labor has a number of international questions to settle before it is ready for the electoral battle. Among these are its relations with other left groups, including the Common Wealth, which is seeking affiliation. The Common Wealth is anxious to join the bigger body provided the Labor Party is willing to make a fight independently and on a full Socialist program. It believes it has something valuable to offer, but it has been organizing intensively in constituencies where Labor always found difficulty in making headway, and it has succeeded to some extent in converting middle-class elements who have previously shied away from the party dominated by the trade unions. Common Wealth spokesmen have expressed to me high hopes that they will be accepted as a going concern, but conversations with Labor officials suggest that this optimism is ill-founded. Labor views the Common Wealth as an illegitimate child of the party truce, which gave it an opportunity to rally assorted malcontents at the by-elections. The party is willing to kill the fatted calf for the Common Wealthers as individuals, just as it is for Cripps, but definitely regards the affiliation of semi-autonomous groups, which would be competing to attract party members, as undesirable. Further, party spokesmen feel that the acceptance of the Common Wealth would make more difficult the continued exclusion of the Communists, which they are bent on maintaining. The final decision on the question will be taken by the party conference in December, but the executive decision is almost certain to be indorsed. The future of the Common Wealth appears therefore extremely dark, though it might survive until after the general election.

Dr. William Temple and His Britain

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THE death of Dr. William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, robs Britain not only of its ablest and most courageous churchman but of one of the most brilliant of its statesmen. Though the perfection of his gifts was unique, their essential quality was so typically British that an appreciation of the man and his work gives an American the possibility of seeing some important qualities of British life in vivid and personal terms.

I met Dr. Temple for the first time in 1923. He was then the Bishop of Manchester and was presiding in a great hall of one of the Oxford colleges over a meeting of the Workers' Education Association. I saw him last a year ago, when as his house guest over a busy week-end at Canterbury I accompanied him on two visits to rural parishes in the Canterbury diocese. In between his various meetings and official duties he insisted on setting time apart for long discussions of theological, international, and political questions. His mind, I believe, was the most perfect precision instrument I have ever encountered.

Dr. Temple sitting in a smoke-filled room as chairman of a workers' meeting and Dr. Temple celebrating early morning communion in the Canterbury Cathedral are good pictorial symbols of the two main dimensions of his life. He was one of the most influential theologians of our time and the first president of the World Council of Churches, which sought to overcome the fractionalism of Protestantism, but the primary significance of his life lay in his ability to carry the radical social implications of the Christian faith into higher ecclesiastical office than any other churchman. These two dimensions of his life, the social-radical and the religious, were the measure of one whole. There were Tories who insinuated that he debased the church by using it as a vantage point for spreading Socialist doctrine, but Dr. Temple was too obviously the dominant religious as well as social force in his church and nation for such charges to be plausible. One of the leading British weeklies, in reviewing a volume of his addresses delivered since his enthronement at Canterbury, declared only a few weeks ago: "The book makes it plain that the Archbishop is not preaching 'another Gospel,' a political one. . . . All admiration or criticism of the Archbishop which sees in him a prophet of secular well-being, to which he adjusts the Christian gospel, is greatly in error." The real fact is that Dr. Temple was able to relate the ultimate insights of religion about the human situation to the immediate necessities of political justice and the proximate possibilities of a just social order more vitally and creatively than any other modern Christian leader.

While radical social convictions are not frequently expressed from the vantage point of high ecclesiastical responsibility, particularly in an established church—though our own Bishop McConnell achieved a similar relation between responsibility and prophetic freedom—and while no one with fewer resources than Dr. Temple could have held his unique and yet representative position, it may be well for Americans to realize that Dr. Temple's great eminence in British public life was partly due to national virtues which are not always appreciated on this side of the Atlantic. His selection as Primate of the Church of England two years ago was partly the consequence of the fact that his eminence in the church by reason of his learning and his religious leadership was so undisputed that a Tory Prime Minister could not have avoided the appointment had he desired to. Americans are inclined to assume that a state church means the church's subservience to the state, but among the resources of Britain we must count its capacity to transcend constitutional limitations in its actual policies. The church had a Dr. Temple in the hour of crisis, just as the nation had a Winston Churchill. The church also had democratic means of expressing its will beyond the constitutional form of a royal appointment. And the nation had a tradition which made it possible to use ancient forms for accomplishing democratic ends.

It is worth mentioning also that Dr. Temple's appointment came at a time when British public temper, prompted by anxiety and fear in a catastrophic situation, was highly critical of the government. The ascendancy of Stafford Cripps in the councils of the nation was contemporaneous with Dr. Temple's appointment, and both may have been prompted by the same general mood. Yet Dr. Temple's leadership was not the product of momentary caprice, and he has since spoken for the conscience of Britain in defining the moral, social, and political goals of post-war England. In the course of a recent after-dinner political discussion in London, the question of Churchill's successor came up, and there was general unanimity that Eden would not be strong enough to ride and control turbulent post-war politics. When a well-known political leader regretted that the Archbishop was unavailable for the position, his opinion met general assent. Temple, this speaker declared, would more perfectly combine

The Road Ahead

THE election is over; the road ahead opens into a political future full of danger and promise, challenge and potential satisfaction. In the coming months this country faces decisions which will determine the course of its history for generations to come—and not only its own history but the world's.

Beginning now, *The Nation* will analyze week by week the issues before our newly elected government—the great issues of international cooperation and the building of a democratic world, of jobs and production, of taxes and reconversion, of race relations, personal liberty. We shall try to publish the materials out of which mature and responsible citizens can create a progressive policy for America, now and after the war.

What is needed, in our far from modest view, is a wide extension of the ideas and information provided by *The Nation*. And we hope that you, our regular readers, will help bring that about, and at the same time please your intelligent friends, by sending subscriptions to *The Nation* as Christmas gifts. This is not a year for luxuries; 1944 is a year for necessities—and straight thinking about major public questions is perhaps the most urgent necessity of all.

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the British sense of the historical with the country's present radical temper than any other man in public life. That a man of his views should have been elevated to the Primacy of the Established Church of England is itself a tribute to that peculiar British virtue which makes it possible for the nation to cherish ancient forms while constantly insinuating into them new meanings and purposes. Yet a lesser man could have easily been destroyed by the office, not only because of the general hazards of ecclesiastical office but also because the Established Church is still intimately related to the squirearchy, that remnant of feudal England. Only a leader as courageous as he was astute could have so fully expressed the conscience of the nation in the current situation from the vantage point of an official position heavily endowed with traditional encumbrances as well as with historical treasures of great worth.

Last summer I was able to get a glimpse of Dr. Temple in juxtaposition with the characteristic social and religious forces of British life which made him possible. The occasion was a "Religion and Life" week in Newcastle at which the Archbishop was the chief of a number of speakers. This week opened with an official banquet given by the Lord Mayor in the Town Hall in honor of the Primate. The Mayor was a Methodist by faith and a Labor man in politics; incidentally he had a great reputation as an expert on housing. He recalled that he had welcomed the distinguished guest to Newcastle a quarter-century ago. "At that time," he said, "you were a young Oxford don and I was the chairman of a trade-union committee trying to establish a branch in this city of the Workers' Education Association." After extolling the virtues of Dr. Temple's mind and heart as a leader of the people, the Lord Mayor paid a reverent tribute to the meaning of the See of Canterbury in British life—mixing the two themes in a way which would have convinced any Socialist mayor of a Continental city that the British are completely mad. The Mayor contributed another item to this nice mixture by insisting, as a Methodist, that Dr. Temple's elevation was prompted partly by Methodist and labor enthusiasm for his religious and social views.

It might be added that when the religious meetings began the next day, the Archbishop addressed an audience of 4,000 people and an overflow of 2,000, that he spoke for an hour with that effortless facility which is characteristically British in kind but which was unique in the degree of its perfection, that he held his audience spellbound without once raising his voice, and that his address, though close-knit and logical, ranged all the way from a description of the sacramental fellowship of the first Christian church to the problems of brotherhood and economic justice amid the complexities of war-torn England and a shattered world.

This was Christian statesmanship at its best. It was also Britain at its best—in its genius for combining what other nations separate, in its penchant for allowing liberty to broaden down from precedent to precedent, and in its ability to achieve unity on basic issues above party conflict. It was a representative performance; but the poise of spirit, the logical force, and the ethical passion of the speaker were too striking to be typical. They revealed the resources of a great man who will not be replaced in this or in many generations.

In the Wind

IN HIRING contract-termination negotiators, the War Department requires "a present earning capacity exceeding $10,000 per annum and preferably $20,000 and upward." That eliminates all civil-service career employees, regardless of experience and ability. And the job pays only $6,500.

ADVERTISEMENT in Chicago street cars: "The Fifth Freedom—Freedom from high funeral costs. Lain and Son Funeral Directors."

IN SOUTH AFRICA, the Dutch Reformed Church Synod of the Transvaal has adopted, without a dissenting voice, a resolution opposing the marriage of Afrikaans-speaking (South African Dutch) citizens with English-speaking citizens.

AN EDITORIAL attacking the C. I. O., in the Memphis *Commercial Appeal,* makes an exception: "Of course there are many C. I. O. leaders to whom communism is as repugnant as it is to the Daughters of the American Revolution."

FROM A LETTER by a Coast Guardsman to the *Detroiter:* "Now and then a civilian gives me a lift; buys me a drink. When I thank them, they usually reply, 'Well, it's the least we can do for you fellows in the service.' . . . It's little comfort to fight for a drink, a lift, a glad hand. What I want is that the future is free of war. I don't want anyone to feel indulgent toward a young lad because he may be killed."

AN ANONYMOUS CIRCULAR takes exception to the Wagner act's provision requiring reinstatement of employees who have been dismissed for union activity: "In ordering an employer to take back an undesired employee, the [New] Deal was forcing two people to associate with each other when one, at least, did not wish to do so; the unwilling one had to pay the other also. This is violating the very fundamentals of freedom."

THOMAS F. WOODLOCK, the philosopher of the *Wall Street Journal,* on the origins of fascism: "The 'Popular Front' is the first sign of a degenerative disease in a 'democratic' state such as ours, which, if unchecked, finally results in the 'single-party state' and the all-powerful 'leader'—in other words, the very thing we are all supposed to be fighting —*fascism!*"

FESTUNG EUROPA: The *Völkische Beobachter* complains that Czechs on the streets of Prague these days too often have "an irritating smile." . . . Between 60 and 65 per cent of the population of Holland has been affected by the floods let loose by the Nazis.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

On the Spanish Frontier

BY MEYER LEVIN

Spanish-French border, October 27

ON THE Pyrenees snow line, in an ancient village with streets too narrow for cars to pass, there is an outpost of a *guerrillero* (Spanish *maquis)* brigade in France. "Spain is only a few hours' walk over the snowcap," said Christiano García, who was inspecting the brigade. Half of a battalion was in the house taken over from the Gestapo, watching a demonstration of how to assemble English machine-guns, and the others were training for mountain climbing and warfare. In a few days members of the brigade may cross over to the Spanish side and forget to return.

The status of the troops is a peculiar one, for the *guerrilleros* are officially part of the French Forces of the Interior and under their orders, having taken part in the liberation of France. García, who fought in the Nîmes region, cites fifty-eight Spaniards who were killed there, and he himself limps from an ankle wound. Thousands of Spaniards are still fighting in General Jacques Leclerc's division. For this aid, the F. F. I. gives provisions to *guerrillero* groups and assigns them to duty on the Spanish-French border, where they have an opportunity to get into Spain.

García's soldiers, as all in the tragic history of the Spanish fight for democracy, are ill-clad and poorly armed. Only the officers have uniforms. The others wear civilian clothes, supplemented occasionally with an English or French battle jacket. Their guns—there are not enough for all—are a strange mixture of German and Allied weapons, some without ammunition. Nevertheless, the spirit of the men is good. Some are comrades from the days of the Spanish civil war; some were with Frenchmen in prison camps, in mines working for the Germans, or in the *maquis*. They are still together for the final fight.

The *guerrilleros* have withdrawn twenty-five kilometers from the actual frontier under their agreement with the French, but the few guards are unable to prevent constant crossings. Captain Fontaine, of the French border patrol in Perpignan, assured me the region was quiet, but an informant from the French army intelligence remarked that 600 *guerrilleros* encamped on Mont Luis had gradually dwindled to none and that they must have crossed the border. Old French army elements are worried by these incidents, but the *guerrilleros* on the French side claim they are strictly adhering to the no-crossing rule. However, they unofficially admit constant patrol activities and contact with the *maquis* inside Spain. Fifteen deserters from Franco's army are picked up on an average each week in the Perpignan area by the French and are usually imprisoned as possible spies. Some are released later and permitted to join the *guerrilleros.*

In one camp that I visited I interviewed a Spanish schoolteacher who had crossed the border during the week. He declared there was an acute bread shortage in Huelva, where the black-market price of bread was six pesetas a kilo (over two pounds), while a worker's daily wage was only eight pesetas. Franco's army was feeling the bread shortage, and many soldiers were deserting to the *maquis,* he said. The teacher had taken part in several typical assaults made by groups of five who attacked Civil Guards on roads in Sierra de Cordova; he said hundreds of such incidents were occurring throughout Spain.

The *guerrilleros* assert that a forty-kilometer-square section of the Val d'Aran has been liberated. Recently they freed prisoners in Huesca in a raid and claim to have held Lerida and Ponferrada temporarily. News emerges through couriers sometimes days and sometimes weeks after an event, but there are daily broadcasts by the clandestine Radio España Independiente. There is also a chain of clandestine newspapers mimeographed on letter-size paper, called *Reconquista de España.*

The *guerrilleros* admit they will cross the border when the time comes—not to clash head on with superior forces but into corridors made by the *maquis* there. They desire, for the sake of Spain's moral pride, to overthrow Franco before the fall of Hitler. In this mountain outpost, amid a handful of zealous fighters, Commandant García proclaims that though Spain was the first to fight fascism it may be the last to regain its liberty, but it will do it on its own.

Pont du Roi, Spanish-French border, October 30

Four hundred of Franco's soldiers have been killed in a new and violent frontal attack against the *guerrilleros* in the Val d'Aran. The *guerrilleros,* with eighty wounded, were forced to withdraw one kilometer from Viela, the principal village in the valley.

Six thousand Franquist soldiers under the command of General Moscardo, who gained fame in the battle of the Alcazar in Toledo during the civil war, fought against a thousand *guerrilleros* commanded by General Blasques, who once forced Moscardo to retreat during the civil war. Moscardo followed the same tactics as in the fighting at the Alcazar, using civilians as shields for his men and hiding snipers in houses which the *guerrilleros* hesitated to attack. The Franquists had some artillery support but did not use tanks or airplanes. The *guerrilleros* had eight captured German cannon. Some Germans were found among the Franquist dead.

Reinforcements and supplies are a difficult problem for the Franquists, since the only road from Spain to this part of the country is under the control of the *guerrilleros* and will soon be closed by snow. In winter the valley is a blind alley opening only into France, and it is evident that the *guerrilleros* hope to establish a base there from which to launch an attack on Spain. The efforts of the *guerrilleros* to infiltrate over the border near Bourg-Madame in France, as they did at Val d'Aran, have so far failed.

Paris, October 31

I have just returned from the Spanish-French border, where the *guerrilleros* fighting in the Val d'Aran are being torn by Franquist explosive bullets and where others on the French side of the line shiver in the Pyrenees snow, impatient for the right to join the battle in Spain. Strung out along the border, twenty to thirty kilometers from Spain, are four *guerrillero* divisions, scattered by brigades in about twenty mountain towns between Perpignan and Biarritz. These divisions are not of the ordinary size but contain about 1,500 men each. Thus less than 10,000 men face the more than 200,000 troops that General Franco hustled to the border when *guerrilleros* began crossing into Spain.

French civilians along the border remark that there are only officers among the *guerrilleros*. The fact is that the troops are the residue of eight years of battle, and every survivor deserves a position of leadership. All have been wounded or have experienced the severest rigors of malnutrition and exposure. They are the bravest of the anti-fascist forces, and some of the most bitter experiences of our time have given them incredible fortitude.

Everywhere you meet men like Jose García, a gaunt twenty-five-year-old from Saint Gaudens who at seventeen joined the Republican army and became a bomber pilot. Practically the sole survivor of his tiny squadron, he afterward lived for months in a sand-hole concentration camp in France where the death rate was as high as 10 per cent. Then he was forced to work in a sulphur mine at thirty francs a month in a Vichy French labor battalion. Finally he got into the *maquis*. Now, with a bad heart preventing him from flying and his physique undermined by years of hardship, he is still trying to fight in Spain. His right name is not García, but most of these men have all but forgotten their names through disuse, as they have forgotten what normal life can be like. Youngsters like García—they all use the name—have never had a normal life.

Some 30,000 Republicans are prisoners in Germany, having joined the French army at the beginning of the war. A few who escaped, like Commandant Luis los Arcos, of the Toulouse staff, came right back to enter the fight. Perhaps 50,000 are scattered through France, some with General Leclerc's division and others on the various fronts, including the Spanish-French border. I saw a group of fifteen at the Montrejou railway station just arrived from the Brest and Lorient battles. Dressed in a strange mixture of American and British army clothes, they were strong-faced, even gay, and utterly realistic. Perhaps 5 per cent of the *guerrilleros* in France are descended from Spanish agricultural workers who have lived in France for a generation.

All that the *guerrilleros* ask is to get their country back for the Spanish people. One of the countless fighters who are waiting in isolated mountain villages in France said to me, "On the radio I hear the Allies always talking of liberty and democracy for all nations, and I want to smash the radio. Do they mean all nations except us?"

I could not answer him.

The Chinese Impasse

BY PACIFICUS

IF DONALD NELSON'S impending trip to Chungking, his second in three months, achieves its purpose in any great degree, it will rank as one of the most important missions in Far Eastern history. Even if it fails it will be recorded as a farsighted attempt on the President's part to solve China's politico-economic impasse and bring about a stable Pacific peace through a strong, progressive China.

When Mr. Nelson and General Hurley went to Chungking in September, Sino-American relations had reached a low level, manifest particularly in the animosity existing between Chiang Kai-shek and General Stilwell. Vinegar Joe's single-minded interest in effective warfare against the Japanese ran afoul of Chungking's vested political and economic interests. Stilwell's desire to train and command Chinese troops was thought to threaten Chiang's precarious balance of power, for in China power is derived fundamentally from control of the troops. And his attempts to establish liaison with the Communist headquarters in Yenan and to get Chiang to stop fighting the Communists and to concentrate on fighting the Japanese were regarded as lessening the ability of the Kuomintang to suppress the Communists and to dominate post-war China. Under these conditions it was clear that a new approach was required. Chiang could not be expected to reach a fundamental solution of current problems while his power was based on a semi-feudal coalition of war lords, authoritarian party bosses, and the landlord-speculator-usurer class.

Mr. Nelson flew to Chungking to convey personally to the Generalissimo the following significant message: The White House is anxious to see China emerge as the prime power in Asia and to see Chiang Kai-shek the leader of this new strong China. Furthermore, the American government is prepared to make every effort to bring this about by modernizing China's industrial plant both in the immediate future, as a means of improving the Chinese military potential, and after the war, as a means of assisting China to replace Japan as the leading industrial power in East Asia, and thus of preventing Japan's military comeback.

Mr. Nelson made it clear that there was a rather large condition attached to this offer. Chiang would first have to engage in an extensive domestic "house-cleaning" to remove the obstacles to industrialization. Nelson documented this point by reporting the results of a survey he had made of the industries in and around Chungking. He had found them producing at only from 30 to 70 per cent of their actual capacity, despite Free China's crying need for military and essential consumers' products. Their inefficiency was traced to nepotism, bureaucratic corruption, conflict between various factions of the Kuomintang, and a lack of interest in industrial production due to the much greater profits to be realized from speculation.

After Mr. Nelson finished his scathing analysis of Free China's present setup, he pointed out that the American government would not find it worth while to undertake the tremendously difficult task of building up China's industries while existing plants were not efficiently utilized. And he added that if these conditions persisted into the postwar period it would be difficult to interest either the American government or American business in China's industrialization. The Generalissimo expressed amazement at Mr. Nelson's report on Chungking's industries and countered by offering him the position of chief of a Chinese War Production Board. Mr. Nelson is now going back to organize such a board and to get it running smoothly.

As a corollary to Nelson's suggested economic reorganization, Hurley recommended a military renovation involving the removal of dead wood in the Chungking leadership and joint operations with the Communists, under generals the latter would trust.

It is incorrect to assume, as some have, that the President's plan to strengthen Chiang in China and China in Asia is antagonistic to either the Soviet Union or the Chinese Communists. Both Mr. Nelson and Vice-President Wallace, who visited Chungking last June, had as one of their objectives the improvement of relations between China and Russia. When Mr. Wallace reached Chungking after his visit to Soviet Siberia, he suggested to the Generalissimo that the removal of General Sheng Shih-tsai as governor of Sinkiang would be a substantial contribution to Sino-Soviet friendship, since the Soviets consider Sheng the instigator of the border incidents of December, 1943. The Generalissimo accepted Sheng's "resignation" two months later.

Mr. Nelson also went to Chungking by way of the Soviet Union. He stopped off in Moscow and explained the purpose of his trip to Foreign Minister Molotov, who assured him that Russia desired to see a strong and friendly China. Molotov disclosed that the reduction of Russian supplies sent by the overland route to China was due not to the Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact but to heavy Soviet war needs and the feeling on the part of the government that a substantial part of the supplies delivered was being used not against the Japanese but to strengthen the Chungking forces blockading the Communist-led guerrilla forces in North China. The implication was clear that if Chungking's military efforts were directed solely against the Japanese, Russia's aid, as its own demands decreased, would again become substantial. This would bring Soviet policy into line with our effort to achieve anti-Japanese unity in China.

It is interesting and important to note that President Roosevelt, like many others who have followed Far Eastern developments, feels that the followers of Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh are more like agrarian democrats than doctrinaire Communists and has given continuing attention to their activities. His interest led to a slight clash with Madam Chiang Kai-shek at a White House dinner during her visit early in 1943. Mr. Roosevelt asked her about the activities of the Communists in the guerrilla regions. She replied with a long and vitriolic harangue on alleged Communist misdeeds. When she had finished, the President cross-questioned her. He was well primed because he had just read a comprehensive report made up of the accounts of a group of Allied citizens who had escaped from Peiping through guerrilla territory just after December 7, 1941. The accounts included those of Guy Martell Hall of the Peiping branch of the National City Bank, Professor William Band, and others. All agreed that the Communist-led regime was efficient and putting up a good fight against the Japanese. They reported that the Communists were limiting themselves to one-third of the seats in the democratically elected councils, encouraging capitalism, and dividing the lands only of those landlords who had gone over to the Japanese. Madam Chiang expressed amazement at the President's store of information and said many of these developments were news to her.

The President's information has been amplified and his position reinforced by the reports of the press and military missions which Chiang finally permitted to visit Yenan last summer. The newspapermen collected extensive evidence on conditions in the guerrilla regions, some of which has appeared in the papers but most of which has reached this country via diplomatic pouch. The military mission has been given access to all military plans and intelligence, and its head has become convinced that Yenan's 470,000 regular troops and 2,200,000 partisans are the best-organized and best-led troops in China and would be a tremendously effective force if they could be supplied with a moderate number of mortars, "bazookas," and field guns.

The dynamic young State Department expert on China, John Service, who as a member of Stillwell's staff accompanied the military mission, had an interesting interview recently with General Mao Tse-tung, leading Chinese Communist. Mao thanked Service for his unprejudiced approach to Chinese controversies, as evidenced by his endeavor to learn the Communist point of view from General Chou En-lai in Chungking. Mao declared that he would be very happy to have the United States establish a consulate in Yenan; American observers could then get their information first hand, and with an American observer on the spot he felt that Chungking would not dare precipitate civil war.

Washington observers believe, however, that the President's proposal to Chiang is the basic solution for the problem of Chinese unity. The "house-cleaning" which General Chiang would have to carry out would mean sloughing off a considerable portion of his supporters in the right wing of the Kuomintang. This clique derives its power from the feudal-minded landed gentry and old-time war lords, who are chiefly interested in preserving China's oppressive agrarian system and political dictatorship. They and their spokesmen in the government are opposed to both political democracy and industrial progress, which form the common ground on which the Communists and Kuomintang can meet.

The decisive question, therefore, is whether Chiang will challenge these intrenched forces of reaction. Chiang is acknowledged as China's leader by every political and economic group in China. If he is not a prisoner of his reactionary supporters and his emotional anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, as he is often accused of being, the President's offer has opened a great new future. But only by acceding to the overwhelming demand from every part of China for a democratic system, a coalition government, and a joint Kuomintang-Communist military command can Chiang overcome the forces of reaction that bar China's march toward its rightful place in Asia.

General Stilwell's recall may be a minor concession to Chiang made to achieve the major objective. Let us hope that Donald Nelson's return to China will bring the desired results.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

FRIENDS DROPPED IN on Sunday, and we talked of many things. Including our common dislike of Sunday. The day oppresses me. I've tried many devices in the attempt to forget that Sunday is Sunday and to get the pleasure, in working or loafing, that I get out of any other day of the week that happens to be a holiday. But I'm seldom able to throw off the incubus. I had thought my feeling was subjective, and no doubt it is, but I've found many fellow-sufferers. One of them was Stendhal, who complains about it in his autobiography "The Life of Henri Brulard," which is, among other things, uncanny for its expression of attitudes and feelings that the reader, this reader at least, had assumed to be, if not subjective, at least intensely contemporary. "I take a ticket in the lottery," he himself said, "the grand prize of which may be summed up as—to be read in 1935." He won. His comment on Sunday has a modern tone. But the day must have been objectively dreary in his time. After all, it is not so long ago that innocent people all over the Christian world were constrained to sit immobile in Sunday houses, reading the Bible or the Prayer Book, counting their sins, and contemplating hell. Perhaps it is the accumulated guilt and muscle ache of all those past Sundays that weigh me down—and of course we have our secular Bible, the mass of pulp known as the Sunday paper, which few have the strength to ignore and which is filled these days with descriptions of hell on earth.

THE SUNDAY PAPER must be a trial, too, to the writers who have to fill all those sections, apart from the news pages. I'm thinking particularly of the drama reviewers who have to provide a column of second thoughts on the play of the week, whether it's worth a second thought or not. The latest one I've read was Howard Barnes's Sunday piece, in the *Herald Tribune,* on "I Remember Mama," Broadway's new addition to the Family Album which began with Clarence Day's father and is to be continued apparently even unto the third generation. (The thing is infectious. For instance, I find myself thinking in Broadway terms of a hired girl of ours. She took singing lessons.) Mr. Barnes was reduced to a seesaw of praise and reservation that became a burlesque by the end of the fifth paragraph. After that he turned with obvious relief to the production and the acting.

In a typical sentence Mr. Barnes observed: "There is little point in aesthetic quibbling when an offering of rich dramatic incident, emotional warmth, and honesty comes along." I don't see why, and I suspect that a little aesthetic quibbling would have proved far more interesting, to the writer as well as to the reader, than the column I read.

Mr. Barnes quoted with warm approval the exchange between Mama and her daughter about being rich. Mama, when she is asked if she would like to be rich, answers, "I would like to be rich as I would like to be ten feet high—would be good for some things, bad for others." It's a nice reply, and bound to be popular with Americans, who in general would like to be rich. Perversely, I was reminded of the aphorism uttered, I think, by Logan Pearsall Smith, to the effect that there are a few situations in which the possession of money would not be an ameliorating circumstance, but very few.

GARET GARRETT has got out a booklet called "The Revolution Was." He means the New Deal of course. His list of contents outlines, in terms of Problems, the stealthy giant steps by which the cynical New Deal brought about "an American Welfare State, with status in place of freedom": Problem One, To Capture the Seat of Government; Problem Two, To Seize Economic Power; Problem Three, To Mobilize by Propaganda the Forces of Hatred; and so on. It's really alarming as Mr. Garrett presents it. Needless to say, he is sad as he records the complete overturn of our traditional form of government. For my part, I'm very sorry I missed it.

I SPENT AN HOUR reading "Middle East Diary" (Doubleday, Doran, $2), the log of Noel Coward which he kept during his trip to Bagdad and back. He worked very hard entertaining the troops in desert camps and hospitals. He was himself entertained by all the important people in his path. Half the time his little book reads like an intimate society column, and sometimes it gets choked up with names and titles. But his picture of war-time sybaritic Cairo is the more vivid for being presented in those terms. So are the very brief glimpses he gives us into Algiers society, De Gaullist and Giraudist. I was fascinated as I always am by the imperial provincialism of the Britisher. Like Bob Hope, Noel Coward never left home, but home was never like this to Bob Hope.

Warriors' Return

THE VETERAN COMES BACK. By Willard Waller. The Dryden Press. $2.75.

WHEN JOHNNY COMES MARCHING HOME. By Dixon Wecter. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.

LIKE worried proctors straightening the Alumni Hall for a class reunion, the sociologists and historians have begun to prepare for the returning service men. The question is how to arrange the furniture. Is the party going to be rough? Will the boys have changed much? And who should break it to them about the mortgage on the old place? Mixed with the uneasy bustling is a terrified cordiality.

Because they so perfectly exemplify the tons of "veteran" literature now being turned out, these two books, which have received undiscriminating critical praises—and prizes—are worth a little consideration. Mr. Waller's plodding, long-

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drawn-out, interminably repetitious tract uses the stultified trade language of the sociologist: "Our war with the Japanese is replete with horrors, from which the ingredient of cruelty is not absent." Devoted to the promulgation of a new mystique of the veteran, it traces a recurrent historical type, descending all the way to present ex-G. I.'s from Uriah the Hittite—who was never actually mustered out but who, if he had lived, Mr. Waller states, would have created a major veteran problem for his wife's lover, David. It is this concept of the eternal veteran which enables the author to select indiscriminately the illustrative material for his discussion from so many wars, in so many times and places. The veteran is simply an archetype that, with certain variations, persists throughout history. When the author finally relinquishes this notion, at a point seven-eighths of the way through his book, it is only in exchange for the social worker's rule of thumb that individual men differ and must accordingly receive different treatment. Then follows a series of well-intentioned nostrums directed to sub-types within the general veteran type. Finally, the road to an ultimate solution is indicated: the foundation of a new science of "veteranology" (Mr. Waller's word), whose merchants of wisdom, as in a New Atlantis, shall constantly go forth to acquaint the populace with the latest findings of "veteranologists."

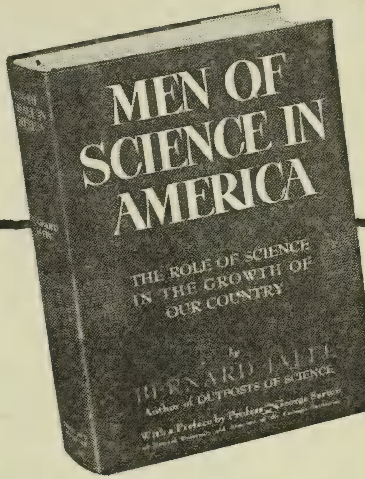
Any rough category of lives—"veteran," "craftsman," "lover," "midget"—implies that certain experiences are shared in common by all the lives, however distant in time or space, which belong to that category. Mr. Waller's study is little else than a catalogue of those abstract least-common-denominator characteristics which formally relate the veteran of today to veterans of other times and places. Such characteristics include, for example, sexual escape, a changed conception of money, rebellion and boredom, intoxication, and an ethic of killing. What is fatally missing from these generalities is the multitude of subtle differences which distinguish the ex-G. I. of World War II, in his experience of even such traditional veteran attitudes, from his contemporaries in other countries and his veteran predecessors in other wars, including World War I. For the ex-G. I. has, after all, his own place in the history of thought and the development of feeling; he is living in a specific time and amid the vast technological apparatus of a new kind of war. The unique aspects of this war's veterans are not fully appreciated in Mr. Waller's inquiry because his almost universal approach precludes the kind of questions arising solely from here and now.

To raise such questions is the aim of "When Johnny Comes Marching Home," Mr. Wecter's meandering survey of American demobilization after three major wars. Despite its see-here-do-we-propose-to-let-this-happen-again tone, the book has only the superficial pugnacity of a chin uptilted for shaving. Reviews of the Revolution and the Civil War, in this context, yield small profit. The soldiers of those earlier wars were cast adrift when American industrial expansion and the development of the national economy were far less advanced than now, and when the existence of new lands to the west provided a safety valve for veteran discontent. From an attentive study of the First World War, however, because it is so much closer to us, several interesting conclusions might have been drawn. They were not drawn here. Prepared under a Guggenheim Fellowship and including everything but the menus and hotel bills accumulated during the period of tenure, Mr. Wecter's book is a new contribution to the great American soap-opera, strung together without design and whipped into a lather of immediacy by a style that is academically derivative from *Time's* and, like *Time's*, frantic with a vividness having nothing to do with life ("the gods that live in machines"). The author's assertion that Charles Beard's early books on World War I, "to the delight of fascists overseas, served to confuse American opinion" will at the same time explain his bias and remove any need for examining his own exercise in historical china painting. In his very safe account of the American Legion Mr. Wecter, like Mr. Waller, walks on bottles, and it is pleasant to report a crash. "Henceforth, in later conventions, their [the American Legion's] once good friend, Congressman Fish, would take their punishment even more squarely on the chin." History has an awkward habit of jibing with itself, and the American Legion convention held last month nullified a resolution, adopted the previous year, in which Mr. Fish had been mildly condemned for carelessness in the use of his franking privilege.

From interviews, diaries, and letters—for the most part of an unrepresentative degree of literacy and self-consciousness—Mr. Wecter evolves a most astonishing and unrecognizable composite of the veterans of this war. They have been sent into battle by fathers who, as veterans of the First World War, "accept it as a nasty but necessary job—so long as aggressive evil stalked the world." Their young leadership "believed coolly—as France's, for example, had not—that their country held something valuable enough to be paid for by death." Not volunteering, their "average fellow has quietly bided his time until needed." Like Mr. Wecter himself, "knowing that no war ever ends war but only purchases another chance for men of good-will," they fear most of all, not death, but the "sophisticates and debunkers" after the war. The latter, according to Mr. Wecter, had much to do with the disillusionment last time.

In his final section Mr. Wecter's sense of responsibility as a historian deserts him altogether, and he seems to content himself with a carelessly enthusiastic rewrite of official materials. If this is a chronicle of the Second World War, Mr. Wecter has good personal reason to dread the work of the "sophisticates and debunkers." Directives and interpretations, laws and amendments, shift from day to day in veteran affairs. Minor errors are inevitable. For example, the subsistence pay for veterans who are in retraining is $92, not $80. More reprehensible is the misinterpretation of the educational benefits in the G. I. Bill of Rights.

Again, the Veterans' Administration has not made clear how it is administering the G. I. bill in cases involving blue discharges—those neither honorable nor dishonorable—but Mr. Wecter does not hesitate: these are not to be barred from its benefits. (Present indications are that some will be barred and some will not.) On the subject of the loans provided by the bill, Mr. Wecter is again far too encouraging. First of all, if the money is borrowed from private sources, only half will be insured by the government up to insurance of $2,000. The 4 per cent interest limitation will make some money lenders unwilling, and refusals may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also be anticipated for the setting up of little businesses on the basis of the comparatively high rate of failure of small individual enterprise. It will be possible to borrow from certain unspecified government agencies, but just how they can be brought into the picture will be another determining factor.

From Mr. Wecter's misleading discussion the reader might conclude that General Hines was whole-heartedly implementing the Presidential order to supervise the reemployment of veterans and demobilized war workers. In fact, Hines's Order I, issued on May 17, disregarded the imperative and provided only for veterans' referral centers, which, as now being set up throughout the country, will result in the segregation of veteran from war worker.

It is best to hasten on to the moral lesson which Mr. Wecter has extracted from his labor and which all but overpowered the editors of *Time* and *Life:* an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

To anyone actively engaged in the problems of veteran rehabilitation, what proves most baffling and in the end exasperating is the realm of public-spirited anonymity in which such researches as those of Mr. Wecter and Mr. Waller take place. Lands to the west, America's traditional solution for the veteran question, there are no more, but Mr. Roosevelt has already elaborated the possibilities of Alaska. Full employment is no longer predicted, but the proposal for post-war military conscription is advanced amid ill-concealed enthusiasm on all sides for the burden of unemployment that will be lifted thereby. Veterans must not be set apart, but the Veterans' Personnel Division expounds an interpretation of the Selective Service Act which directs the firing of any worker, even with greater seniority, to make way for the veteran with his "super-seniority." (Victor Reuther, of the largest labor union in the world, raises his voice to protest that this surely was never the original intent of Congress, but Senator Truman, a vice-presidential candidate as this is written, declares, as one who helped frame the act, that this was exactly the intent of Congress. Governor Bricker, likewise a vice-presidential candidate, a bit hazy on the issues but aware of the political potential, sounds out in favor of jobs for veterans. And meanwhile the time bomb of this ruling goes on ticking in broad daylight.) A bill which would ease somewhat the complicated post-war adjustments for veteran and worker is quietly strangled in Congress. General Motors, on the day immediately following D-Day, inspires a story to the effect that a union has asked the corporation to discharge five ex-service men because they failed to comply with the maintenance-of-membership clause of the collective agreement. Bell Aircraft hires fifty veterans before a lay-off, then fires them, explaining that the company has found it necessary to dismiss the veterans before all other employees. Meanwhile in the veterans' referral centers a savage tooth-and-nail struggle goes on among conflicting power interests for decisive control.

We are very far indeed from Mr. Wecter's and Mr. Waller's civic-minded parlor games, and our new veterans, in no danger of disillusionment because, from the experience of their lifetime, they arrive upon the scene "pre-shrunk," are in a fair way to become America's latest crop of displaced persons.

EDWARD M. MAISEL

BRIEFER COMMENT

Concerning Cartels

IN ONE ADVERTISEMENT a bespectacled young man in a white coat is staring fixedly at a test tube. The copy that goes with the ad is lyrical in its praise of the research conducted for the public good by private concerns. In another advertisement a group of well-fed gentlemen are poring over a chart of production figures. The copy for this tells how gallantly free enterprise is carrying on in these parlous times. If it so happens that the fine fellows in the advertisements are employed by the cartel that monopolizes the production and distribution of Vitamin D, "the sunshine vitamin," used chiefly as a protection against rickets in poor people, the young man with the test tube may very well be searching for a slick way to reduce the potency of the product while the fine fellows at the directors' table are figuring out some way of jacking up its price.

When Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold, who had gone cartel busting in a big way, was kicked upstairs, young Wendell Berge took his place and a lot of business men breathed sighs of relief. They breathed too soon as things turned out, for Berge, like his distinguished predecessor, can smell out a violation of the anti-trust law in any part of the country, and from vitamins to synthetic hormones, titanium, quebracho extract, optical instruments—a long list of essential products both for military and civilian use—he finds cartels at work against the interests of all of us, often to the point of pure treason. The fundamental idea of the cartel—the international exchange of research findings and ideas, the stabilization of markets, and the rest—is of course all to the good, provided the cartel is under public control. But Mr. Berge's fascinating descriptions in his book "Cartels" (Public Affairs Press, $3.25) of the actuality of the cartel as it currently functions for the sole purpose of private profit is enough to make your blood boil, and if you have any hairs left after reading the descriptions of big-business shenanigans these many weary years, prepare to upend them again when you read this book. Jammed with facts and figures as it is, "Cartels" is written in a lively, fighting style. More power to Wendell Berge, and a host of readers for his book.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

Charles Péguy

THE FORTNIGHTLY NOTEBOOKS, which form the life work of Charles Péguy, are rambling and uneven in quality. To pick out apophthegms and purple patches as Anne and Julian Green have done in "Basic Verities" and now again in "Men and Saints" (Pantheon Books, $2.75) is perhaps to distort and certainly to flatter Péguy, but it is the only way to get him widely read. The new selection exacts no radical reconsideration of the author, but after reading both volumes the reader is in a better position to see Péguy's limitations. The portrait of Jean Jaurès, one of the chief exhibits of the new volume, is masterly, but it reveals even more of the artist than of the sitter. The ac-

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count of the Dreyfus case is thrilling, but it is far from being an acute analysis of the affair. Péguy advertises glowingly "that marvelous unity true of all ancient societies" and denounces the disunity of the modern world roundly enough, but for a European this is no unusual achievement. The poet's fine French brew of nationalism, individualistic catholicism, and a socialism which sanctifies poverty is of human historical, and clinical but hardly of political or philosophical interest.

Yet Péguy is a writer of the first rank, and we owe to Pantheon Books—which might better be called Vatican Books—a great debt for bringing him to us in this splendid double-text edition, whose beautiful format is hardly blemished even by war-time paper. Péguy is presented to us as one of the great seers—Carlyle, Heine, Nietzsche, and Stefan George were others—who foresaw the otherwise undreamed-of horrors of our time. Perhaps Mr. Green has overstressed this factor; and some will find his uncritical reverence for his master more a hindrance than a help. Péguy is greatest not as hero, saint, or even as a sage but as a highly subjective artist. The present volume is worth buying for the poem "La Nuit" alone.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

Planned Diversity

KARL MANNHEIM'S "Diagnosis of our Time" (Oxford, $3) is an important little volume which continues the argument of the author's "Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction." It is a much-needed corrective to the view, already growing fashionable, that a planned society necessarily must make for a dull, dread uniformity of thought and action. Mannheim recognizes, however, that in addition to devising specific administrative techniques to provide for diversity, a society that plans for freedom must *value* independent personality, critical judgment, and the "basic paridigmatic experiences" which give life a dramatic significance. At this point a whole series of ambiguities arise because Mannheim identifies "paradigmatic" experience with religious experience. On one reading, all he means is that a society must plan the conditions to encourage religious freedom, which is best done by a secular society, of which he seems critical. On another reading, he wants to make some type of "paridigmatic experience" a unifying force in society, which encounters the obvious difficulty that a Catholic, a Quaker, and a secular humanist do not share the same "basic view of life." Mannheim is hostile to any attempt to institutionalize religious experience. On still other readings, the "paradigmatic experience" can be identified either with a passion for democracy or with a reformed Christianity, or merely with a personal philosophy of life. The whole discussion exhibits a tantalizing vagueness which although suggestive seems to burke crucial issues.

In refreshing contrast to Mannheim's discussion of religion in a planned society is his treatment of education. Here his perceptions are rich and his judgments incisive. His general attitude may be conveyed by the following passages: "Neither democratic tolerance nor scientific objectivity demands that we should never take a stand for what we believe to be true, nor that we should avoid discussing the final values and objects of life." "If the modern teacher will think of himself not so much as a schoolmaster but as a life-master doing from another angle what the social worker does in his sphere, then he will be striving for all the knowledge available in this task. He will try to educate a generation of youth which combines emotional stability with a flexible mind; yet he will only succeed if he is capable of seeing each of the problems of the new generation against the background of a changing world."

SIDNEY HOOK

FICTION IN REVIEW

The Unstaggered Imagination

IT WOULD seem to me perfectly understandable if there were no novels at all about recent events in Europe, if writers were so humbled or emotionally paralyzed by what it means to fight a dominant fascism that they completely avoided the subject. But evidently there is no reality too big for the truly unimaginative. Novel after novel dares to cope, as if it were all in the day's work, with material that one would suppose could be touched—and then only touched—by only the greatest talent, working at a certain historical distance. There is no end to the books that, on the basis only of good-will or anger, put themselves forward as true or at least adequate re-creations of the anti-Nazi struggle either within Germany itself or in the conquered countries.

I find it hard to say which of the schools of anti-Nazi fiction is most distasteful. There is the frankly blood-letting school, whose curriculum of beatings and tortures is as well established as its curriculum of heroism. At the other pole there is the school of liberty-loving idyll-ism, which though subtler is almost equally distressing: these are the novels which weave a rainbow of poetry about the resistance to German domination of a small country or "small" people. Between these two extremes stretches the whole long train of vehicles for comfortable ideals and vicarious courage, for unconscious cruelty and conscious political virtue.

This week I have read two anti-Nazi novels—Lord Dunsany's "Guerrilla" (Bobbs-Merrill, $2.50) and Albert Maltz's "The Cross and the Arrow" (Little, Brown, $2.75). Although each of them conforms to an established pattern, neither is as excessive of its kind as some novels I could name, and I don't mean the brunt of my general remarks to be borne fully and only by these two examples. I recognize that by this time each new anti-Nazi novel that comes my way is likely to be held accountable not only for its own faults but for the faults of all its predecessors.

Probably there was no reason for me to have expected better than I got from a new Dunsany book. "Guerrilla" is thin, abstract, allegorical, poetical. We can guess that it is about Greece, but Dunsany calls his oppressed country The Land. When the Germans come to The Land, the People take to the Mountain to fight for Freedom. I find such abstraction of reality an offense against taste, just as I find Lord Dunsany's abstractions of human feeling a profanation of the genius of the novel. There is a young hero named Srebnitz, and Dunsany writes: "Whenever Srebnitz smiled he was thinking of his rifle that he was going to get and take away to the Mountain. The Mountain and its bright freedom, and the free men whom he would meet there, filled his mind as flowers are filled with sunlight." This false poeticism is the idiom of thought of a young boy a couple of pages after his mother and father have been murdered almost before his eyes! But in the measure that Dunsany is unengaged by human beings, he is engaged by special boyish knowledge: he can be most pedagogically concrete about how to light fires, hide behind bushes, and outmaneuver the enemy. "Guerrilla" is a perfect boy-scout guide to the joys of outdoor living and dying.

Quite another manner of effort—a very much better one, if we must grade them—is Albert Maltz's "The Cross and the Arrow," a novel set within Germany and concerned with the breakable link in the chain that thinks itself so strong. A certain Wegler, of hitherto sound Nazi record, suddenly lights a fire to guide English fliers to a hidden German factory. With the aid of a section of flashback, act two of a three-act novel, Mr. Maltz unfolds his story during the interval between Wegler's big insurgent moment and his death: this way of conceiving a novel is not one that I particularly like, but it is a perfectly permissible way, depending for success on the author's ability to create quick excitement and handle character. But although "The Cross and the Arrow" is not without excitement, it is the kind of excitement that makes me feel used, as if I had been made to keep a deathwatch over someone with whom I had no vital connection. And Mr. Maltz's characters are either unconvincingly simple or unconvincingly complex.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

IT WOULD be easy enough to prove by citing examples that Catholics on the one hand and Communists on the other are perfectly capable on occasion of writing novels or plays of non-sectarian appeal. But a "Communist play" may be more than merely a play written by a Communist, and a Catholic play may be more than merely a play written by a Catholic. When either the one or the other is this something more, then it is probably useless to urge upon even the professional critic his supposed duty to judge only in terms of an author's intention and his success in achieving it. It is sometimes easy enough to suspend one's disbelief in a premise provided one knows that the author has done no more and expects no more of us. But when belief rather than merely a suspension of disbelief is necessary, then the play in question is not a play by a Catholic, Communist, Christian Scientist, or what not; it is a "Catholic," "Communist," or "Christian Scientist" play, and as such it cannot fully succeed except with those who accept as valid the premise on which it rests.

"Embezzled Heaven," the Theater Guild's new offering now current at the National Theater, is in some respects the most interesting production of the season. It is, however, a Catholic play in the sense just defined. Whether or not the author, Franz Werfel, is now himself a professed member of the church I do not know, and the question is not really important. The play is Catholic in conception, and the extent to which it will succeed must, despite a generally good production and a fine performance by Ethel Barrymore, depend on the convictions of the spectator.

The most substantial part of the fable is hardly more than an anecdote. It concerns a pious peasant employed as cook who spends on the education of a nephew the earnings of a lifetime, only to discover in old age that this nephew is a fraud who not only left the seminary to which she had sent him without becoming a priest but has continued to bleed her for money to spend in dishonorable living. That anecdote might of course be told in any one of a dozen ways to make any one of a dozen points which one need only be a human being to find valid. Moreover, to proceed, as Werfel then does, to show her discovering in herself a flaw almost as serious as any she can find in her nephew, to show her, that is, coming to realize that she has really tried to buy her way into heaven through a protégé whom she never really loved, is still to adopt a line of development which can be followed sympathetically by any ethically minded person whether he be Catholic or creedless. But the last act leads us on to a conclusion emotionally and intellectually satisfactory only to those who can accept, as the heroine does, the claims of the Catholic church to a specific and exclusively effective method of assuring salvation. Fearing now that she will miss heaven through all the years she has loved herself, not her nephew, she goes with a group on a pilgrimage to Rome, and on her knees before the Pope she blurts out her story before she dies there, as the Pope assures her not only that she has redeemed herself by her genuine love for the parish priest who now has her in tow but also that he himself will remember her in his prayers. To the unbeliever at least it is hardly evident that her supposed new motives are very different from her old ones, and only a Catholic can feel that the Pope's intercession will actually open those doors which it has been the whole purpose of her life to have someone open for her.

Miss Barrymore is a very fine actress—indeed, a far finer one now, I think, than she was twenty years and more ago in the first heyday of her reputation, when she depended, as she no longer does, upon "personality" and "glamor." She plays the peasant heroine with restraint, dignity, and conviction. She makes her a believable, or almost believable, person and a pathetic figure as well. But even an acting triumph cannot give universal validity to a play so constructed that it has no point except a specifically Catholic one. And what Miss Barrymore is not able to accomplish none of the lavishly expended resources of the Guild can accomplish either. "Embezzled Heaven" has been given a fine cast, impressive as well as effective settings, and excellent direction. All these things together might have overcome a certain Teutonic stodginess which is the chief defect of writing in a play which, speaking generally, has substantial virtues so far as dialogue and characterization are concerned. But nothing can alter the fact that the whole can have no meaning to any spectator who cannot accept the fundamental premise almost as literally as the heroine herself accepts it. The entire last act is given up to a scene in the audience chamber of the Vatican. Everything has been done to give the scene theatrical effectiveness by means of imposing scenery and splendid pageantry. But theatrical effectiveness is not here sufficient. Either the Pope actually has in his possession the keys to heaven or he has not. And unless one believes that he does have them, the scene cannot be even dramatically effective.

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

ALL credit is due Peggy Guggenheim for her enterprise in presenting young and unrecognized artists at her Art of This Century gallery. But even more to her credit is her acumen. Two of the abstract painters she has recently introduced—Jackson Pollock and William Baziotes—reveal more than promise: on the strength of their first one-man shows they have already placed themselves among the six or seven best young painters we possess.

Baziotes, whose show closed last month, is unadulterated talent, natural painter and all painter. He issues in a single jet, deflected by nothing extraneous to painting. Two or three of his larger oils may become masterpieces in several years, once they stop disturbing us by their nervousness, by their unexampled color—off-shades in the intervals between red and blue, red and yellow, yellow and green, all depth, involution, and glow—and by their very originality. Baziotes's gouaches had their own proper quality, which is the intensity of their whites and higher colors. But many of his pictures were marred by his anxiety to resolve them; the necessity of clinching a picture dramatically, also the sheer love of elaboration, led him to force his invention and inject too many new and uncoordinated elements into the coda, so to speak. This coda was usually found near the upper left-hand corner of the canvas, where *shapes* would first appear, while the remainder of the surface would have been dealt with in terms of the division and texture of *area*, and asked to be resolved according to the same logic. Baziotes will become an emphatically good painter when he forces himself to let his pictures "cook" untouched for months before finishing them. He already confronts us with big, substantial art, filled with the real emotion and the true sense of our time.

Robert Motherwell's first one-man show, also at Art of This Century (through November 11), makes Miss Guggenheim's gallery almost too much of a good thing. Motherwell is a more finished but less intense painter than Baziotes, less upsetting because more traditional and easier to take. One is Dionysian and the other Apollonian. Motherwell's water-color drawings are of an astonishing felicity and that felicity is of an astonishing uniformity. But it owes too much to Picasso, pours too directly from post-cubism. Only in his large oils and collages does Motherwell really lay his cards down. There his constant quality is an ungainliness, an insecurity of placing and drawing, which I prefer to the gracefulness of his water colors because it is through this very awkwardness that Motherwell makes his specific contribution. The big smoky collage "Joy of Living"—which seems to me to hint at the joy of danger and terror, of the threats to living—is not half as achieved as the perfect and Picasso-ish "Jeune Fille," yet it points Motherwell's only direction: that is, the direction he must go to realize his talent—of which he has plenty. Only let him stop watching himself, let him stop thinking instead of painting himself through. Let him find his personal "subject matter" and forget about the order of the day. But he has already done enough to make it no exaggeration to say that the future of American painting depends on what he, Baziotes, Pollock, and only a comparatively few others do from now on.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THAT period in the twenties, when the talk was of jazz—meaning Whiteman and Gershwin—and its relation to American symphonic music, began, as I recall it, with Gilbert Seldes's article "Toujours Jazz," which appeared in the *Dial* in the summer of 1923 and became part of his book "The Seven Lively Arts." Until then my attention had been concentrated on Beethoven and Brahms; Seldes directed it to popular music. And there were some things in his article that I knew were wrong even before I listened to the music they referred to. Thus:

> It is syncopation which has so liberated jazz from normal polyphony, from perfect chords, that M. Darius Milhaud is led to expect from jazz a full use of polytonic and atonic harmonies; he notes that in "Kitten on the Keys" there exists already a chord of the perfect major and the perfect minor. The reason why syncopation lies behind all this is that it is fundamentally an anticipation or a suspension in one instrument (or in the bass) of what is going to happen in another (the treble); and the moment in which a note occurs prematurely or in retard, is, frequently, a moment of discord on the strong beat.

Evident at once in this passage were the confusions—one crowding on the heels of the other—of mere language and statement, progression of thought, and hashed-up musical terms and facts. It was not certain what Seldes meant by perfect chords, and therefore by normal polyphony; actually it is normal for a melody or for a voice in a polyphonic texture to pass through tones which don't belong to the underlying chords. The process, moreover, doesn't of itself create any tendency for the melody to move out of the tonality of those chords; and the simultaneous occurrence of F major and minor in "Kitten on the Keys," I discovered, came about through the fact that the left hand started an ostinato figure containing a-flat, to which the right hand added an ostinato figure containing a-natural. From this and other passages in the article I could see that it was the product of a glib ignoramus who made verbal hubbub and confusion and sheer chaos of thought and style—with parenthetic interpolations slithering in all directions at once—into a critical method.

But one error—quite the most important in the article—I was not equipped to perceive at that time; and this was Seldes's statement that it was not the Negro orchestras but the white—and above all Whiteman's—who had achieved the complete exploitation of jazz. I had not heard the Negro orchestras; but even if I had it is probable that with my background I would have gone along with Seldes when he wrote: "All the free, the instinctive, the wild in Negro jazz which could be integrated into his music, [Whiteman] has kept; he has added to it, has worked his material, until it runs sweetly in his dynamo, without grinding or scraping. . . . He has arrived at one high point of jazz—the highest until new material in the music is provided for him." Nor did I know of anyone rising to object that the Negroes had produced jazz and Whiteman had changed it into something that "ran sweetly": all through the twenties the talk I heard continued to be about Gershwin's songs and Whiteman's performances; and I didn't hear as much as the names of Fletcher Henderson, Louis Armstrong, Earl Hines, and others until the early thirties.

That initial error led me into another. Seldes contended that syncopation had led jazz composers "to discoveries in rhythm and to a mastery of complications which one finds only in the great masters of serious music." The most complicated thing I heard—a few measures of a three-note or three-beat figure repeated in the treble against a four-beat bass, obviously not produced by syncopation—seemed to me to have been exceeded by the great masters of serious music; and often the figure received the accentuation of the bass, or the bass that of the figure; so that I got the impression of occasional irregularities in a pretty steadily maintained single meter. But I would not have got this impression from the performances, of the Negroes.

By 1932 I had begun to hear jazz and to acquire correct ideas of what it was like. And in 1939 my understanding was vastly increased by the distinction which Wilder Hobson made in the very first paragraph of his "American Jazz Music" between "what the players themselves call 'commercial' music, dance arrangements of popular tunes," and on the other hand music in the

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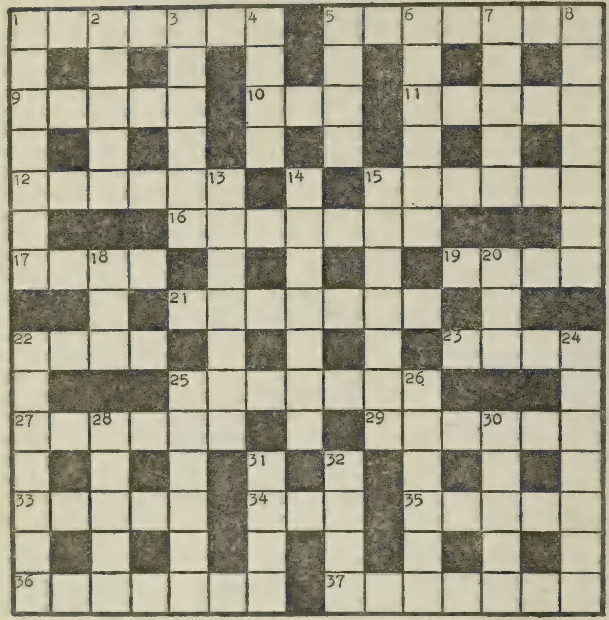
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 89

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 The crew are apt to be a bit groggy after he has spliced the mainbrace
5 Beautiful stones of Czecho-Slovakia
9 "Beano" was known to old-timers as this
10 Small Scotch
11 Not in a position to speak with accuracy
12 Trace this crime back to discover the cause of it
15 Answer that moves A. Green to anger
16 Trying work, this
17 A Parthian shot
19 Good in the man, bad in the machine
21 Local yokelry
22 Source of nuts and wine
23 English queen. She's dead!
25 Name of more than one American hotel
27 "Be thou as chaste as ice, as pure as snow, thou shalt not - - - - - - calumny" (Hamlet to Ophelia)
29 Tones down the music
33 When told that the crew was revolting, he answered, "Yes, aren't they?"
34 We appear to have nothing before us
35 Entomb—or cremate, perhaps
36 "Not body enough to cover his mind decently with; his intellect is improperly - - - - - -" (Sidney Smith)
37 Scene of Mazeppa's wild ride

DOWN

1 A mule and a cat join in a pipe of peace
2 Family author
3 Married to Sir Scudamore in Spenser's *Faerie Queen*
4 Much of a muchness
5 Mirth in parts
6 The dictator's passion
7 Suitable name for Miss Heath?
8 Hint
13 Is it queer to pay back? Maybe
14 One of the laws of the land
15 Every 14 had to be this first
18 Lady bird
20 In France
22 "Indeed, I - - - - - - - for my country when I reflect that God is just" (Jefferson)
24 Commissions, but not in the armed forces
25 French-Algerian cavalrymen
26 French dramatic poet
28 Brittle form of scrip
30 A fleshy fruit begins to be fleshy
31 A bricklayer's carrier with nothing in it might protect the head.
32 Pins, colloquially

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. [illegible]

ACROSS:—1 BACARDI; [illegible] DUSTBIN; 9 STUCK-UP; 10 SKATERS; 11 ALOES; 12 AHA; 13 NITER; 14 DISTICH; 16 TRANSOM; 18 BLANKET; 21 CHESTER; 24 DEPTH; 26 RAW; 27 DEMUR; 28 GATHERS; 29 INVALID; 30 TRANSIT; 31 DOLORES.

DOWN:—1 BUSTARD; 2 COUPONS; [illegible] RAKES; 4 IMPEACH; 5 DISMAST; 6 SPAIN; 7 BREATHS; 8 NOSTRUM; 15 ILK; 17 ALE; 18 BEDIGHT; 19 ASPATIA; 20 TURNS IT; 21 COWBIRD; 22 TEMPLAR; 23 REREDOS; 25 HEELS; 27 DEVIL.

"natural musical language which American musicians, Negroes and whites, have been speaking now for more than a quarter-century"; and by his further observation that "all of the commercial forms borrow from [the natural language] to some extent" and "the same men often play both commercially and naturally." There had been, then, the stream of jazz, of spontaneous "hot" performance; and parallel with it, borrowing from it, watering it down, there had been the stream of "commercial" music of the succession of dance bands —"commercial" music in the "sweet" style of bands like Whiteman's or in the "swing" style of bands like Benny Goodman's.

But 1944 finds Seldes writing:

> The great trouble with modern (post-Whiteman and Gershwin) hot jazz is that the outsider (hick or amateur listener) can't follow it. Sometimes he thinks there's nothing to follow. First one character does his stuff. Then another. Until maybe nine men have hit terrific smashes into the bleachers. There are no runs or bases hit and no one sacrifices to bring a man home. In short it's not a team. . . . The outstanding (egregious) quality of Condon's band . . . is that the players play together. . . . What each man plays has to do with what the man before him played. And what they all play has to do with the composition they are playing and isn't a mere arabesque around a forgotten theme. If that's Chicago jazz, okay Chicago. If it's just Eddie Condon, okay Eddie.

It isn't surprising that Seldes's ignorance has advanced with the years. The amazing thing is to find it printed in the program of a jazz concert by Eddie Condon, who knows what Seldes doesn't know about "hot" jazz, both pre- and post-Whiteman, and who himself played in the little "hot" bands that in 1928 produced superbly integrated performances like the Miff Mole "Shim-Me-Sha-Wabble."

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

THE PAST FEW WEEKS OF THE GLOBAL WAR HAVE been open season for the shooting down of optimists. The Allies have made no major gains around the shrinking German perimeter: the western front from the sea to Nijmegen was quiet last week, the Russians were halted outside Budapest, and General Patton's offensive was at best an attempt to straighten the line between Metz and Nancy and perhaps to encircle Metz. But none of these actions can be regarded as immediately decisive. On the other side of the world the liberation of the Philippines met greatly increased Japanese resistance and a tropical typhoon which slowed progress on Leyte to a walk. This was to have been expected; the fact that it occasioned widespread surprise in this country reemphasized the importance of taking with a grain of salt General MacArthur's communiqués and most of the press dispatches from the Pacific. (MacArthur claimed that organized resistance had ceased on Leyte two weeks ago, the first dispatches from Pearl Harbor said that 250,000 American troops had landed on the island.) What happened seems to be this: the Pacific time-table was speeded up as a result of the modest opposition met by Navy fliers over the Philippines, MacArthur went in without benefit of prolonged softening of defenses, the storms hindered close land-based air support, and the enemy was consequently able to reinforce Leyte and to cause considerable damage among our ships with his land-based aircraft. Our fliers inflicted considerably more damage on Japanese shipping in Ormoc Bay last week-end, however, and the eventual result, however many weeks it takes, is assured.

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THE HITLER MYSTERY WAS DEEPENED OVER the week-end by the fact that the Führer's customary address to the German people on the anniversary of the beer-hall putsch was delivered by Himmler. The absence of Hitler himself gave impetus to the manufacture of stories reporting variously his death, his fatal illness, his insanity, and his disappearance from Germany; but more important, it lent new significance to the repeated appearance in recent weeks at official ceremonies of the chief of the Gestapo in place of his master. Himmler begins to look as well as to act like the real ruler of Germany. Whether Hitler wrote it or not, the statement read by Himmler is of first importance, since it provided new evidence of an unchanged determination on the part of the Nazis to carry their fight "to the death." The threat might be dismissed as a desperate effort to bolster domestic morale if the will to resist were not being demonstrated at every point on three fronts. In Italy, in the West, even around Budapest, the Germans are putting up a fight that has led military writers to describe their operations as a "defensive success." The statement discussed in great detail the measures taken after the revolt of last summer to restore the absolute control of the Führer, and warned that "anyone who lifts a sword or throws a bomb against the German people will be mercilessly, ruthlessly exterminated." Hitler announced his "grateful joy" over the proof provided after July 20th that the army, navy, and air force "in their totality had accepted the spirit of National Socialism" so that only a purge of "the unworthy ones" was necessary to insure absolute unity. Events since July 20 lend a good deal of credence to the Führer's words.

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THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CIVIL aviation, now meeting in Chicago, has given little encouragement to those who believe that, with the world growing smaller every year, all the nations must learn to get along with one another under some sort of supra-national authority. This conference, even more than previous conferences on relief and rehabilitation, food, and monetary stabilization, could have drawn the pattern for the peaceable settlement of issues likely to lead to international conflict; and certainly the coming struggle for control of world airways has more potential trouble involved in it than any other single branch of trade or commerce. The temper of the conference was indicated by its abrupt dismissal of the far-sighted Australian-New Zealand proposal for the internationalization of the aviation airways as praiseworthy but impractical idealism. The big-power battle was drawn between the American and the British plans. Opposed though we are to certain restrictive features of the British plan, we thoroughly endorse the proposal for a strong world airways authority to allocate routes, frequency of service, and rates, over the American proposal for unbridled competition. Even more, we favor the Canadian compromise proposal, which would apply to international airways the highly successful principles of the Civil Aeronautics Board in this country: international regulation of world air routes in place of restrictive trade barriers, and freedom of competition (but no cutthroat competition) with the best operator getting the business. Instead, the delegates seem to be accepting the American plan for wide-open competition: a plan distinguished by excessive nationalism, impelled by the short-sighted greed of American operators, and fraught with the perils of a new and particularly vicious trade-war. We commend to our readers the article on this subject by Charles G. Bolté, elsewhere in this issue, and agree with him that, in this case above all others, the preservation of our civilization is more important than the preservation of profits.

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PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL WAS CHEERED BY great crowds when he made his Armistice Day appearance in Paris. His welcome by General de Gaulle was equally friendly if more restrained. For Mr. Churchill brought with him a formal invitation to the French government to join the European Advisory Commission sitting in London and this move marks the definite acceptance of the new France as one of the great powers. It was long in coming, this full, official recognition, and one can understand the satisfaction with which it was greeted in Paris. But the closer relationship which is rapidly being built up between France and its Western allies is not, we suspect, merely or primarily a tribute to the stability of the De Gaulle government. Behind it lie political motives stronger than friendship or the recognition of a nation's just claims. While Soviet Russia presses its conquests in Eastern Europe, Britain is obviously doing its best to throw up political earthworks in the West, following the strategy outlined a year ago by Marshal Smuts. But the idea of a Western bloc, however carefully camouflaged, is going to be approached with caution by the French. Only the other day General de Gaulle announced his opposition to any alignment of Western nations that might divide the Continent. For he knows that the political future of France depends quite as much on the good will of Russia as on its relations with Britain and the United States.

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MARSHAL STALIN'S SPEECH ON THE EVE OF THE twenty-sixth anniversary of the October Revolution was the most encouraging yet made from the standpoint of the Western democracies. The Soviet Premier not only paid warm tribute to the military achievements of Britain and the United States in the past year but went out of his way to indorse the Dumbarton Oaks plan for post-war collaboration and held out high hopes that the remaining points of difference regarding the security organization would soon be ironed out. Stalin also made an important political gesture by listing Japan along with Germany as an "aggressive nation" which, because of its imperialist designs, had been better prepared for war than the peace-loving democracies. The *Domei* news agency reports that the Japanese were "surprised and offended" by Premier Stalin's words. And well they might be, for the Soviet leader's warning will compel Japan to reinforce its Manchurian defenses and to strengthen its home air fleet at the expense of its present commitments in China and the Philippines.

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THE ASSASSINATION OF LORD MOYNE, BRITISH Minister of State in the Middle East, focuses attention once more on that region of perennial trouble and unreconciled animosities. Others have dwelt, and rightly, on the folly of assassination as a political instrument, particularly in this instance, when Jewish Palestine can ill afford an act which, although perpetrated by Sternist extremists, may by an unjust ricochet injure the Zionist movement as a whole. What we should like to stress here is the fact that Lord Moyne's violent death—taken together with the recent attentat against Sir Harold MacMichael—is a portent and a warning. The problem of the Middle East will continue to plague the world unless the Allies can bring it to a radical solution. Various plans have been put forward—dominion status, internationalization, condominium, transfers of population, and so on—and we must give serious thought to all of them. But one thing is clear. The narrow imperialistic policy still followed by Britain in a region which it believes to be its exclusive sphere of influence will not work. Unless it is abandoned soon, trouble and perhaps other political killings will follow. Assassination, let us not forget, is indigenous to the Middle East. The very word comes from the Arabic *hashishin* ("eater of hashish"), the name given to the medieval followers of Rachid Ed Dîn Sinân (the "Old Man of the Mountain"), who, intoxicated with hashish, secretly murdered all their enemies, spreading terror throughout Syria. The propensity remains. The British should no longer give it occasion to manifest itself.

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THE SOLDIER VOTE SEEMS TO HAVE HAD MUCH less effect on the results of the Presidential election than was feared by Republicans. Analysis of the returns shows that only in two states—New Jersey and Michigan—was the soldier vote decisive for F. D. R. While the soldier vote was much more favorable to the President than the civilian vote in most states, there is little evidence that service men voted for Mr. Roosevelt simply because he is commander-in-chief. The ratio of soldier ballots favoring Roosevelt had been estimated at approximately 67 per cent for the country as a whole. A poll taken in June, 1944, indicated that 62 per cent of civilian young people twenty-one to twenty-nine years old favored Roosevelt, indicating that military experience had a slight but only a slight influence.

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IT IS GRATIFYING TO NOTE THAT RED SCARES and appeals to religious and racial prejudice failed completely in the 1944 election campaign. For weeks prior to the election the Hearst, McCormick, and Scripps-Howard press screamed daily about the Browder-Hillman conspiracy to take over the American government. In an obvious attempt to play upon Catholic antipathy to communism, Mr. Dewey devoted the bulk of his Boston speech to the thesis that the Communists were about to seize control of the Democratic Party. The Dies committee issued a series of blasts purporting to show that the P. A. C. was controlled by Communists and fellow-travelers. Yet an analysis of the election returns indicates that this vast effort succeeded in frightening no one. Catholic Boston, where Mr. Dewey made his fantastic charges, turned in its usual heavy Democratic majority. In the Catholic areas of Brooklyn and Manhattan the President ran even stronger than in 1940. Catholic papers like *America*, the *Commonweal*, and the *Liguorian* not only denied the accuracy of the Republican charges against the P. A. C. but denounced the efforts to stir up religious bigotry. Furthermore, the candidates who relied most heavily on the red bogy—Ham Fish, Day of Illinois, Poulson of California—were repudiated by the electorate. The technique which brought Hitler to power in 1933 appears to be more than a little shopworn in 1944 America.

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AMID THE MANY HEARTENING ELECTION results, New Jersey's action in rejecting the proposed new state constitution was distinctly discouraging. Although the version submitted was a far from satisfactory document, it was superior to the present century-old constitution in many ways. For one thing it would have substantially weakened the power of Boss Hague by removing the courts from local political control. Knowing this, Hague employed every trick at his command to defeat it. He encouraged the circulation of wholly unfounded rumors to the effect that the proposed changes would undermine the confidential relationship between the clergy and members of their constituencies and would liberalize the grounds for divorce. He enlisted the support of some labor groups by stressing the obvious deficiencies in the charter with respect to social legislation. Bitter opposition to the new constitution also developed among farm groups because it allegedly took the state Department of Agriculture out of the hands of the farmers and put it under the control of the politicians. In the last analysis it was the farm vote—fundamentally antipathetic to Hague—that saved the Jersey City dictator from disaster. Apart from the charter vote, New Jersey did well. It gave a handsome majority to the President and elected H. Alexander Smith, an internationalist Republican, to the Senate over a Hague-picked Democratic candidate.

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REACTIONARY GROUPS SUCCEEDED IN PUSHING through amendments to the state constitutions of Arkansas and Florida, providing that the "right to work" shall not be dependent on membership in a labor organization. All closed-shop contracts in those states are thus voided, labor's right to strike is seriously impaired, and the Wagner act is in effect nullified. The amendments appear to be an oblique way of abrogating a federal law which has been sustained by the Supreme Court. Their constitutionality is questionable, and we look forward to a test case. Their immediate practical effects will undoubtedly be bad. This was recognized by the California Chamber of Commerce, which fought vigorously against a similar amendment in that state and deserves a share of the credit for its defeat. In commenting on the amendments in the issue of November 4, we said that they were sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers. That information came from a source in which we had great confidence. But the N. A. M. has protested that it "has no knowledge of any such amendments, has made no statement in connection with them, and has not authorized any officer of the association or member to commit the association for or against any such proposal." While it is a little hard to believe that the N. A. M. had "no knowledge" of controversial measures that were widely discussed in the press, it appears that we were mistaken in attributing to it direct sponsorship of the amendments. We apologize.

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THE UNHAPPY PEOPLE OF TEXAS, REPRESENTED in the United States Senate by a clown and in their own Governor's mansion by a Babbitt, may soon see their state university lose its standing as an accredited school. Responsibility for the university's plight rests with the board of regents appointed by Governor "Calculatin' Coke" Stevenson and his predecessor, "Pappy" O'Daniel. Seven of its nine members are either corporation lawyers or owners of vast corporate wealth, or both, and they run the University of Texas as if it were their private property and its faculty their employees. President Homer P. Rainey, a brave man and an articulate one, has finally been dismissed after struggling for five years to maintain academic decency at the university. The showdown came when two of the regents, as individuals, ordered Dr. Rainey to curtail his speaking engagements, "especially to religious groups." Dr. Rainey, a Baptist, announced publicly that the order had been received and would be disregarded. The day before his next speaking engagement he read to the faculty a statement recapitulating the sordid history of the board's interference with his administration—orders to remove professors because they were "personally unsatisfactory" to individual members of the board, the appointment of a dean without consulting him, the banning of books which met the personal disapproval of individual board members. A few days later he was dismissed. The faculty met and unanimously voted its confidence in him, the students marched on the State House, and the Association of University Professors made public its report on the dismissal of three economics professors, over Dr. Rainey's protests, in 1942. Dr. Ralph E. Himstead, executive secretary of the association, said the dismissal of the three professors, and now of Dr. Rainey, "bodes ill" for the university. Governor Stevenson has the power to save Texas from the shame of Georgia and Mississippi. We hope he has the will.

Hungary and Hitler

WHILE the battle for its capital rages, Hungary's relations with Germany provide a source of puzzlement to public opinion abroad. Why, it is asked, should Hungary not have followed the lead of Bulgaria and Rumania, broken with the Nazis, and gone over to the Allied camp when the advancing Russian armies offered the opportunity of escape from national suicide? Hungary's resistance is even stranger when one remembers that until March of this year, anti-Nazis and pro-Allied elements in the country publicly urged an armistice with the Allies. In the other two satellite countries, anti-Nazi activity was confined to underground channels.

Paradoxically, this relative freedom of the opposition was one of the two causes of Hungary's present role. By coming out into the open the anti-Nazi elements delivered themselves into the hands of the Germans. The Gestapo knew not only the leaders of each group but every important member. On March 19, 1944, the Germans clamped down on the opposition in order to "safeguard the independence of their Hungarian ally," arresting every key man and dissolving all resistance organizations.

The second contributing factor in Hungary's present policy is the success with which the Germans have exploited the fear of Russia. For many months, the opposition group tried to get in touch with the Allies, but only with the British and Americans. Many of them, and indeed even Horthy himself, hoped a deal could be made with the Western Allies against the Russians, or at least behind their back. Public opinion was entirely unprepared for the circumstances which forced Hungary to face the Russian army alone. When it became clear that Russia would be a partner to any agreement that might be reached, the opposition already had been crushed. But in any event, it is doubtful whether its leadership could have counteracted the deep-rooted fear of Soviet Russia that exists among the Hungarian masses.

As in so many countries, the fascist dictatorship in Hungary has based its greatest hope for survival on that fear. For twenty-five years, the Horthy regime has cultivated the bogy of communism. Hungary's short-lived Communist government in 1919 became involved in a war with neighboring Rumania, and its military defeat gave Admiral Horthy the opportunity to seize power. Ever since then, Horthy has reiterated the theory that Russia wanted to take vengeance on Hungary for having "stopped bolshevism from spreading farther toward the West."

Whenever Horthy's power trembled, the police were quick to reveal a new Communist plot. The great powers showed their gratitude, often in gold ducats. When a foreign loan had to be floated, the Hungarian police were always able to discover another Communist conspiracy, and Horthy got his money. In 1934, when Hungary was accused of having played a part in the preparation of King Alexander's murder in Marseilles, it fell to Tibor Eckhardt to defend his country before the League of Nations. Just before his departure for Geneva, a new Communist conspiracy was discovered—a warning to the great powers not to harm the Horthy regime lest a worse one succeed it.

Since the outbreak of the German-Russian war, the people of Hungary have been told day after day that they form a wedge betwen the northern and southern Slavs, and that Stalin therefore intends to deport the entire population to Siberia for forced labor. After the Russian-Rumanian armistice, the Hungarian radio and press explained that the armistice had a secret clause according to which the adult population of Rumania would have to go to Russia after the war to rebuild the destroyed cities. Many people believe this. Even the peasants are said to be fleeing from the Russians, and chaos in Hungary grows.

The New Congress

MR. ROOSEVELT'S reelection imposes upon him and his supporters responsibilities graver than those which have faced any administration since Lincoln's. The twin job of achieving a stable peace abroad and full employment at home is almost enough to make even F. D. R.'s fighting heart and buoyant spirit quail. But it is also a task that must call forth the firmest resolution and the deepest devotion in one imbued, as our reelected President is, with a sense of his historic obligation to this country and to mankind.

It is our country's good fortune and his that the people, in returning him to office, have also given him the largest Congressional majority he has had since the New Deal's climactic sweep in 1936. In the House of Representatives, with four Missouri seats still in doubt as we go to press, the Democratic Party has 24 more than the 218 necessary to control the House. The new House will also have one American Laborite and one Progressive. This is a far more comfortable situation than that of the outgoing House, in which there are 214 Democrats, 212 Republicans, 2 Progressives, and one American Laborite. Even if all four of the Missouri seats go to the Republicans, the Democratic Party will have 242 votes in the House against 191 for the G. O. P.

It should be possible, with that line-up, to achieve a working majority for the President's measures. He retains such a majority in the Senate, where, with one seat each in Missouri and Pennsylvania in doubt, there will be 56 Democrats, 37 Republicans, and 1 Progressive.

The possibility and the effectiveness of a revived anti-Roosevelt coalition between Republicans and right-wing Democrats in the next Congress are lessened by the character of the men defeated and of those returned. The country clearly is not in a reactionary mood. Four members of the Dies Committee will be among the missing when the new House convenes. Dies, Starnes, Costello, and Busbey are out. So are Ham Fish and Melvin J. Maas, the former the ranking Republican on the Rules Committee, the latter the ranking Republican on the Naval Affairs Committee. Another of their kind, Stephen A. Day of Illinois, the Führer's admirer and the Chicago *Tribune's* pet, will be replaced by a strong progressive, Emily Douglas of Chicago. Encouraging, too, is the unexpected defeat of Charles S. Dewey, Sewell Avery's champion and the principal Congressional spokesman of the big bankers against some such international, popularly-controlled monetary order as was outlined at Bretton Woods. Clare Luce will be back but chastened, we hope, for only the Socialist vote in her district saved her from defeat. Her margin was 1,655; the Socialist candidate polled 2,195—most of which would otherwise have gone to Miss Connors. These are portents the practical politician will not be slow to read.

The same warning to rightists, irresponsible demagogues, crypto-fascists, and isolationists is evident in the composition of the new Senate. Every Senate supporter of the President was returned: Wagner, Elbert Thomas, Pepper, Lister Hill, Barkley, and Scott Lucas, the last having soundly defeated the Chicago *Tribune* candidate, Lyons. Fulbright of Arkansas will give new strength to the President in the Senate. Among the happily missing will be a choice handful of reactionaries from both North and South: Cotton Ed Smith, Rufus C. Holman, Reynolds, Nye, Danaher, Bennett Clark, and Gillette. Tydings and Taft managed to get back, but the latter only by an extraordinarily small margin against a none too strong Democratic opponent. The two men on whom G. O. P. hopes must now center can hardly be a comfort to the Old Guard. Both had the support of the C. I. O.-P. A. C. in their election to the Senate. One, Wayne Morse of Oregon, is considered a progressive on both foreign and domestic policy. The other, Saltonstall of Massachusetts, is a firm supporter of international cooperation and an enlightened conservative, at least, in his domestic views.

In the Senate, where a two-thirds vote is still necessary for the ratification of any United Nations treaty, a new bitter-ender minority can still do great damage. Whether it does or not will depend in part on the position taken by Governor Dewey. His conduct will have an immense influence on the prospect of a stable peace. What he does and what he says when the battle is joined in the Senate will be the test of whether he was sincere or indulging in double-talk on international cooperation during the campaign. Perhaps most of all depends on the continuance of the C. I. O.-Political Action Committee and its allies as functioning organizations fully able to punish the reactionaries in the 1946 Congressional primaries and elections. The expectation of the normal slump in those by-elections would encourage the trouble-makers. The knowledge that the P. A. C. was fully prepared for an aggressive role in 1946 would deter them. There lies our job as progressives and there lies the contribution we can make to the President's success.

Winged Peace or Winged Death

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE topic for today is the flying machine; the lesson is from Francesco de Lana of Brescia, who said in 1670: "God would not suffer such a machine to be successful, since it would create many disturbances in the civil and political governments of mankind"; and the text is from old Speaker Rainey, who said in 1934: "I sometimes wonder if our democracy in its present form is equipped to face the problems of technology."

These remarks are quoted in Emile Gauvreau's enraging book, "The Wild Blue Yonder" (Dutton)—the full story of the bitter fight air power has had to wage for acceptance in this country, and a warning that the Wright boys' invention "can augment man's power for good and enhance his well-being or brutalize him to the extent of accomplishing his own dissolution." Judging from the record of how man has used the flying machine, one could hope that the Brescian had been right about God's wisdom; and one could certainly wonder with Speaker Rainey—perhaps even more deeply in 1944 than in 1934. Cultural lag has never been so pronounced as it has been with regard to the airplane; and the lag continues to manifest itself in the deliberations of the international civil air conference at Chicago.

My gloomy reflections, set in train by reports from Chicago and heightened by Gauvreau's tragic history, are given point by a book just published, "Winged Peace" (Viking), by Air Marshal William A. Bishop, Royal Canadian Air Force, V.C., C.B., D.S.O. and bar, M.C., D.F.C., Legion of Honor, Croix de Guerre. Billy Bishop, leading Allied ace of the last war, a moving spirit in Canada's superb air-training and air-transport program of this war, has now performed his greatest public service by writing a book which proves that the air age is *here,* not around the corner, and which states convincingly that unless we harness the flying machine to man's well-being, we shall inevitably use it for his destruction.

We are using it now for his destruction with daily increasing efficiency; the tremendous acceleration in the development of aviation during the war is what has landed us smack in the middle of the air age, sitting bolt upright and not a little uncomfortable at the sensation. Bishop tells it: "As you are reading these paragraphs, fleets of four-engined bombers are winging non-stop from Montreal to North Africa. . . . Airports in far northern Canada, adjacent to the Arctic Circle, the highway to Russia and the Orient, and the main line to Tokyo, boast runways longer than any to be found on New York's crack LaGuardia Field." "Winged Peace" is told in terms of Bishop's own amazing career, *which spans the history of aviation:* one picture shows the gallant, carefree young ace leaning on the wing of his Nieuport; another shows the rather paunchy, middle-aged distinguished administrative officer dwarfed under the propeller of his Spitfire. Acceleration is the theme of the story, and the future is foretold in the past: Nieuport to Spitfire, primitive training methods to specialized science, DH-4 carrying 500 pounds of bombs to B-29 carrying *x* tons—to*???*

Writing last spring, Bishop compiled a table of comparative aircraft performances from 1914 to 1944 which illustrates the acceleration with astonishing figures. He revised the table on June 14 in an attempt to bring it up to date; on June 15 the Superfortress went into action; on June 16 it was announced that V-1, the pilotless bomb, had been hammering England. "Can anyone who read the newspapers or listened to the radio during those two days in the history of aviation doubt the continuous and progressive obsolescence of all present aviation equipment, or fail to see the terrifying potentialities of man's conquest of the air?"

In airways yesterday's visionary is today's conservative. Last week I warned against over-enthusiasm about the clearing of the approaches to Antwerp: "We face the very real possibility that the enemy will be able to bombard Antwerp with pilotless aircraft. . . . now may come the time for V-2 or even V-3 to go into action." On the day your *Nation* reached you, Mr. Churchill announced that V-2 was being used against England, and the Germans announced that Antwerp was under bombardment. I'm not pleased at the fulfilment of my prediction, but I think the lesson is clear.

Let us not be lulled by descriptions of the *existing* situation in the air. The editor of *Iron Age*, who saw a V-2 crater in England this month, calls the rocket bomb "the last desperate revenge effort of a maniac, with more theater than efficiency"; says its blast effect is localized and its inaccuracy startling. This is a true statement—as true as a statement at the time of the Wrights' first flight that "it's a good stunt, but the machine will never carry six tons of bombs 2,000 miles at 300 miles an hour." One can be pardoned for demanding more than limited truth at this moment in the world's history.

Billy Bishop's warnings are not visionary: the future he describes is already on the drawing boards, some of it in experimental flight, and he makes it clear that more of it would be in action but for our preoccupation with mass production of existing models—and even these are continually refined on the basis of tremendous scientific advances and of highly particularized combat reports. But the major combatants have got jet-propulsion planes in flight (the Germans have them in action)—planes whose engines have "only about 10 per cent as many moving parts as the ordinary airplane engine," and hence are cheaper, easier to produce, more easily kept running.

Next comes rocket propulsion—V-2 and its posterity. The jerky and inaccurate prototype of today will be replaced by machines which "will leave the ground smoothly, impelled by rocket motors," will fly through the lower atmosphere by jet-propulsion, and will switch back to rocket-propulsion when they reach the thin stratospheric altitudes, to cross the Atlantic Ocean in "three hours, perhaps less." Needless to say, they will arrive at their destination before the sound of their coming; and whether they come laden with passengers and freight or with bombs and air-borne troops depends entirely on what we do in the next several months about the structure of peace, about the settlement of international airways, and about the creation of mutual trust.

Bishop says simply: "The Air Age faces mankind with a sharp choice—the choice between Winged Peace or Winged Death. It's up to you." Neither economist nor political scientist, he regards world air as nothing less than *world* property, "solely because I can think of no other way in which we can make use of the air globally without courting disaster." Looking with cold eyes at "the men who permitted Germany and Japan to arm, who helped them to do so, or who failed at least to arm us," he comes to an inevitable conclusion: "Aviation is too dangerous a weapon for stupid or selfish people to possess for their personal use. . . . Never again dare the people of the world allow air power to be used without restraint by mad dreamers of world conquest, or monopolized by private ownership for the acquisition of profit."

Bishop doesn't much care if you call this socialism: "The first question which faces mankind . . . is whether our civilization is going to survive or man is going to destroy it, and whether it is to be saved or destroyed through the medium of capitalism or socialism, or a mixture of both, is purely secondary." The instruments for destruction are in our hands *now*, that is the point: the United Nations *now* have an air force capable of ruling the world, or of bringing it outward peace so that we shall have time to bring it the inward peace of justice. A commercial war for traffic in the air will not be found conducive to these ends; and Bishop has the honesty to say that the danger lies not only in our present enemies "but even between ourselves."

Yet when the Australian and New Zealand delegates pleaded for internationalization of world civil airways at Chicago last week, Adolf A. Berle, head of the American delegation, applauded their idealism and said we must accept the real: sovereignty of the national air, free competition for world routes and world trade. This is limited truth at its worst. The "real" is this: V-2 may soon bring six tons of explosives in one bundle; "Moscow is a city reached by flight north from New York around the top of the world via Reykjavik and down the other side"; and all of us, assistant secretaries of state, airline operators, and coal miners alike, "must live in the same world with these new developments of science."

These developments are not fearsome in themselves, only in how we employ them. It is questionable whether the

American plan for unlimited competition, the British plan for government-managed cartel arrangements, or the Chicago compromise for an "interim" and "consultative" body will guarantee their correct and peaceful employment. "The squabble of politicians over scattered air bases," Gauvreau observes, will "seem like an ignorant waste of time"—the new planes will bomb Europe from America and return non-stop—and on Richard Edes Harrison's curved maps in the Bishop book the Arctic Ocean is seen to be a new Mediterranean proclaiming the death of American isolation; yet the Russians are not at Chicago.

The flying machine has revolutionized geography and abolished national frontiers and strategic barriers. Unless we all go farther and faster than we are going at Chicago in our realization of these facts, unless the world air is world controlled, we had better start digging deeper shelters.

The Future of the P.A.C.

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 12

THOUGH the election is less than a week old, the need for continued political action by the labor movement, progressive farm groups, and their middle-class liberal allies is painfully evident. The President, unless stopped by protests now going to the White House, is prepared to nominate a surplus-property board which will be dominated by Jesse Jones and Will Clayton. The industrial plants, commodity surpluses, and farm lands accumulated by the government in the prosecution of the war represent our most powerful instrument in shaping our economy toward that goal of 60,000,000 jobs to which Mr. Roosevelt but recently pledged himself. On the advice of Director of War Mobilization James F. Byrnes, the President is ready to hand the mighty social fulcrum of war surpluses over to a board which would be the faithful servant of the big-business and big-farmer point of view. This is exactly what we could have expected of Dewey, and it dramatizes the fact that progressives have a double task ahead. One is to support the President; the other is to fight him. Both call for organized political action all the way down to the grass roots.

Unless we organize quickly, all will be as it was before. The crucial part played by the C. I. O.'s P. A. C. in this election is admitted everywhere. Except in Jersey City and Chicago the regular Democratic Party machine gave a poor performance, and the new party chairman, Robert E. Hannegan, seems to have won his greatest campaign triumphs in the better New York night clubs. But the political dope stories in today's papers naturally assume thaat Hannegan will be "taken care of" with a Cabinet post. Aside from some gossip about Dan Tobin for Secretary of Labor, no one speculates on what the Administration intends to do for the labor forces that went down the line for it in the election. It is assumed that politics will go on being a professional affair in which men like Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman will be satisfied with an occasional back-door summons to the White House.

The elections in the South were noteworthy for the elimination of one outstanding reactionary after another. Reynolds, "Cotton Ed" Smith, Dies, and Starnes are out, while the leading Southern New Dealers, Pepper and Hill, are back, vindicated. But in and around the White House, the South of the big planter and the new capitalist speaks with undiminished strength through Jones and Clayton. (It is hoped, as of this writing, that Byrnes will keep his word and retire, to be replaced by Vinson.) In Congress this crowd hopes to resume its dominance through an alliance with the Republicans. In company with some of Bricker's best friends, the Jones-Clayton group, backed by the big money of both industry and agriculture, is lobbying industriously for revision of the Surplus Property Act. Their activities are aimed at "unworkable" provisions which would give veterans, farmers, small business, and cooperatives a chance to buy some of these surplus properties. This lobby, one blushes to report, will be aided in its efforts by remarks the President made when he signed the bill. Again on the advice of Byrnes, Mr. Roosevelt said some of its provisions were "awkward" and in need of amendment. The bill did, indeed, make it awkward for the big boys to make off with the war-surplus swag.

How useful it would be if the C. I. O.'s P. A. C. and the National Citizens' P. A. C. and the joint labor committees which sprang up in many cities and states were available and working to assure the fruits of victory! If we had an organization that could take the meaning of the surplus-property fights to the worker in the factory and the farmer in his field and the housewife in her kitchen and the small business man in his shop, the roar of protest would make these attempted steals by presumably defeated forces impossible. How useful it would be if we could organize mass understanding and mass pressure behind the Pepper 65-cents-an-hour minimum-pay bill on which hearings open Friday, how effective if we could swing fully behind the reopening fight for a permanent F. E. P. C. and justice for the Negro!

I should like to offer a few tentative suggestions toward the achievement of that purpose, some my own, some the fruit of off-the-record talks with various labor leaders and progressives. I do not pretend to have the answer to the complex organizational problems involved, but it may help to clear the air if we go over a few basic points. The success of the C. I. O.'s P. A. C. has turned some of its earlier critics into friends, and everywhere I found a desire to see some organization of the kind continue. The P. A. C.'s predecessors—Labor's Non-Partisan League, the Norris-LaGuardia committee—disbanded or died out after the Presidential campaigns in which they played a part. There is general agreement that this must not happen again, for three reasons. The first is that a truly effective political organization cannot be improvised within a few months of election. The second is that to let such organizations die out after a Presidential campaign is to hand the opposition victory by default at the next Congressional election. The third is that it is not enough to elect a President or even a Congress. It is necessary to maintain the public understanding and the public pressure without which the men elected tend to slip back into the orbit of the powerful moneyed forces that by and large govern the country despite elections. A democracy is only free as long as its people are not asleep; unfortunately the awakenings in the past have been but intermittent.

It is as well to be honest with ourselves about the election just past. The P. A. C. is given credit for electing a President, and the credit is deserved. F. D. R. could have won in 1936 without labor but not in 1944. The margin was not too comfortable, despite the Electoral College landslide. The victory was only possible through a coalition of forces ranging far outside the labor movement and with a glamorous, adroit, and popular leader. We progressives bask in a glory we do not entirely deserve, and we had better make the best of it while we have it. Our greatest asset is an evanescent one; it is the momentum of success. To be utilized, it must be utilized quickly; six months hence, a year hence, the part played by the P. A. C. in the 1944 elections will be history. Now is the time to organize, when the band-wagon is crowded, the P. A. C.'s prestige at its peak, the nucleus of an organization ready at hand, intra-left quarrels at a minimum, and many persons in the country eager to go on with political action.

In organizing, it would be well to keep away from White House influences, including the progressives in the President's own official entourage. Mr. Roosevelt wants labor's support every four years, but if I read his mind rightly he is not too anxious to have labor operate as a going concern in politics. For we will be pressuring him and upsetting some of his compromises with the right. The liberals with official jobs who have to check with "the skipper" for clearance are good people in their place but dubious allies in this particular job.

My third point is a more complicated one. It is the necessity for hitting a middle course between a P. A. C. that is simply an adjunct of the C. I. O. or even of the labor movement as a whole and a P. A. C. that is so generalized in character and so completely dominated by middle-class liberals as to lose its mass base and vitality. Without the C. I. O. and its most militant elements we can never get down to the grass roots and be politically effective on local and state, much less national, levels. Without representatives of the farmer, the progressive small business man, the intellectuals, and forward-looking middle-class elements, we cannot achieve that broader coalition necessary to political success.

I am inclined to think, and so are many others, that we need two organizations closely linked, one a merger of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee with the other independent committees that worked for Roosevelt, plus any other representative labor and middle-class elements. The bars imposed by the Smith-Connally act against direct trade-union contributions in elections is one of the reasons why such an organization is needed. A more important one is that it can mobilize non-labor elements and non-C. I. O. elements for political action, and it should do so in local and state groups as well as national. Alongside this broad organization, energizing and helping its work, we need to keep in existence the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, under whatever name or form. The C. I. O., its internationals, their locals, and the state and municipal bodies ought each to have a political-action department, heading up into a national office. Where possible on state and local levels these ought to be linked with broad political-action groups on which the A. F. of L. and the Brotherhoods are represented, and these in turn should be represented on the local and state citizens' political-action committees.

The C. I. O.'s P. A. C. would function not outside the C. I. O. but as a definite division of the C. I. O. It could fulfil three tasks—legislative, political, and public relations. In the first it would coordinate the activities of the internationals and other constituent bodies here, in the state capitals, and at the city halls, helping labor to learn the technique of effective lobbying (let not the word scare us), of handling bills, building hearings, and arranging for a continuous flow of information out and pressure in on public issues. In the second task it would help to prepare not only for the 1946 elections but for local and state elections. In these, especially in the primaries, machines operate successfully because the vote is small. Public education on the issues and in getting out the vote in these primaries and lesser elections would revitalize and liberalize American politics, especially in the South. In this connection, immediate organizational action is particularly necessary. The Southern primaries begin in May, 1946; poll taxes have to be paid three to six months before the primaries; that brings us back to the latter part of 1945. Effective campaigns cannot be run on the basis of liberal clichés and leftist stereotypes. Exact knowledge of the district, its divisions, local issues, and needs, is necessary. The P. A. C. ought to begin work next spring on the 1946 primaries. That is where the Democratic Party, notably in the South, can get rid of reactionary elements.

In public relations, there is much to be done in teaching labor leaders and trade unions how to handle the press; in providing labor papers with information, articles, and mats from Washington; and in laying the basis for a progressive popular press of our own based on citizens' political-action groups. But the main public-relations job will be a by-product of the other tasks. It is by breaking down barriers of hostility and misunderstanding between labor and the farmer and other elements of the community through joint political action that labor can best change public attitudes toward it. Labor co-operation and labor leadership on progressive community and state as well as national issues can win it new respect and extend its influence to groups untouched by ordinary trade-union issues. Its very size is forcing the labor movement itself to think in these broader terms; organized labor looms so large today in the nation that it can achieve basic bread-and-butter aims only through political action for a healthy economy and stable world. On such a basis a victorious progressive coalition can be maintained. The time to start is now.

Chile's Democracy in Danger

BY RAY JOSEPHS

THE news from Latin America continues bad, and from no country is it more disquieting than from Chile, one of the few real democracies south of the border. President Juan Antonio Rios has temporarily retired from office to undergo an operation for intestinal ulcers. Vice-President Alfonso Quintana, who holds the Presidency for the time being, is a fifty-two-year-old lawyer, formerly Minister of the Interior and Minister of Agriculture. He is little known outside Chile. He took over the administration at a particularly bad time, just six days after Rios's Cabinet had resigned in order to give the President a free hand in reorganizing an unsatisfactory government.

The new Cabinet—with only four holdovers, including Foreign Minister Joaquin Fernandez—was announced the day after the old one resigned, but neither this fact nor the temporary withdrawal of Rios has done much to relieve the social unrest which endangers constitutional government in the country.

Significantly enough Argentina has concentrated a large part of its rearmament program on mountain garrisons, ski troops, and parachute jumpers. Its only mountain-bordered neighbors are Bolivia—which has a military junta—and Chile. Colonel Perón, the War Minister, Vice-President, and Secretary of Social Welfare in Argentina, once served as a military attaché to Chile. Although his departure from Santiago was effected under rather mysterious circumstances, he has made no attempt to conceal his continued concern in Chilean affairs.

The chief fear of Chile's democrats is the army, which is represented in the Cabinet by General Arnaldo Carrasco, director of the Military College and Minister of Defense. The army has close contact with the Argentine militarists, and as internal and external pressure on Argentina grows, these militarists are steadily increasing their own pressure on Chile. They are reported to have told a number of high-ranking Chilean officers that Argentine rearmament had proceeded so far that Argentina would be able to dominate Chile in less than a week of war. Argentina has no desire for territorial aggrandizement, the Chilean officers were told, but because "the rest of the Americas are trying to isolate it," it may be forced to take strong measures. A peaceful solution would be possible, these Argentines pointed out, if certain sympathetic Chilean militarists were to oust the civil administration of President Rios, take over the government, and work jointly with Argentina for the long-projected southern bloc of Latin American countries, "free from Yankee domination and influence."

There are many people in Chile—I met them during my recent visit there—who don't believe such a venture could succeed. But there are fully as many, if not more, who fear that it is inevitable if relations between Argentina and the United States do not change for the better. The civilian government of President Rios, a popular front at its inception but now disintegrating, has feared to make any move that might offend the Argentine rulers. And even those Santiago newspapers which have been most critical of the Rios administration have tempered their remarks or simply remained silent about the Buenos Aires government.

The growing unrest among the Chilean people is apparent to anyone who knows the country, and particularly to those who have known it in better times. Chile is poor, living costs are rising, the government is unstable, and the people are worried about the status of their country in the post-war world. Shortages of fuel and other essentials have become serious, food is scarce, and hoarding and speculation have resulted in runaway prices. The price-control system has failed, and distribution is inefficient. Because the people are unhappy, they consume inordinate quantities of Chile's famous red wine. Drunkenness has become a national disgrace. The government is conducting an intensive educational campaign to show the advantages of temperance, but the conditions that drive people to drink grow worse.

The Chilean people have not benefited to any large extent from the export of nitrates, copper, and other minerals for war purposes. Though money is more plentiful, its buying power has been curtailed by heavy inflation. After the war, exports of Chile's raw materials will be drastically cut and the country will face a serious economic crisis. Some national industries have been developed, but the Chilean equivalent of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation—the *Corporación de Fomento de la Produción*—has been too tangled in red tape to provide much stimulation of industrial development.

Many Chileans, not pessimists by nature, see little prospect of improvement. Some even fear that Chile may become a ghost country. The nation has been divided rather than united by its troubles. There are sixteen political parties, none of which has anything like a working majority. The Radicals are split, the Socialists are split, the Democrats are split. As a result, there are constant cat-and-dog fights, realignments, and shifts of allegiance. Most observers agree that the Communists are the only group with any stability.

Poker-faced President Rios, a good politician but a poor administrator, has spent most of his energies in a vain effort to strengthen his own position. He rode into La Moneda, Santiago's ancient Presidential palace, with the kind of backing President Roosevelt had in 1933. Since then he has had to jockey and juggle constantly to maintain even a semblance of unity in his coalition government. And while he has been thus engaged, the country's economy has been crumbling. The need for social reform has become increasingly obvious; many reforms are on the books, but few of them have been implemented. Rios has made repeated promises to implement them and has been granted emergency powers for the purpose, but he has not done it. Meanwhile, the political groups which favor reform are unable to unite on a program. Rios has openly stated that the liberal parties should govern the country, but with constitutional correctness he insists that he cannot take orders from any one party. His present Cabinet is another compromise, designed to last until after the March elections, when, supposedly, he will be able to name a Cabinet in accordance with political sentiment.

There is little doubt that the Argentine issue looms large to every political group in Chile, and to a certain extent there is closer agreement on this subject than on any other. Those who know Rios and the Foreign Office best insist that Chile's quick recognition of the Farrell regime, at a time when all the other Good Neighbor republics were standing aloof, was unavoidable, even if it was not understood in Washington and elsewhere. The Bolivian military coup had taken place not long before, and there was a good deal of evidence that Argentina had instigated it. Rios, so it is reported, felt that if he did not make the friendly gesture of recognition he might have a coup on his own hands.

Further, Rios believed that recognition would prompt Argentina to prove its good intentions by accepting the suggestions then being made by Under Secretary of State Stettinius. Rios's friends insist that he felt that a Chilean ambassador working actively in Buenos Aires could do more to bring about action against Axis agents and the restoration of civil rights than one marking time at home or unable to engage in any official dealings. Rios regrets his error but feels that it was no greater than that of the United States in recognizing Ramirez with the same false hope.

Chilean emotions have been mixed since recognition. Despite our notes and protests and threats, Argentina has grown progressively richer by selling meat and wheat to us and the other Allies. This has caused the Chileans to dislike not Argentina but the United States. They know their country has cooperated in the war effort in every way—supplying vital raw materials, acting against Axis agents, contributing to hemisphere defense—and they feel that they have nothing to show for it. "Why," they ask, "have we not received more help when the authoritarian regimes in Brazil and Peru have been given all sorts of assistance?"

No matter what the answer, no matter whose the responsibility, the Chileans feel that they have been let down, and their resentment is turned against us, the rich uncle in the north. Many of them believe that the United States dictates, or attempts to dictate, to them. As a small country with powerful and sometimes bickering neighbors, Chile has always been jealous of its sovereignty, its rights and prerogatives. All this makes Chile's political future uncertain. Similar conditions in Argentina made it possible for the army to take over in June, 1943. Rios, aware of the possibility of an attempt to oust him, has tried to rally around himself as large a section of the officer corps as possible. Some army men who favor the President say that there is little chance of a successful coup, pointing out that military uprisings in Chile have hardly ever succeeded. Chileans, they add, would never accept a military regime—at least not without far more bloodshed than occurred in Argentina. But it must be admitted that there are strong admirers of Argentine fascism in Chile today. How strong they are remains to be seen.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

ALTHOUGH THE JAPANESE DEMAND for complete equality is likely to be somewhat modified under pressure, it is idle to deny that a great gulf exists between the positions taken by the Japanese and American governments with regard to naval limitation. Tokyo's demands would give Japan not only full parity but actual superiority in Far Eastern waters. . . . The outcome of the naval discussions is inevitably linked with the larger question of Japanese ambitions in China.—*November 7, 1934.*

"THE DARING YOUNG MAN on the Flying Trapeze, and Other Stories." By William Saroyan. . . . Mr. Saroyan has been blown toward us all of a sudden, and the shock of his personality doesn't leave one in the best position for looking into his character. . . . On the strength of this particular book I suspect he will become, to his great disadvantage, a fad.—LOUIS KRONENBERGER, *November 7, 1934.*

ART YOUNG CELEBRATION of his 66 2/3 years of service to the radical movement. . . . Heywood Broun, Master of Ceremonies. . . . Civic Repertory Theater. (ADVT.)—*November 14, 1934.*

WITH THE PASSAGE, in eighty-four hours and twenty-one minutes, of forty-four bills in the Louisiana legislature—or less than two hours per bill—Senator Huey Long has made himself dictator of his state. He controls every state board of any importance, a state civil-service commission, and a state bar association which will pass on the fitness of lawyers to practice; and his debt-moratorium law ties up the banks and other financial institutions so effectively that their control, too, is in the Senator's hands. Having captured his state, Mr. Long comes out into the open and announces himself a candidate for the Presidency in 1936, on an anti-New Deal program supported by "plain, honest, thinking men."—*November 28, 1934.*

THE DATE OF EXECUTION for Clarence Norris and Haywood Patterson, convicted of rape in the long-famous Scottsboro case, was set for December 7. We have just learned that a stay of execution . . . has been granted to February 8, 1935. As time moves inexorably toward that fatal day, only one thing, in the clouds that surround the action, remains clear: although the innocence of the defendants is overwhelmingly indicated, they have never had a fair trial.—*November 28, 1934.*

"I'D DO IT AGAIN, SIR! I'm a believer in that method of accounting." Thus Samuel Insull on cross-examination, the same Samuel Insull as always: wily, arrogant, domineering, despotic; older but far from feeble; explaining matters confidentially to the jury; fencing with the prosecutor, now exceedingly polite, now indignant or scornful; getting "very earnest," as he calls it, when his veracity is doubted; turning to the judge in protest against "double-barreled questions"; withal enjoying his role, as hero or villain, in this the last act of his personal drama.—MITCHELL DAWSON, *November 28, 1934.*

Toward a Socialist Europe

BY CHARLES DAVILA

HAVING been asked to discuss the "hopes of the European peoples concerning what will emerge from their sufferings and sacrifices in this war, I am reminded of a little-known letter written by Voltaire to Boswell in which the Frenchman comments on "that thing called soul, about which the priests know so much and the physicians so little." The feeling of "hope" springs precisely from "that thing called soul." Perhaps I should try to treat the subject as a priest and physician, that is, according to Voltaire, with the divination of the one and the scant experimental knowledge of the other. But I believe it better to review briefly some historical facts. In any case I am glad that Voltaire is not around, or, if he is, that he cannot make any audible wisecrack.

The soul of present-day Europe has been shaped by a historical phase of which this war may be the climax. The phase started with the French Revolution and the emergence of the nationalist principle, which resulted in new and sharper divisions between the various states. Simultaneously the development of industry resulted in the formation of modern capitalism, which on the one hand established a new link between the nationalist states and on the other tended to avail itself of the nationalist ideal to dominate the political life in every country and thereby increase its own profits. When in the second half of the nineteenth century the Marxist doctrine challenged the capitalist system, a new force cutting horizontally through the national divisions intensified the European crisis. To the strong national antagonisms was added social antagonism. While supposed national interests were previously the reason for alliances between states, now the class struggle started working at cross-purposes with them. Still the nationalist vertical division remained clearly dominant until 1917, when the Russian Revolution turned the tide. Today the horizontal social force seems to sweep away the national divisions, in spite of the temporary intensification of nationalism caused by Hitler's imperialist war.

If in the historical perspective the Munich Pact of 1938 appears to have been the result of the same fear that produced the Treaty of Vienna in 1815—being another sort of "holy" alliance against revolutionary tendencies—the present state of Europe can be compared, *mutanda mutandis,* to the revolutionary era of 1848. At that time the constitutional monarchy was adopted as a compromise between the rights of the legitimate ruler and those of the awakened nation, the victor and the vanquished at the Vienna Congress. The new formula—actually contradictory to democratic principles, being predicated on the right of birth—was based on both the "grace of God" and the "will of the people" and thus put both decisions on the same level, an absurd assumption in itself. But a compromise had to be found between the old legitimacy and the new nationalism. So a hybrid institution was created, linking the mystic past with the factual present.

If history is now to repeat itself in Europe, we ought to get a new hybrid institution linking the capitalist "legitimacy" with the socialist reality. "By the good grace of the capitalists and the will of the socialists" would not sound more contradictory than the formula of the constitutional monarchy. But there is a fundamental difference. The liberal middle-class revolutionists of 1848 had retained, through a long tradition and a deeply rooted mysticism, a feeling of loyalty toward their rulers and could not conceive a system without them; while the European revolutionists of today have no kind feelings toward their own capitalist groups and can very well conceive—after the Soviet experiment—a system without them. Besides, the people's previous patience is gone. They are in the mood to bring about deep and immediate changes in the social and economic structure of all European countries. Thus a new factor, one that may lead to the unification of the whole of Europe by overcoming nineteenth-century chauvinism, has made its appearance. It supplies Europe with a new common denominator that should be stronger than European capitalism, always handicapped by excessive selfishness and particularist tendencies.

The new phenomenon ought to be gratifying to the architects of peace, for Europe is too small to remain peaceful without a common principle of political authority based on a common social and economic structure. Three centuries ago Pascal observed that an idea cannot be true on one side of the Pyrenees and false on the other side. I think that now at last, in the era of telegraph, telephone, radio, and aviation, and especially after this catastrophic war, the European peoples must understand Pascal's simple truth.

But what idea? What common principle? The choice seems to be limited to a socialist system retaining all individual political rights and communism, two systems which can coexist, as the former would start a convergent evolution with the latter—considering Soviet Russia's 1936 constitution and the laws governing all revolutions.

From behind the barrier of the Atlantic Ocean the capitalist United States could profitably trade with the new Europe, to everybody's advantage. What it cannot do is try to bring back to private capitalism a continent that has already outgrown that stage. Any policy endeavoring to use religion to stem the tide toward European socialism is full of danger. And no encouragement for such a policy should be derived from the new attitude of Soviet Russia toward religion. That attitude is the consequence of a certain evolution of the Soviet Union but should in no way be interpreted as the abandonment of fundamental socialist principles. More than ever, and for their own good, the churches should refrain from intervening in political issues.

To the European tendencies and hopes just described I must add the people's expectation that, for mutual advantage, America will extend credits for the reconstruction of devastated Europe. This expectation is based also on the knowledge that, as Pertinax put it, the game stops when one boy has got all the marbles.

As regards the reorganization of Europe, I believe that once the war criminals have been punished, a general desire for order and discipline will develop and will be expressed in the new constitutions. There is a tendency to give more authority to the government than in the pre-war parliamentary regimes, thus making possible a strong and stable leadership. Some nations, especially in the West, will get political and economic rights simultaneously. Other nations may put the accent in the beginning more on economic justice and education, thus following the Soviet example. But the great difference with the past will be that the existence of both kinds of democracy, political and economic, will make the return of fascism and social reaction impossible.

On their merits, and in philosophical discussions, other systems than the inevitable European socialism may appear to many people likely to produce better results. But this is the mood of Europe's peoples today. This is the swing of the historical pendulum. It could be noticed in General de Gaulle's speech at Lille. As the French philosopher Gustave le Bon put it: "Politics are the art of possibilities. In political matters there is no absolute truth. There are great or small truths according to the number of people who support them."

We in Europe have learned in this ordeal that as the individual had to relinquish his total sovereignty for domestic order, the states have to relinquish their total sovereignty for international order. You did it, on a continental scale, in the United States. I think that the European peoples will be satisfied with a new kind of sovereignty among them, a sovereignty that will actually abolish the sovereign right to start wars. Most Europeans believe also—I think rightly—that the disappearance of large amalgamations of private capital, the adoption of managed economies, and general social leveling will do away with the causes of war.

But the lingering fear remains that the difference in political and social climate between the greater part of continental Europe and the Anglo-Saxon powers may start another tornado in the future; or that Great Britain's natural desire to control all sea lanes linking the British Commonwealth and Russia's natural desire not to have its exits to the open sea controlled by another power may result in a future conflict. That is the reason, it is believed, why power-political settlements are still being considered among the various nations and within them. There is some confidence between certain leaders, but there are great doubts concerning the evolution of the great states.

Yet most persons hope that a good-neighbor policy—on the pan-American pattern—will govern relations between Soviet Russia and many European countries, and that it will even, through the socialist common denominator, constitute an improvement on the pan-American system. On the other hand, all the people of Europe fervently hope that the continuation of the Teheran policy by Russia, Great Britain, and the United States (with the indispensable addition of France), great powers which have outgrown the imperialist stage, will put an end to the disastrous balance-of-power policy and provide the background for a strong system of international security guaranteeing real freedom for every nation.

[*The foregoing is the text of Dr. Davila's address at the recent Nation Associates' conference.*]

In the Wind

EDUCATION: The University of Alabama is on the War Department's list of approved schools giving correspondence courses to men in the armed forces. A Negro soldier in the Pacific applied for enrolment in a course that was not offered by any other school on the list. But the university refused to accept a Negro student even by mail.

RELIGION: Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen, in a speech at Boston, said the American family is disintegrating. "The family is higher in Russia than in the United States," he said, "and God looking down from heaven may be more pleased with Russia than with us."

SMALL BUSINESS: The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America devotes most of its current bulletin, *Information Service*, to an article entitled Are Funerals Being Commercialized? The answer, given in detail, is yes.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE: The Regional Plan Association reports, "For every three New Jersey residents commuting to offices in New York there are now two New York residents traveling to jobs in New Jersey."

BROTHERHOOD: A *Nation* subscriber in Florida passes on to us an anonymous handbill he found in his mail box, which maintains that Northern agitators "antagonize the black race against the white, until the Southern Negro is losing the only real friend he ever had—the Southern white man. . . . The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the federal Constitution, shoved down the throat of a defeated and helpless South after the War Between the States, are to be literally enforced. . . . While our boys fight all over the world for liberty, we lose it at home."

SOUR GRAPES: *Time*, which stressed the importance of the P. A. C. throughout the campaign, now implies (November 13, page 22) that Roosevelt's victory was due less to the P. A. C. than to Republican apathy.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The conduct of Nazi soldiers in Denmark is such that the national union of trade and office clerks has organized a "convoy service" to escort girls home after work, and other organizations are planning to take similar precautions. . . . The German Propaganda Ministry, for reasons of its own, has ordered all newspapers henceforth to print the texts of the Führer's speeches in small type. Some Berlin wits say the purpose is to keep people from reading between the lines.

[*The $5 prize for the best item received during October goes to R. B. Magnuson of Detroit, for the story of the Chrysler economist's statement that slum clearance was impossible. It appeared in the issue of October 28.*]

Polls, Politics, Propaganda

Post Mortem

THOUGH the final election figures are not yet available, it is possible to make a few points about the performance of the great national polls.

1. With respect to the national civilian vote they were very close together and very right. The popular civilian vote for Roosevelt is given at this time (November 10) as approximately 52.5 per cent. Gallup predicted 51.5 per cent, the National Opinion Research Center 51.7 per cent, Roper 53.6 per cent (which, he said, took into account the soldier vote), and Crossley 52 per cent (incuding .8 per cent for the soldier vote). This is a truly impressive technical performance and marks great progress over previous years.

2. On the vote by states the record of the national polls is not so good. Both Gallup and Crossley gave far too many states to Dewey, although Crossley came closer to the actual outcome by predicting New York for Roosevelt. Roper made a prediction about only one state, Pennsylvania, and was off more than the others. At this writing, the Roosevelt vote in Pennsylvania is about 51 per cent, which is what Gallup predicted, whereas Roper made it 53.2 per cent and Crossley 51 per cent with the soldier vote.

Faulty predictions about individual states can be attributed to sampling difficulties. They are serious because state figures get much attention in the daily press—owing to the Electoral College system—and it is here that the whole technique most needs improvement. Correct sampling consists of two steps. First sample areas are chosen and then sample people within the areas. For a nation-wide poll several hundred sampling points are selected on the basis of past voting performance and the relevant social characteristics. Although the regional element complicates the problem, the sample areas do not need to be equally distributed among the states. As a matter of fact, certain states might be omitted and the national poll still be accurate. In predicting the vote in a state, especially if conditions there present a complicated pattern, almost as many sampling points are needed as in predicting for the whole nation. Thus correct state-by-state figures require perhaps twenty to thirty times as many sampling points as a correct national total. And no poll now uses so many.

3. Improvements in prediction by states could be effected in a variety of ways. The national polling organizations, for instance, could arrange that each would take over some of the most doubtful states for more intensive study. Or they could act as advisers to newspapers conducting polls in their own states. On the whole, the newspapers did very well, partly because they used all their resources in a smaller area and partly because their detailed knowledge of the ground enabled them to pick their sampling areas more successfully. Two Chicago newspapers predicted that Illinois would go for Roosevelt—the Chicago *Tribune* by 50.6 per cent and the Chicago *Times* by 51.3 per cent of the civilian vote (the actual civilian vote probably was about 52 per cent). The other three major newspaper polls—by the Des Moines *Register* for Iowa, the Minneapolis *Tribune* for Minnesota, and the New York *Daily News* for New York—were all closer to the true picture than was Gallup, although the last two papers gave a slight edge to Dewey.

4. There still exists a slight but undesirable relation between the political leanings of the polling agency and its results. This is due to a technical and a psychological factor. The first has to do with the selection of personnel. The director chooses his assistant, his assistants choose the interviewers, the interviewers choose the respondents. A prudent organization will try to get a politically balanced crew of interviewers, but it is likely that step by step there will creep in a slight bias in the selection of personnel and respondents; and in the end Roper will have picked up more statements of Democratic intentions and Gallup more of Republican intentions.

A psychological factor operates because into every final prediction a certain amount of judgment enters. If the polling returns from one section of the country have unexpected proportions, the director has to decide whether he should consider this a legitimate, though surprising, result or a sample misfortune, making it necessary to take a new poll. The estimate of what the "don't knows" will do in the end is made by the director. Which of the two parties will be more successful in getting out the vote is a question for him to decide. Since a director's personal opinion is almost bound to influence his judgment, it is gratifying to note how small are the actual differences between the various polls.

5. Efforts were made during the campaign to combine polling results with other considerations in order to come to the best possible conclusion. The accuracy of the polls in the past and the voting record of the states were both included. J. K. G. in *The Nation* suggested that one should add 3 per cent or 4 per cent to Gallup's prediction of the Democratic vote in all the states because he usually erred on the Republican side. Thus J. K. G. predicted a Democratic victory in the twenty-one states which Gallup kept in the doubtful zone with a Democratic vote of between 47 and 53 per cent. He was wrong on only three of them—Ohio, Wyoming, and Maine.

Somewhat greater was the mistake made by this column. Our analysis was an elaboration of Louis Bean's observation that the Republican area which has its center in the corn belt expands and contracts as the national Republican average rises and falls. Assuming a Republican national vote of 47 per cent—as could be anticipated from the polls—Minnesota, Illinois, and Michigan to the east of this center and Idaho to the west should have gone Republican; Missouri and Oklahoma to the south had to be left doubtful. Actually the Republican area was much smaller, and all these states went for Roosevelt. This seems to be the most interesting feature of the election, and it will need much further analysis. The differences between the various sections of the country were smaller than usual—most sections returned a vote closer to the national average than they had before. As a result the President was able to carry many more states with a relatively small plurality than could have been expected on the ground of past voting performance.

PAUL F. LAZARSFELD, Director,
Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

The Argentine Menace: Two Views

Nazis and Phalangists

BY FELIX CERNUSCHI

IN THE course of the long and intense debate which has been going on about Argentina, all varieties of opinion have been heard. Some people demand the diplomatic and economic isolation of the Buenos Aires dictatorship; others favor a policy of appeasement. Many believe that the great majority of the Argentines are against the government; others think that the policy of the State Department has been driving Argentine liberals into the arms of the Nazi-fascist Argentine dictatorship. All these views have had wide publicity. The only one which has not been presented is that of the Argentine people.

Of course it is difficult to obtain a clear idea of what the people think. Some months ago Colonel Perón announced that press censorship was to be ended. Actually the new press policy was designed to deceive the rest of the continent. The fascist government, realizing the disadvantages of direct suppression of the news, adopted a different system which has proved most effective. The newspapers are free to comment on the price of cattle and on the activities of the weather bureau. They can even discuss the foreign policy of the government—if they do not forget that the government controls paper supplies and other means of coercion. When an important Buenos Aires daily took this "freedom of the press" seriously and published the statement of an exiled Argentine leader in Montevideo denouncing Nazi activities in Argentina and the war preparations of its dictatorship, the paper was not suppressed, but it had to pay for its courage. The government simply intervened in a transaction between the paper and a bank and caused the paper the loss of 160,000 pesos.

Nevertheless, the Argentine people have found ways of making their views public. Three days after the establishment of the military dictatorship in June, 1943, the first illegal Argentine paper appeared—*Unidad Nacional*. Today it is impossible to make a complete list of such papers. Many of them are typewritten or mimeographed. They are published by students, workers, physicians, newspapermen from the great dailies who want to express their true opinions. Never has there been more journalistic activity in Argentina than now. Every party, every political group, has its paper. Former members of the Radical Party of ex-President Alvear publish *La Voz Radical* in Buenos Aires and many other papers in the provinces. The Socialists have *Llamarada*, the Communists *Unidad Nacional*. There are also *Voz de Mayo*, *Urquiza despierta! (Urquiza, Awake!* Urquiza was the military commander of the army which overthrew the tyrant Rosas in 1852), *Libertad*, *Camarada*, *El Garrote*, *Pancho Ramirez*, *El Angel de la Cornisa*, *El Constitucional*, *La Chaira*, and *Joven Argentina*. A group of exiles in Montevideo publishes *Pueblo Argentino*. In Santiago another group puts out *Informaciones Argentinas*.

The position of the Argentine people is therefore not a matter of speculation. From the beginning the great majority have been opposed to the dictatorship, though it took from eight to ten months for the forces of resistance to organize. The formation of the committee known as Patria Libre was an important step in the unification of the elements which support democracy and oppose fascism. On this committee are men of all shades of political opinion, and its organ, *Himno Nacional*, faithfully reflects the policy of unity.

There was a day when the entire underground movement came to the surface—the day Paris fell. The greatest public demonstration ever known in Argentina took place in Buenos Aires. The people shouted not only "Long live France" but "Death to fascism." Similar demonstrations occurred in Cordoba, Rosario, Santa Fe, Tucumán, La Plata, Paraná, and other cities. They provided tremendous encouragement to the Argentine leaders now in Montevideo, who are building a representative junta of all the parties and forces which oppose the dictatorship.

Of course until that junta is formed no one can be called its representative. I say this because some newspapers in the United States have stated that I pretend to be here in that capacity. I am simply one of the hundreds of thousands of people who are part of the movement of resistance, one of those who are convinced that only through the establishment of a democratic regime can my country serve the great cause for which the United Nations are fighting.

It is no longer excusable to misinterpret the nature of the regime which was set up on June 4, 1943. In its issue of June, 1944, the illegal *Voz de Mayo* declared: "Born of a military coup, without popular support, the government has maintained itself through chaos, treason, and demagogy. No matter what it says, its aim is quite clear—the establishment of a totalitarian regime which pretends to be Argentine but which is in essence Nazi and clerical."

The Argentine dictatorship is Nazi-fascist and nothing else. Its advisers are German Nazis and Spanish Phalangists. It extends its protection to international fascist capital. At the same time it makes good use of money obtained from other foreign interests, which have always preferred to do business with dictatorships in Latin America rather than with governments of popular origin. The present Argentine government protects all the Nazi agents, Nazi financiers and industrialists, and Spanish Phalangists who have sought refuge in the country. It takes orders from the German General Staff. Only because it wants to save fascism in Europe from complete extinction is it willing partially to don the mask of democracy.

The great majority of the Argentine people have contemptuously rejected the official propaganda which would present the United States as an enemy. For more than a year fascist propaganda in Argentina has tried to convince the people that a "strong policy" against the United States would accomplish as great results as Hitler obtained at Munich. That is as absurd as for certain influential persons in the United States to tell their countrymen that an energetic policy against the Argentine dictatorship would generate a powerful current of antagonism to the United States. Sumner Welles's articles are widely reprinted in Argentina by order of the government and frequently praised in the Nazi-fascist press.

Still less comprehensible is Waldo Frank's opinion, as expressed in his article in *The Nation* of October 21. Waldo Frank is a sincere friend of the Argentines and of all Latin Americans. He is listened to with respect and interest. But this time he is profoundly wrong.

There is not, as Mr. Frank suggests, a single liberal in Argentina who considers the fascists "martyrs" as a result of the State Department's policy. Not a single enemy of what Mr. Frank calls "Yankee interference" has been won over by the Nazis on that ground. If Mr. Frank has any proof of his assertions, I urge him, on behalf of the "discouraged liberals" and "sentimental neutrals" to whom he refers, to publish it. I ask him to name one political group, one liberal Argentine paper or magazine, which provides support for his position.

The chief aim of the Farrell-Perón dictatorship is to transform Argentina into a Nazi stronghold from which the struggle can be continued after the end of the war. If the regime is allowed to carry out its purpose, the Third World War will be prepared in South America.

Our Hands Are Not Clean

BY WALDO FRANK

THERE is, of course, no disagreement between Señor Cernuschi and me on the evil of the Perón-Farrell dictatorship, on its unpopularity with most of Argentina's people, and on the urgent need to overthrow it. But, with all due respect, I cannot follow my friend from democratic Tucumán in one of his conclusions.

He says, "The Argentine dictatorship is Nazi-fascist and nothing else." There's more to it than that. Without its domestic base—the landowners who for thirteen years prepared the ground for the generals, the huge bureaucratic and middle classes of Buenos Aires who indirectly live on the landowners, and the widespread jealous nationalism of the country, ever prone to distrust the United States—the Nazi-fascist-clerical elements could get nowhere. But even this is not all. Señor Cernuschi says nothing about the British. Yet British trade is the principal foreign support of the now fourteen-year-old Argentine counter-revolution. This influence—antagonistic to Argentine progress, to the United States, and to true inter-Americanism—was there before Hitler and will outlive him. It needs no diplomats in Buenos Aires, so that the withdrawal of the British ambassador means far less than in our case; it has a compact, efficient colony, equipped with a daily press, financial power, and great social prestige, to do its work This is the same aspect of Britain, of course, which betrayed Spain's republic—the British navy permitted the first passage of Franco from Morocco to the Spanish mainland—and which, tomorrow, may be the chief protector of the reactionary regime already slated to succeed Franco. In Castillo's day, even under President Irigoyen, its devious, hidden ways were discernible in Buenos Aires. The American journalists who find the Argentine generals "mad" or "stupid" to hitch their wagon to fascism's fading star reveal their ignorance. The "star" was never, essentially, the Axis at all, although while the Axis flourished they were ready to swing into its orbit. The "star" is British trade imperialism, cartel imperialism, the foreign-investment imperialism, including our own, which threatens the post-war world.

Our Friend Franco

Our country is proud that Spanish blood is shed with yours in this noble enterprise, which is sure of the justice of history. For the high mission with which you have been charged, in critical moments for the future of the world, you will receive among us a cordial, sincere reception, since we are long united by traditional bonds. Today I add to them those created by the friendship and faith of your Führer and by the sacrifices of your volunteers in our crusade. In offering loyal collaboration for the triumph of your country, I pray you, Mr. Ambassador, to transmit my sincere wishes for the greatness and future of your country, and also for the personal well-being of your leader.—General Franco to the newly appointed German ambassador, Hans von Moltke, on presentation of his credentials on January 3, 1943.

I am sorry Señor Cernuschi did not make this clear. For our problem is not the simple one of keeping the Americas clean by forcibly cracking down on a belated satellite of the almost beaten Nazis. It involves a major post-war theater of intrigue in which several countries, among them Allies, occupy, through economic and cultural bonds, a position of advantage. And I regret that Señor Cernuschi did not show me exactly where I was wrong when I suggested that we send, not an *appeasing* ambassador to Buenos Aires, but "a liberal of the highest record . . . a man who can communicate with the Argentinians in inter-American terms." Here, too, the problem is far more vexed than it might have been if we had not sent appeasing ambassadors to Madrid, to Rio, to Lima, and to other dictator-ridden countries, if we had not done cordial business with Peñaranda of Bolivia, and then—until the delay cost us our prestige—balked at recognition of those who overthrew him. While our State Department mouths democracy, our hands have not been clean, our heads have not been clear; all Latin America knows this, so that our indignant gesture against the generals convinces no one.

An impotent gesture is dangerous. And impotent this one will be so long as Britain does not—and it will not—implement it with effective economic sanctions. We have put ourselves therefore at a disadvantage in many respects. And we have opened ourselves to the ready propaganda of the reactionaries of all Latin America, who are again loudly prophesying a new epoch of American pressure. What does Señor Cernuschi want? Surely not that we should actively interfere to help his countrymen throw the generals out! Surely he has a longer view. Even if we succeeded, does he not realize the harm we should do to all Latin American independence by raising again the old nightmare of Yankee interference? Tomorrow, in a world where we shall have far stronger rivals in Latin America, this would be more dangerous than ever.

I am not at all cocksure about what should be done in this difficult problem. But of this I am certain: the kind of ambassador I envisage would prove no comfort to the generals. (Even our appeasing envoys have not prevented revolutions in more than one Latin American state.) On the contrary, he would be the open, active, articulate spokesman of inter-American democracy in the place where it counts most to have him. He would know what our foes—open *and* hidden—are about; he would be in touch with our friends, and that means with the people. His presence would silence the chief argument against us and relieve neighboring states like Uruguay of an embarrassment that is becoming painful. He might prove so dangerous to the generals that they would kick him out. If they dared to, all Latin America would rise in protest. The moral and political victory would then be ours.

We cannot afford to make mistakes today in the capital of Spanish-speaking South America. The situation is too delicate, too pregnant of future threats to the peace. I repeat: I am not dogmatic in my position. But I submit that so long as there is doubt of the wisdom of our present course—and surely my article revealed plenty of cause for doubt—we should play safe by adhering to the Estrada Doctrine.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

FOR a long time General Eisenhower has been known in Germany as a traitor to the German blood in his veins. He is called a renegade, a deserter, and of course a "slave of the Jews." Recently to this general charge a more specific one was added: General Eisenhower has directed the chief of the American occupation forces—Goebbels was apparently present at the conversation—to proceed on the devilish principle that "dead Germans tell no tales." He gave this order after inhabitants of the occupied zone who had fled to the interior of Germany had told the truth "about the American reign of terror." The General directed that every available means should be used "to prevent further information about the true state of affairs under the occupation regime from reaching Germany." And he said the best method was to kill as many Germans as possible—"dead men tell no tales." This was printed in the German newspapers of around October 17 and heard over the German radio.

General Eisenhower, however, cannot prevent an occasional fugitive from escaping through the lines, and the dreadful news they bring is being repeated to the German people and the German troops morning, noon, and night. The public is thus gradually gaining a picture, as *Front und Heimat,* the organ of the Wehrmacht, expressed it on October 22, "of the incredibly brutal terror which follows in the wake of United States military occupation. American gangsters rule the area. Murder, looting, and rape seem to be the appropriate procedure in a conquered country." The paper describes a number of instances in detail:

> Herr Giemer, a schoolteacher of Nussbaum, reported the following: "With my thirty-year-old daughter, Anna Sophie, I fled into the cellar of the school to escape the enemy's artillery fire. Later United States assault troops entered it. I was kicked and struck with the butt end of a rifle, driven into a corner, and handcuffed. Then the leader of the gang, an American sergeant, attacked and raped my daughter. Afterward, when she had fainted, she became the victim of other United States soldiers. We were set free by a German counter-attack."

Another fugitive declared that Bolsheviks actually follow in the train of the United States army and rob and kill Germans.

> From Diekirch, Hans Werner Nehring, a merchant, reports: "I saw with my own eyes the German population being rounded up and taken to the police station. Later, trucks driven by Bolshevik bandits left the courtyard. Germans were tied to these trucks and trailed behind them until they died. United States soldiers witnessed this terrible crime without doing anything to stop it. They even joked about it."

Still worse things are done by the Jews, who move in immediately behind the American troops.

> From Wallerdorf it is reported that American soldiers senselessly burned the town. Frau Tramport states: "Just outside our village they rummaged through the goods of refugees. What they did not consider worth taking, they drenched with gasoline and set on fire. Jews accompanied the United States soldiers. They drove women and children with whips to dig trenches and entered the village with the cry, 'Revenge for Judah!'"

Of the many stories broadcast by the German radio and the official news agency, the D. N. B., here is one heard on October 20:

> When the frontier village of Cruchten was recaptured by German troops, it was found that the United States soldiers had looted all the houses and driven off all the cattle, the only property of the villagers. Some women begged that one cow be left them to keep their children alive. They were beaten with rifle butts and sticks. The United States troops abducted many children from this village as well as from other villages in the frontier area and forced them to locate land mines.

The purpose of these horror stories is bluntly stated. Shame on those, declares *Front und Heimat,* who "still dare to dish up fairy tales about the allegedly decent behavior of the Americans and their British accomplices. They are every bit as bad as the Bolsheviks. All the more unequivocal is the answer which our comrades at the front and our compatriots along the western border will give to these bestial American acts of debauchery. Our enemies themselves are obliged to recognize a constantly growing hatred against them. They admit there are no anti-Nazis; they have found every German an ardent follower of Hitler, implicitly believing in victory. We hardly need add anything to the comments of the enemy. The whole nation has risen against the Anglo-American terror and will to annihilate us."

Meyer Levin, whose article On the Spanish Frontier appeared in this section last week, is war correspondent in France for the Overseas News Agency.

THE ART OF DELACROIX

BY CLEMENT GREENBERG

BAUDELAIRE, no less incomparable as an art critic than as a poet, wrote that one of Eugène Delacroix's prime qualities is that he is "essentially literary. His painting has not only traversed the field of high literature with unfailing success, not only has it translated, not only has it constantly visited Ariosto, Byron, Dante, Walter Scott, Shakespeare, but it is also able to reveal ideas of an order higher, subtler, and more profound than the greatest part of modern painting. And observe carefully that it is never by the detail, by the grimace, or by tricks of technique that Delacroix obtains this great result, but by the ensemble, by the deep and complete accord of color, subject, and drawing, and by the dramatic gestures of his figures."

I should like to add: observe also how small a part of this "literature" inhabits the clear, warm, and banal realm of the anecdote, the only realm accessible to those who demand of painting that it address itself *directly* to curiosity and reason. The test of art for them is its viability in words. Despite all the "human drama" bodied forth in Delacroix's pictures, such spectators are kept at a distance by a sense that the point of his painting lies elsewhere than in the explicit meaning of that drama.

The slanting arabesque of "Desdemona at Her Father's Feet" tells nothing as to why Desdemona is at her father's feet; instead, it generalizes her attitude beyond anything even so unspecific as supplication. It gives a hint of the quality of *all* emotion. The reaction awakened can be named but not defined or limited by its cause on the canvas: the subject is but a pretext—local and specific only because it is of the nature of art to require its pretexts to be so, since the generalizing function belongs chiefly to the medium. (The picture in question can be seen at the magnificent Delacroix exhibition now at Wildenstein's through November 18.)

Delacroix was one of the greatest painters, known or unknown, who ever lived. Unlike Picasso's, his temperament was equal to his gifts, though at moments he ran the danger of being confused by them—as Picasso often is. For his art was perturbed by a typically romantic set of contradictions. Arch-romantic, he sometimes bridled when called a romantic. He yearned for serenity, yet gave himself up to passion and excitement, in his life as a man about town as well as in his art. By natural bent and according to all the theoretical conditions of his practice he was an easel-painter par excellence, yet his greatest performances are mural panels and decorations. By instinct a *peintre de métier* if there ever was one, he was at first contemptuous of *cuisine* and eager for quick effects, and used bituminous colors which shortly plunged the deeper passages of many of his early pictures into opaque darkness. (The tempo of his century could not let Delacroix wait two years, as Titian had waited, for a layer of paint to dry before applying the next glazes.) He had a fine intelligence, much culture, and wrote well on art, music, and literature; yet he was carried away, like an adolescent, by enthusiasms. He painted what in an illustrative sense is still the most revolutionary of all pictures, "Liberty Guiding the People"—in which he, preeminently painter of the exotic and historical, introduced a top hat for the first time; yet he was chronically bored by politics, sold his pictures to the state with peculiar success, and was richly honored by the Second Empire. (There is a plausible supposition that Delacroix was an illegitimate son of Talleyrand.) And nevertheless he was a man of 1848 for whom, as for Baudelaire, the anti-climaxes of 1848-52 liquidated a certain emotional investment in current history. (Sad to relate, for a Socialist like myself, the conviction both Delacroix and Baudelaire acquired from then on, that art was the only field of meaningful achievement left, redounded to the great benefit of their practice.)

Delacroix's painting relies on antitheses as much as Victor Hugo's poetry. It is all confrontation, contradiction, opposition, and exchange. The swirling, intersecting diagonals of his pictures are checked and rebuked by a framework of superbly adjusted values. The secret of his color, that glorious color which flamed out as Delacroix approached his fiftieth year, lies in the antithetical interweaving of warm and cool tones: a touch of blue or green tinctures the red; a touch of pink or yellow modifies the blues and greens: red in the deep shadows, blue in the half-tones. A dark mass in the nearest plane asserts its right to its place by turning into deep violet and coming forward (see the dog at the very bottom of the great panel "Diana Surprised by Actaeon"). Beneath the magnificence is scattered an underpainting of white tempera which infuses a glow into every dominant tint. And all is handled with bravura, a high indifference to detail and finish, and a broad laying on of the brush which leaves the canvas still vibrating.

Delacroix's contemporaries, hypnotized by the feats of Ingres's line, asked whether he could really draw. For us it is self-evident. As if draftsmanship were separable in the end from the totality of the accomplishments of a great painter, except in so far as it is a compensation for the lack of some other accomplishment—Ingres's lack, for instance, of aptitude for color. (As Ruskin first suspected, we praise Michelangelo's drawing more than Tintoretto's because among other things Michelangelo's color is so much inferior.)

Yet Courbet, as quoted by Georges de Batz in the Wildenstein catalogue, put his finger on something when he mentioned Delacroix's "shapeless form"—Courbet, whom Delacroix accused in turn of "impotence in the matter of invention." Being delivered over so much to movement and rhythm, romantic form would become somewhat flaccid, disjointed, and tend to spread unduly over the surface. It was too late for Delacroix to recapture that simultaneity of contour and color which was the great consummation of the Venetians. The flat plane surface was already beginning

John Day

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to push up from the depths of the picture and deflate the sculptured volumes. Reflected light cross-mating with reflected light—impressionism was on the way.

Eugène Delacroix marked one of the great turning-points in the history of Western painting. He was the first artist since the mid-eighteenth century to look back at Rubens and the Venetians; but after him and Courbet—who looked back at the Dutch—all turns and goes toward a new future. From then on none of the great figures except Renoir will stop to cast more than a comparatively fleeting glance back at the Renaissance past, however much they haunt the Louvre and talk of rendering Poussin according to nature.

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

I'VE ONLY NOW got round to looking into the autumn number of *Angry Penguins,* an Australian literary magazine which has been lying on my desk for some time. This is the issue dedicated to the "poet" Ern Malley, who was invented by two Australian poets now in the army, Corporal Harold Stewart and Lieutenant James McAuley. They provided their author with a Preface and Statement in the modern manner, a letter about him from his sister Ethel, and a complete MS of poems put together out of random materials, including a report on the drainage of breeding grounds for mosquitoes.

Angry Penguins accepted everything. It printed the Preface and Statement, the letter from Ethel, and all the poems. Max Harris, who seems to be one of Australia's most "progressive" writers, wrote a portentous introduction, let himself go in exegesis of the Statement of Malley, and finished off with an Elegiac and a Biography of his own composition.

Having read the complete works of Ern Malley, I am bound to say that some of his poems make more sense than Harris's Elegiac and Biography, of which they might even be called parodies before the event. And they are fun to read.

It is necessary to understand
That a poet may not exist, that his writings
Are the incomplete circle and straight drop
Of a question mark
And yet I know I shall be raised up
On the vertical banners of praise.

The unwitting Mr. Harris used the last two lines as the "prophetic" heading to his introduction.

There are amusing lines in the concoction:

I have been bitter with you, my brother,
Remembering that saying of Lenin when the shadow was
already on his face: "The emotions are not skilled
workers."

It has social significance:

And in the magazines I have read
The Popular Front-to-Back
But where I have lived
Spain weeps in the gutters of Footscray.

And it is spiced with sexy images:

. . . I got no culture till
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Mr. Harris didn't know, of course, that Malley was talking about insects. These lines occur in the poem which opens with a quotation from the report on mosquitoes, and though it is flies and not mosquitoes that rub their legs together, Messrs. Stewart and McAuley were not above indulging in poetic license.

THE EASE with which Max Harris was taken in will be a comfort and a confirmation to the people who feel that modern poetry is meaningless. I have a certain amount of sympathy with such of these people as are sincere. Modern poetry, because of its apparent lack of a discipline, certainly gives scope to the charlatan, to the pretentious, the precious, and the stupid—though bad modern poetry is no worse really than bad old-fashioned poetry. But the people, sincere or otherwise, who go on to cry for a return to what they call sanity in verse are just as foolish as Max Harris and could as easily be taken in by a clever imitation, say, of Wordsworth. The idea that artists of integrity and talent are "difficult" or "pessimistic" out of wilfulness and could just as well be easy and cheerful is so stupid that it seems hardly worth combating—except that one meets it not only in the leaflets of the League for Sanity in Poetry of Corpus Christi, Texas, but in the books of presumably intelligent critics. It is time the baiters of modern art and literature considered the possibility that some of the "difficulty" lies closer home.

I LOOKED THROUGH the collection of comic strips portraying the life of "The Sad Sack," the G. I. soldier who appears regularly in *Yank* (Simon and Schuster, $2). The Sad Sack was created by Sergeant George Baker and is very popular in the services. He never gets a break and he never gets enough sleep. Sergeant Baker's drawing is crude, almost brutal, and full of violent, unrelieved motion which makes the eyes swim. But it is well suited to the trials of the Sad Sack with his ever-fresh hopes, his endless frustrations, and his chronic exhaustion.

Haggin on Music

MUSIC FOR THE MAN WHO ENJOYS "HAMLET."
By B. H. Haggin. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.

MR. HAGGIN'S books on recorded music have been the best of their kind, and by far the best. In their style, as well as in their sureness of judgment and seriousness of spirit, they have not been approached by the atrociously written efforts of eclectics like Kolodin and Hall. But they are not perfect books. For one thing, Mr. Haggin has as fine a collection of hobby-horses as any good critic may be permitted to have. And for another, and this is important, his pedagogic intentions have always been a cramp on his work, both in its style and its range.

The present work has all the good and bad qualities of the preceding books, though fortunately the good qualities have been intensified while the bad ones have been somewhat reduced. What Mr. Haggin has done is, in essence, to provide a superb anthology of quotations from musical texts accompanied by critical remarks that are always wonderfully exact and are quite often profound. These passages are identified, for those who do not read score, by reference to their place on the sound track of current recordings. As always with Mr. Haggin, it is the profundity or the subtlety in the spiritual reference of the music, its sheer loveliness, its animated grace, which excite him and never its historical or biographical significance or its curious interest for musicology. It is the music itself to be apprehended by the ear and the mind which he puts forward. And this is the foundation of his great merit. In effect, then, this book is an invitation to the reader to listen to Mr. Haggin talking about the music he loves best. It is an exercise I am always eager to undertake.

Mr. Haggin, in my esteem, rates with such rare critics as Mr. Turner. When he has broadened his vision and his liking (toward early and modern music), become more adventurous and a little more generous, he will, I think, stand beside Tovey. He has all the intensity, all the honesty necessary. He needs only expansiveness and a fresh accession of largeness of heart.

There is another side to this book, however, and I shall very candidly try to describe it. As a good musician Mr. Haggin is urgently concerned with the form of a piece of music. And here his conceptions are living ones, neither academic nor pedantic. But the real living form of music is difficult to write about, for it involves the power of keeping the whole flow of the music present in thought. Here, I think, the author's pedagogical idiom frequently betrays him into aridity, for what he too often does is simply to translate long passages of music into descriptive formulas. (Page 27 is an example.) The pedagogical temper is responsible, too, for the one stylistic blemish. I mean Mr. Haggin's symmetrical sentences. That he has a conscious interest in the rhythm of language is evident. His substantives are all too apt to run in threes, and to be lumpily repeated in the next clause, with results that are leaden, thudding, dull. It is a mannerism as forgivable and as embarrassing as a facial tic. It is forgivable, as is his quotation of a piece of very bad psychology from Ernest Newman, in support of the one hobby-horse that pokes in its wooden head. These matters aside, and they are as easily ignored as the rest of current musical criticism in New York, the book is altogether singular. It is the work of a serious man and a splendidly equipped if idiosyncratic critic. RALPH BATES

BRIEFER COMMENT

Schooling for Democrats

IN A well-written, highly personalized book, "Your School, Your Children" (L. B. Fischer, $2.50), Marie Syrkin makes effective use of anecdotal material—which may not, however, be representative—to arouse the reader. The book treats the difficulties faced by some teachers in some New York City high schools in bringing home to their charges the meaning of democracy in thought and practice. It has definite merits as a "make-you-sit-up-and-take-notice" description of the racial and religious oppositions that are erupting into the school systems of some metropolitan areas, but as soon as it

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discusses fundamental educational issues, it betrays confusion and inconsistency. It runs together difficulties that flow from large classes with difficulties that are rooted in social and family situations beyond the reach of the schools. In many cases where existing practices are condemned, no feasible alternatives are proposed. Yet as a statement and recognition of the problems of democratic schooling it is excellent.

The author observed that among some of her students skepticism of the democratic cause went hand in hand with measureless credulity toward Nazi propaganda. She asserts that this was to a considerable extent a consequence of the teachers' efforts to develop an attitude of critical objectivity among students. Not a particle of evidence is adduced in support of this preposterous contention. The author expresses horror when she relates how the interventionist-isolationist debate, in which she was able to detect Nazi *leit-motifs,* got into the classroom. Yet at the same time she assures us that "legitimate, existing interest" among students is a good starting-point for instruction, even if their discussion reveals "ignorance, misinformation, prejudice, and superficiality." Her one genuine educational insight is the importance of small classes; but her remarks about the Dewey-Hutchins controversy indicate that she lacks an adequate grasp of the basic issues involved. And as for her often-repeated statement that "opposition to indoctrination" has been "a deeply intrenched tradition" in American schools, one can only say that either she is misinformed about actual practices in most American schools, past and present, or she misunderstands the nature of indoctrination, or both.

SIDNEY HOOK.

Japanese Internment

D-DAY IN THE PACIFIC found Royal Arch Gunnison reporting on the growing Far Eastern crisis from Manila. For the previous year he had been covering a Pacific "beat" that included Melbourne and Shanghai, Bangkok and Rangoon, and Batavia, Singapore, and Chungking. After December 7 he and his wife were interned at Santo Tomás; later they joined a small group which the Japanese permitted to go to Shanghai. Here several months of liberty, marred only by their omnipresent Japanese shadow, were cut short by internment in the Chapei camp. He tells the story in "So Sorry, No Peace" (Viking Press, $3).

No previous account has given in such meticulous detail, or with equal readability, the story of the life of civilians in Japanese internment camps. The author served on internee committees, negotiating almost daily "with the pugnacious, greedy, brutal Japanese military gendarmerie and consular officers." It is a depressing picture of enforced malnutrition, filth, lack of hospitalization, psychological humiliation, and generally callous handling. At our own Tule Lake camp, visited on his return, he noted that the Japanese internees were receiving over 3,000 calories a day against the 1,900 supplied in the Far East, and a space of 110 square feet per person as against 30 in Manila and not much more in Shanghai. And when Tokyo complained of conditions at Tule Lake a Swiss representative visited it, this being a privilege denied at more than one of the internment centers in the Far East.

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Some of the high lights of the book: the trip from Manila to Shanghai in a Japanese convoy menaced by the operations of American submarines; the story of Manila's last days before the Japanese marched in as conquerors; the exasperating negotiations which Gunnison carried on with Commandant Tsurumi in the Chapei camp; and the preparations for, and final materialization of, the return home on the Gripsholm. A few of the points in Gunnison's conclusions, outlining policy toward Japan, are questionable—notably his idea that the United Nations can enlighten and direct "a new Emperor" after they have disposed of Hirohito. Not many Far Eastern students will be found to accept his contention that "Russia considers itself the protector of the Asiatic, and supports the doctrine that Asia is a spot eventually to be inhabited by Asiatics only." But his concluding chapters are worth reading for their generally realistic and logically hard-boiled views, based on first-hand dealings with the Japanese. T. A. BISSON

The Textile Worker

LIKE the other volumes in the series Labor in the Twentieth Century, "The Cotton Mill Worker" (Farrar and Rinehart, $3) is a competent study. Information is presented, and arranged, on every aspect of the industry, and the reader who examines the volume carefully will learn much about the cotton textile worker and his problems. While the book has many merits, it is not likely to attract a wide audience. It suffers from a fault common to a number of other volumes in the series—it is too detailed.

PHILIP TAFT

Sovereignty and Peace

AMERICAN THOUGHT on international relations has always tended to be too juridical and too oblivious of complex political factors. One might imagine that the realities of the present world situation would have cured us of this legal purism; but books which emphasize the juridical at the expense of the political factors still pour from our presses. The latest is Hans Kelsen's "Peace Through Law" (Chapel Hill, $2). The author rightly discerns the difficulty of creating a unified international political authority, completely transcending national sovereignty; and wrongly imagines that he can evade this difficulty by creating an international court with compulsory jurisdiction over all disputes. The same power of national sovereignty which is presumably too great to allow a genuine international community to arise is expected to bow meekly before the authority of an international court, the impartiality of which is guaranteed merely by the fact that its members are chosen as individuals and not as representatives of their nations. The nations are expected to submit their disputes to it, acquiesce in its judgments, and furnish it with the means of enforcing its judgments should recalcitrance arise. The author does not understand that courts are not the foundation but the final pinnacle of any system of justice.

This treatise is made even more abstract and irrelevant by the addition of an impossible individualism to an unrealistic legalism. The author believes that the nations of the world could enter into an international agreement making their leaders individually responsible for acts of state, undertaken in their representative capacity, which lead to war. The idea not only obscures the complex political forces which underly the "individual" acts of statesmen but also presupposes the complete abnegation of national sovereignty, without which no nation would deliver its leaders to such a court. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Man's Best Friend

EVEN before it opened at the Forty-eighth Street Theater most interested parties already knew that "Harvey" was a play about a man whose best friend is a white rabbit something more than six feet tall. That sounded—and still sounds—like one of those whimsies which delight a few determinedly elfin spirits while generating in most spectators an acute embarrassment, but the fact that "Harvey" has already delighted nearly everyone who has seen it is proof enough that it has unhoped-for qualities. Here is, indeed, one of those miracles which still occasionally occur just when theatergoers have reason to doubt that miracles happen. Here, in other words, is a script so astonishingly fresh in conception and so deft in execution that one is tempted to call it inspired, and here are direction so sure-footed and playing so precisely right that one is tempted to call them inspired also. Mary Chase, the author, is —or was—very nearly an unknown. But fortune smiled upon her twice: once when it permitted her to clothe her fantasy in so much unhackneyed wit and humor, so much gaiety and so much tenderness, again when it directed the choice of Frank Fay to impersonate her amiable and touching hero. Not once in a blue moon does it happen that a dramatist realizes his own intention so perfectly, and not once in a moon of even more improbable color does he have also the all but incredible good luck to get for the same play a well-nigh perfect interpretation. Miss Chase, I should guess, is almost scared.

Mr. Fay, as the fortunate friend of the supernatural rabbit, manages somehow to make irresistibly credible the calm happiness, the mellow insanity, and the unshakable amiability of the central character. He is good, one knows, because he is happy but also because his happiness is softened by some memory of a suffering long past, and it is not until near the middle of the play that he clarifies at once both his own character and the theme upon which the whole fantasy is founded by making a quiet remark: "For forty years I struggled with reality; but I am happy to say that I conquered it at last." When that has been said, one realizes that "Harvey" is strong rather than merely whimsical because it is based upon an enduring psychological fact, because there are moments when nearly every man is ready to say with Dryden, "There is a pleasure sure, in being mad, which none but mad men know," or, in our own idiom, "It's great to be crazy."

Let me hasten to add something for the benefit of those few uncompromising souls who will surely rise to protest that traffic with rabbits, real or imaginary, is sheer escapism, and that facing reality is today just what everybody ought to be doing. In the first place, "Harvey" purges the soul. In the second place, it is as much a satire on the realities of the world we have made as it is a defense of those who prefer madness to what, by mere popular vote, has come to be accepted as sanity. Miss Chase, in other words, has given us a sort of Don Quixote in modern dress, and we are about, so I predict, to take him enthusiastically to our bosoms. A man's best friend is not always his dog. Sometimes it is his rabbit. Especially if the rabbit doesn't exist.

Josephine Hull is almost as delightful as Mr. Fay himself in her role of the aunt who talks herself temporarily into the booby hatch while trying to explain why her nephew should be locked up, and the whole play bubbles with sheer—as well as astonishingly unhackneyed—fun. Few surprises on the contemporary stage have ever been more deliriously delightful than that supplied when our hero finally unveils the portrait he has just had painted, and few incidents have been more shrewdly contrived or more quietly meaningful than that of the psychiatrist so overcome by the hypnotic sympathy of the rabbit lover that instead of probing the latter's delusions he goes off into a fantasy of his own involving Akron, Ohio, cool beer, and an unknown siren who will whisper into his ear, "You poor thing, you poor thing."

If "Harvey" were less substantial it would probably be unwise to reveal its conclusion, but like all really good plays it loses nothing when we know how it comes out—in this case very satisfactorily indeed. Our hero, because he is too amiable not to try to do whatever will please others, finally consents to the proposal that he be returned to reality by way of the psychiatrist's therapeutic shock treatment. But as the moment approaches, even the members of his family begin to doubt that they would like him any better if he were sane like themselves, and the question is settled finally by the taxi driver who has brought the company to a very efficient sanatorium. This new treatment, so he assures everybody, does really work. In this same cab mad men have driven up and been taken away again with their wits recovered. "He will go into that room for a few minutes. When he comes out he will be a perfectly normal human being—and you know what bastards they are."

Samson Raphaelson's "The Perfect Marriage" (Barrymore Theater) is carefully written by an experienced playwright and lovingly acted by two competent performers—Miriam Hopkins and Victory Jory—but it suffers from a fatal defect. Nobody in the audience really cares very much to learn that two not especially interesting people suspect after ten years of marriage that their love has cooled, or that in the course of a protracted and realistic but not very diverting conversation they talk themselves back into contentment.

"Violet" (Belasco Theater) is a play about a much-married man and one of his less attractive children. Passable farces have been made from time to time out of similar material, but this one just isn't funny at all.

Films

JAMES AGEE

THE new Russian film, "The Rainbow," is a ferocious anthology of the atrocities perpetrated by German soldiers upon the women and children and babies and old men of an occupied Ukrainian village. It is fiction, derived from a prize-winning novel which I would infer to be monstrously trashy and teacher's-petty, and it is done on the whole with a good deal less than the customary Russian ability to make screen fiction look at least as true as fact. Yet its maniacal quality—not to mention the bulk of its subject matter—is of itself bullyingly persuasive; still more so is one's realization that crimes at least as terrible have been a commonplace in the war in Russia and elsewhere. I have endured none of these things, but it is easy for me to realize that others who have and still others who haven't may be strongly moved by them, in the way the makers of the picture intended to move them. I, however, am still more strongly moved by other considerations.

I wonder whether one has any business making or accepting a film about war or cruelty or brutality unless some sort of attempt is made, in the film, to understand them. I wonder whether certain dreadful events, of the sort this picture is full of, are not so incalculably rich in the possibilities of moral and aesthetic blackmail that they can never be represented maturely or even undeceitfully, and so had better not be represented at all. I wonder, too, at the reception of the film here. The reactions of the audience at the Stanley were as cheerfully bestial as they might be if that audience had, through similar experience, earned some semblance of right to them; and so far as I have seen or heard, only one reviewer, Manny Farber, has stood up against the perniciousness of the movie. It is the utter simplicity of feeling, among those who approve "The Rainbow," which is particularly disturbing. The picture presents data which, backed by one's knowledge of fact, make it hard to keep one eye open; but if there are so few people who can even try to, who can so much as doubt the full validity of their approval of the film, in a relatively untouched country where it is popularly supposed to be easiest on earth to keep and cultivate and utter the freedom of one's mind and conscience, that suggests to me a deeper disaster than all other disasters of war and peace combined.

I am curious, for that matter, why this picture was made in Russia, and for Russians (it seems understandable enough as a foreign editorial). It seems possible that with the shift toward certain victory, after terrible danger and loss and ferocity and suffering, a general reaction may have set in among the Russian people in thousands of liberated towns which has tended to make them sick of hatred and vengeance and incapable of it; and that this film is to be understood less as a spontaneous outburst of rage and loathing than as a carefully deliberated effort to combat war weariness and the restoration of any semblance of moral tenderness and skepticism. Whatever the motives or sentiments of those who made the film, it seems to me as unadulterated and violent a piece of agit-prop as I have ever seen; and whether you approve or deplore it depends chiefly, I think, on how you feel about agit-prop.

I have no doubt about my own feelings; it is my idea of anathema. I do believe, to be sure, that a kind of propaganda is possible whose constant effort is to clarify rather than merely simplify, not to say falsify or exploit, issues and motives and causes and needs; to forge, in Joyce's words, the uncreated conscience of the race. But I am afraid the believers in agit-prop will dismiss that sort of propaganda, scornfully, as mere art; and I am afraid they are right. In any case there is not one ounce of such effort in "The Rainbow." Indeed, few films ever made have so vigorously seized the spectator by the throat and so implacably insisted, with one unprincipled bang over the head after another, that he turn himself into the wildest animal possible, and mistrust and hate with all his might any lingering question which troubles him about his obligation to do so. It is more than understandable that such a film should come out of the sort of war that has been fought in Russia; but that does not mean that the film is fit for human consumption. For all its studio artificiality and its still more essential falseness it seems, rather, almost of a piece with war itself. Like war it is bursting with energy, with passion, and with skill of itself both good and bad, but hardly a foot of it so much as suspects the most elementary, most indispensable obligation of the true artist, or of anyone, for that matter, who seriously desires to walk on his hind feet: to try, under whatever confusion of pressures, to understand and illuminate and conduct oneself in accordance with the truth, in so far as one experiences it.

All of the passion and resource of this film are used systematically, according to the most blunt and amoral means available, to demolish one's moral and aesthetic judgment by splitting both and by turning the split forces of both against each other. When, for just one instant, a woman, rather than betray her comrades and her country, suffers her newborn baby to be shot before her eyes, she has committed a tremendous act, and it is one which of itself all but annihilates one's feeling of the right, not to say the invincible, obligation to keep one's senses. But the fact remains that whatever she did or did not do in that predicament, she would have presented, not solved, a terrible moral problem. But everything is solved in this film; every most important thing may be incalculably hard to do right by, but the right itself is easy.

When you can make such a picture, or watch it with untroubled approval, some crucially important moral nerve has, I believe, gone dead in you. Temporarily, perhaps incurably, you have been rendered helpless in the most disastrous way I can conceive of. There are frightening, flagrant symptoms of such a death in this film, as in its general American reception. In the film God—in Whom I very much doubt that the makers of the film believe—is represented as available only to Russian patriots, not to cowards or traitors and not to Germans. It is explained of the enemy that "they are Germans and that is why they kill." The idea of post-war justice is summed up in a woman's speech about German prisoners: after they have watched their armies starved and beaten, their cities destroyed, their wives and children recoil from them, and after they "answer for their crimes before a People's Court—then, a quick death." When you are capable of regarding God as a party member in good standing; of agreeing with the National Socialists that various tendencies or actions are explicable in terms of race or nation and that all members in that race or nation are infected with those tendencies and are liable to those actions; of stating, in the same breath, that the enemy should stand trial and then should and shall be annihilated; it seems merely inevitable that you will have lost, as well, even the simplest sort of eye for faces. The woman who delivers this closing oration about justice is presented virtually as the embodiment of her people, and strikes me as one of the most coldly and irremediably horrifying human beings I have ever laid eyes on. It is a complex face, and I will not attempt an analysis of it or of my reactions, but I can give a rough idea of the latter by suggesting that the substitution of King Kong would have left me with a far better opinion of the judgment of the makers of the film, and a far happier hope for the future, if the innocent and whole-hearted approval of such a work is any kind of measure of the present. But then Kong, I must grant, is one of the few reasonably human movie heroes I can remember.

JAMES AGEE

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? The ROSICRUCIANS ?
? SAN JOSE [AMORC] CALIFORNIA ?

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

WHEN Arthur Rubinstein's recorded performance of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 81a *(Les Adieux)* was issued here two or three years ago I found that he played Beethoven in the same sensitive style—with the same rubatos, the same elegance—as he played Chopin, and in this way altered Beethoven's character and meaning. I was interested to find the same observation in a review of this performance in a recent issue of the London *New Statesman and Nation*. And there was a fresh illustration of the point when Rubinstein played with Toscanini and the N. B. C. Symphony in the broadcast performance of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 3.

There was an occasion ten years ago when Iturbi, in performances of Mozart concertos with Toscanini and the New York Philharmonic, matched the orchestra's powerful statements with clearly and boldly outlined phrases that were in striking contrast to his usual salon-music style in Mozart. And listening to Toscanini's performance of the orchestral introduction of Beethoven's concerto I expected the same thing to happen again: no pianist, I thought, could be unaffected by its hair-raising power. Its conclusion, however, brought from the piano not the three upward rushes with the impact of cannon-shots that I expected to hear, and that I have heard in some other performances, but three scales with the on-the-surface brilliance of Rubinstein's style emphasized by the on-the-surface sound of the particular Steinway piano that he chose to play on. And this discrepancy in style and effect between the orchestral and the piano parts continued throughout the movement, with the worst instance at the end of the cadenza, when orchestra and piano began the dramatically hushed passage which works up to the forceful conclusion of the movement, and Toscanini began to build up the crescendo, but Rubinstein lingered over his brilliant passage-work, compelling Toscanini to slow down again and to relax the tension he had already built up. In the slow movement Rubinstein gave florid melodic passages the contours he gives such passages in the slow movement of Chopin's E minor; and the finale, which he played best, was not without its alien details.

The chief thing wrong with the new Ballet International is the artistic direction capable of producing the combination of elements in "Brahms Variations": the somber music of the Handel-Brahms and Paganini-Brahms Variations for piano, falsified by tasteless orchestration, by *Adagio* tempos in some of the *Allegro* variations, and in such variations by the expansion of mere rhythmic figures into new lines of melodic counterpoint; a Vertes setting with pink streamers, and costumes in the same taste, suitable for the cover of a June-bride issue of *Vogue;* and choreography by Bronislava Nijinska that is as "endless, highly ingenious, and pointless"—to borrow Edwin Denby's unsurpassably accurate characterization—as everything else with which the great choreographer of "Les Noces" has disappointed us since that work.

Even in "Brahms Variations," however, Nijinska is capable of contriving one impressive thing: the slow, delicate movements she has Elgevsky do in the first half, which exhibit the beauty and grace of his body and, in an unusual way, his marvelous control of it in motion. That is, she is capable of bringing out the best in him as a dancer, which I have seen only once before—in Balanchine's "Baiser de la fée." In her "Pictures at an Exhibition" too there are group formations and movements at the beginning which recall "Les Noces" (the rest, however, is not only ingeniously pointless but outrageous in its misuse of the music for programmatic ideas different from Mussorgsky's). And it is only such a detail here and there that can be singled out in some of the other new ballets: the *pas de deux* in the second part of William Dollar's "Constantia," with its fresh use of classic ballet idiom, and the beautiful dancing in it of Marie-Jeanne and Dollar; Milena's costumes and Oliver Smith's first-scene setting in "Sebastian" (not enough to make one accept Menotti's music and Caton's choreography). As for the "Swan Lake" I saw, Viola Essen was inadequate in the chief role, and the *corps de ballet* seemed not to have been rehearsed sufficiently for precision and clarity. But "Les Sylphides" was quite good.

Art Note

THE abstract painter John Tunnard, of Lincolnshire and Cornwall, is being introduced to this country by a show of gouaches at Nierendorf's (through November 18). Tunnard's Gothic fragility, his singing webs and neutral color are too gossamer for the watery medium and need the heaviness of oil to hold them down and solidify them. It is perhaps to accommodate himself to gouache that Tunnard has ventured to use larger masses and more varied colors. But whereas his oils have a tendency to succumb to the temptations of the felicitous and of good taste, his gouaches come very close to the kind of esoterica the Baroness Rebay sponsors and fosters at Art of Tomorrow. It is unfair, however, to judge Tunnard exclusively by them. His oils are usually a different matter, sacrificing nothing to their delicacy, and enjoying the benefits thereof without most of the liabilities. Yet, even so, whether Tunnard has anything very important to say becomes a moot question in the light of these gouaches. C. G.

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Letters to the Editors

The Case of Italy

Dear Sirs: The article entitled Garibaldi's Return by Mario Bellini in *The Nation* some weeks ago shows how important for the military cause of the United Nations is the widespread activity of the Italian partisans. The following lines by your correspondent are particularly sad and should worry not only the Italians but all those who fight for a little more justice in the world: "Nothing would be easier for the Allies than to organize the partisan forces in liberated Italy into regular units. But . . . the Allies do not want such an army. Italy must not acquire too many rights through its contribution to the war effort; especially it must not acquire the right to become an ally, since the terms of the 1943 armistice must be enforced in full."

It is perfectly true that in order to justify this policy the Allies minimize the contribution to the war of the Italian patriots. A daily communiqué on the activity of the Italian partisans is issued in Rome by General Alexander, but this communiqué is not made public through the usual channels.

Italy is now being devastated more than any other country in Europe, and its people are starving. Are the Italians so terribly guilty that they deserve such a fate? Didn't the Italians refuse to fight in this war against the Allies, and didn't they revolt in the middle of the conflict? Aren't the Italian partisans fighting now as heroically as their French and Yugoslav comrades? And should we forget the contribution Italy has made to civilization through the centuries?

The recent statements on Italy by Churchill and Roosevelt still contain nothing but vague promises—and the armistice terms are still a secret. What is worse, the Italian people are reminded by Churchill, after his cordial meeting with Prince Humbert and Badoglio, that they, the people, must pay for having let themselves be ruled by a totalitarian government. Mr. Churchill, we will not forget, had not long ago very kind words for Mussolini, just as he has now very kind words for Franco.

Anyhow, as far as Italian responsibility for fascism is concerned, let me quote Benedetto Croce. In a recent letter—just published in Italy as a foreword to the book "Ritratto di un ventennio" by the Italian liberal Francesco Flora—Croce writes: "It would be very useful for the knowledge of truth and the cause of justice to stress and extend your demonstration that fascism in Italy was encouraged and supported by the applause and admiration of other countries, even the Anglo-Saxon; which strengthened it very much against us who opposed it. Then, when this fine product of international collaboration manifested its nature by harming other countries, it seemed convenient to give it a purely Italian character and to make Italy the only one responsible for it. But this is not true and is not just."

Apparently, "Italian guilt" must be built up in order to facilitate Italy's entrance into the British sphere of influence. It is too bad that America is a partner in this cynical game.

M. MAESTRO

New York, October 20

Mr. Benét Protests

Dear Sirs: As, ironically, I am a subscriber to *The Nation* and hence could not well miss your review of my book, "Day of Deliverance: A Book of Poems in Wartime," I fear that in the interest of simple justice I shall have to comment upon it. Unfortunately I shall also have to quote it back to you. But it will not take long:

> When patriotic sentiment is wanted, the poetasters can be counted on to fill every need. With this general remark, and with charity rebuking the suspicion that there is always an element of exploitation in such performances, criticism has done its full duty by Mr. Benét's latest book in saying that there is no discrepancy between its matter and manner, both of which are execrable.

But *has* criticism done its full duty? And why call it "criticism"?

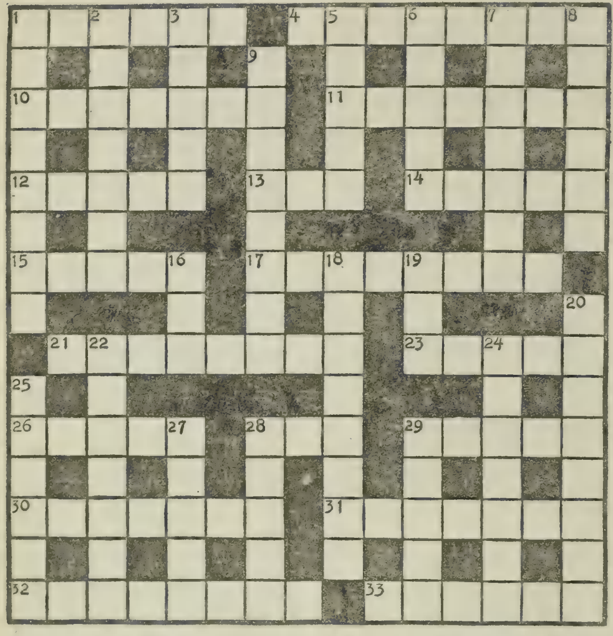
Once I taught book-reviewing for several seasons, and I have, as many know, done considerable book-reviewing in my time. I had always thought that the principle to follow was, first, really to read the book under review; second, to ascertain what the writer was trying to do; third, to pronounce how well or ill he was conceived as doing it. With that principle in mind, to dismiss the "matter" of any book at once as "execrable" is to destroy the very foundation of a criticism that has any pretensions to justice. The critic, of course, has a right to say that the writer in his opinion writes badly, that the book is second or third rate, or entirely negligible. But, aside from calling a writer of verse of long standing, with an honorable career, a "poetaster"—which is a cheap sneer—with the implication that your reviewer (anonymous) does not approve of something alluded to by her or him as "patriotic sentiment" (with no claim substantiated), your "criticism" continues with an implied insult, maugre the reviewer's insincere pretense of charity. The implication is that I wrote my poems to exploit the war for my own ends, whereas I wrote them because I was deeply stirred by the war and wished to say something that might have value.

As to the "matter" of my poems—some of them, obviously I cannot enumerate all in this space—it is actually as follows: an understatement (if anything) of the crimes the Nazis have committed, with a vision of the armies of democracy defeating them; a poem speaking of "my love for my own land"; one speaking of the myriad dead in the war and of those at home responsible for their death; a poem of admiration for my brother, the late Stephen Vincent Benét; a poem concerned with the Nazi persecution of the Jews; one concerning our Ambassador's oily love for Franco, recounting the heroism of the Loyalists; one on representatives of the "interests" meeting the returning soldiers; one in praise of Chapelle, the heroic student who assassinated Admiral Darlan; two poems on the peacefulness of Cape Ann in war time; a memorial poem to my brother; an arraignment of our ill-administered state of society that dooms its young men to recurring wars. These are not all the poems, but that is some of the "matter." This your reviewer calls "execrable."

I am inevitably led to certain conclusions: the first is that your reviewer cannot read, which must obviously be untrue. The second is that your reviewer could not possibly have read my book and afterward have written what was written. The third is that your reviewer's desire to destroy any reputation I might have as a good writer or as one of literary integrity was so strong as to eliminate

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 90

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 He gave his customers no choice
4 Lawful cooling confections for the magistrates
10 A craft festivity
11 Offered Ulysses immortality if he would remain with her. Nothing doing
12 Every kick is this to the go-getter
13 Always in ashes, but never in sackcloth
14 To supply firearms is most important
15 Woden is possessed!
17 Score no cribbage-player has ever made
21 When daffodils haste away, said the poet
23 His work is always changing its character
26 Spirit of *The Tempest*
28 You this is certainly
29 "Mr. Chips," in the film version
30 Not the sort of wedding we should choose
31 Makes boats fast
32 You might ask the barber for one in a hurry (two words, 5 and 3)
33 Elderly male kangaroo, you might think: actually, just an adult one (two words, 3 and 3)

DOWN

1 Required reading before the day of the printing-press
2 Scene of an Indian victory in 1876 (two words, 3 and 4)
3 Usually takes the singers in this a long time to get together
5 Relatively rich man of fiction
6 Holland's flower
7 Measure of overhead cover determines turnover
8 Laid up in Dorset
9 He took the lead in *The Merchant of Venice*
16 Give up the ghost
18 Expresses
19 Sidney Smith was glad he was not born before it
20 The people of Plymouth
22 South American river of numerous mouths
24 Bob Cratchett's little boy (two words, 4 and 3)
25 Sam turns up at the head of the people!
27 "And storied windows richly dight, Casting a dim religious - - - - -" (Milton)
28 In Africa they seem to prohibit speaking familiarly to the French
29 Reduces opportunities for sport nowadays

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 89

ACROSS:—1 CAPTAIN; 5 GARNETS; 9 LOTTO; 10 WEE; 11 LYING; 12 MURDER; 15 ENRAGE; 16 TESTING; 17 TONS; 19 GRIT; 21 RUSTICS; 22 TUNS; 23 ANNE; 25 STATLER; 27 ESCAPE; 29 DAMPER; 33 BLIGH; 34 OWE; 35 INURN; 36 EXPOSED; 37 STEPPES.

DOWN:—1 CALUMET; 2 PATER; 3 AMORET; 4 NEWS; 5 GLEE; 6 RULING; 7 ERICA; 8 SUGGEST; 13 REQUITE; 14 STATUTE; 15 ENACTED; 18 HEN; 20 RAN; 22 TREMBLE; 24 ERRANDS; 25 SPAHIS; 26 RACINE; 28 CRISP; 30 PLUMP; 31 HOOD; 32 LEGS.

---

any fairness to my book. So the lines were written and printed in an eminent journal dedicated to justice and fair dealing.

The Nation, with its fine liberal reputation, has deliberately chosen to say that what I write about is "execrable." *The Nation* would indeed have my sincere sympathy did I believe that what I write about is actually alien to what *The Nation* itself considers of "good report."

WILLIAM ROSE BENÉT

Pigeon Cove, Mass., September 15

Dear Sirs: It was I who wrote the review of Mr. Benét's book, and if he thinks I am afraid to sign my name to attacks upon him he is, as usual, greatly exaggerating his importance.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

New York, October 1

Agee on Films

Dear Sirs: In the good old days befor pseudo-science and feminism ruined he it was considered rude to congratulat one's hostess on her meals, since prais would imply that they could have bee bad, and by the same rule of courtes it should be unnecessary to write grati ful letters to editors.

Astonishing excellence, however, is the exception, and James Agee's film column seems to this reader, and to many others he has spoken with, jus that.

I do not care for movies very much and I rarely see them; further, I am suspicious of criticism as the literary genre which, more than any other, recruits epigones, pedants without insight, intellectuals without love. I am all the more surprised, therefore, to find myself not only reading Mr. Agee before I read anyone else in *The Nation* but also consciously looking forward all week to reading him again.

In my opinion, his column is the most remarkable regular event in American journalism today. What he says is of such profound interest, expressed with such extraordinary wit and felicity, and so transcends its ostensible—to me, rather unimportant — subject, that his articles belong in that very select class—the music critiques of Berlioz and Shaw are the only other members I know—of newspaper work which has permanent literary value.

One foresees the sad day, indeed, when Agee on Films will be the subject of a Ph.D. thesis. W. H. AUDEN

Swarthmore, Pa., October 16

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The Shape of Things

THE NEWS FROM THE FAR EAST CONTINUES TO be bad, with converging Japanese columns in southern China less than 100 miles apart at Kweilin and Liuchow. The gallant little Fourteenth United States Army Air Force has lost all its advanced bases except for Nanning and Kweiyang, and has suffered the heartbreaking experience of being forced to destroy the airfields it and its many Chinese friends had built with so much toil. General Chennault's courageous and dauntless fighters, who are among the most skilful and best-led airmen in the world today, will continue their long battle from the Kunming area, but that adds 500 miles to their bombing routes. This in itself would justify the Japanese offensive, for it will seriously reduce the scale of the Fourteenth's heavy and damaging attacks on enemy shipping in the South China Sea. But even more serious operations are apparently in train—a drive to the west toward Kweiyang which if successful would negate Allied progress toward opening the Ledo-Burma roads, and which would therefore greatly reduce the likelihood of getting heavy equipment into China for a ground campaign. Further, the fall of Kweiyang would open a potential back-door approach to Chungking itself, and even to Chengtu, chief base of the B-29's against Japan. It is much to be hoped that General Wedemeyer's "simple and, I hope, sound" plan of defense will be accepted by Generalissimo Chiang and that means will be found to carry it into effect.

*

HOPE FOR BETTER TEAMWORK ON CHINA'S PART has been brightened somewhat by news of the long-awaited reorganization of the Chungking government. Full details of the reorganization are not available as we go to press, but the preliminary reports are highly encouraging. War Minister Ho Ying-Chin, who is mentioned in Mr. Stewart's article as a defeatist of long standing, has been replaced by General Chen Cheng, one of the ablest of the Chinese military leaders. The choice of Chen Cheng is a particularly happy one, since he has shown his willingness to cooperate with the American military representatives. Finance Minister H. H. Kung, who worked closely with the landlord-usurers' clique, has also been replaced, but little is known of his successor. Although these changes are important steps in the right direction, they do not go far enough to warrant any great measure of optimism. Early reports do not indicate that any representatives of the non-Kuomintang liberal parties or the Communists have been taken into the government. Until real unity is achieved, China's contribution to the war is likely to remain far below that which its manpower and resources would seem to make possible.

THE SITUATION IN ITALY IS GOING FROM BAD TO worse, and winter has found the Allied authorities incapable of bringing any real help to a people which lacks bread, coal, and medicines. At the beginning of the month, the Italian papers displayed on their front pages President Roosevelt's promise that the bread ration in all liberated areas of Italy would be increased to 300 grams (10.57 ounces) a day. They are now commenting gloomily on private statements by Allied authorities who admit that they do not know where Mr. Roosevelt will get the bread. Hunger and cold might be tolerable, at least to the genuine anti-Fascist masses, if Italians felt free to work for the political reconstruction of their country. But if the Allied agencies do not seem particularly efficient in handling the food situation, they are certainly active in disarming the partisans, who want to fight the Germans, and in helping the Crown to protect itself from the gathering anti-monarchist storm. Dear old Vittorio Orlando seems to be the favorite choice of British and other conservative Allied elements for Bonomi's successor. His elevation to the Premiership, accompanied by the strains of *Giovinezza,* would bring the liberation of Italy to a cynical conclusion, if the people do not prefer civil war.

*

WITH UNCTUOUS LEGALISM EAMON DE VALERA has refused to give any pledge that Eire will deny sanctuary to Axis war criminals. Indicating that he does not intend to alter his policy of denying admission to aliens whose presence would infringe on its neutrality—a hypocritical claim in the face of the almost blatant use of Eire as an Axis espionage base throughout the war—the Irish Premier insists that he can give no assurance that would preclude the exercise of "justice, charity, or honor." This statement will not gladden the hearts of the hundreds of thousands of Irish who today are fighting Nazis in the armies of Britain, Canada, and the United States. Eire has done well by itself during the war and has escaped most of its horrors. No pressure was exerted against its not-so-benevolent neutrality even at the height of the Battle of Britain or during the worst phase of the submarine war. Eire's freedom and security, its very existence, have been bought by the lives of those with whom it refused to share the fighting. Now, they will have something to say about its policy after the war, particularly where it concerns the continuation of the destruction of fascism. Along with semi-fascist Portugal, Eire stands alone among the neutrals in regarding the future of Axis leaders as still an open question; even Spain and Argentina, on paper at least, have refused haven to the Axis rodents. We cannot help feeling that the Irish nation, which knows something of the nature of the fight against oppression, will declare itself—and force its leader to declare himself—a partner in the post-war battle to wipe out the last traces of fascism.

*

WITH AN AIR OF DIGNIFIED SENILITY THE executive council of the American Federation of Labor has declined the invitation issued by Britain's Trade Union Congress to a world labor conference in February which will discuss labor's role in the peace. Mr. Green has his reasons. First, the C. I. O. has invited dual unions (the C. I. O.) to attend. Second, it has invited organizations which are not "bona fide" unions—the Catholic trade unions of Canada and some in Latin America. Third, it has invited the Soviet trade unions, which are not "free" labor organizations. And, fourth, the T. U. C. should not have issued the invitation at all since the International Federation of Trade Unions is the proper initiating body. Thus, like the brontosaurus and other organisms which failed to find ways to survive, this great labor organization stubbornly resists the challenge of the times. "Dual unionism" was inevitable when the A. F. of L. refused to recognize the need for adopting the industrial-union form of organization in mass-production industries. Today the C. I. O., which arose out of that refusal, is the most militant and effective labor body in the country—and the C. I. O. has accepted the British invitation. To balk at a meeting with the Russian unions and raise legalistic objections to the method of calling the conference is to notify the labor world that the A. F. of L. prefers to be left behind rather than yield up any of its prejudices or prerogatives.

*

JAMES C. PETRILLO, IN EXACTING FEES OF SOME $4,000,000 annually from the recording companies, to be paid directly to the Musicians' Union, has won a thumping victory that may well lead to a new Congressional attack of unprecedented violence on labor as a whole. We know that the Musicians' Union under Petrillo's leadership has "done a great deal" for its members, and we know that without a union musicians would not have achieved what they have in the way of working conditions and security. The relief of unemployed members and the spreading of musical culture are perfectly legitimate activities for a musicians' union. We should not object if the fund had been legitimately obtained—if, that is, the union had won through the orderly processes of collective bargaining the payment of performance fees to the members concerned and if these fees had then been tranferred, through democratic union procedure, to a relief fund. What is highly objectionable is the fact that Petrillo has obtained this fund by means of monopolistic practices and that his control over the union is so complete that he will use it as he pleases—not least in ways calculated to maintain his own power. By flouting the War Labor Board and getting his way and his booty by methods as blatant as any robber baron ever indulged in he has practically dared Congress to do something about it—and when Congress does something about Petrillo, it may be counted on to take out its grievance against him on all other labor unions.

*

WHEN THE DIES COMMITTEE REACHES THE END of its vicious career next January, it will have few mourners. Four members of the committee will not return for the Seventy-ninth Congress. In addition to Dies himself, who had sufficient discretion not to stand for reelection, the absentees will include Starnes of Alabama and Costello of California—both defeated in the primaries—and Busbey of Illinois, who failed in the November elections. Representative J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, the ranking Republican member—who unfortunately escaped at the polls—has wisely decided not to press for the committee's continuance. Although the committee has progressively lost favor in recent years as a result of its irresponsible attacks on loyal and highly capable government officials, it signed its death warrant this fall with a series of pre-election attacks on the Roosevelt Administration and its supporters. These attacks made clear for all what *The Nation* had long contended—that the committee was using its supposed investigation into "un-American" activities as a mask for an underhand attack on the President and the New Deal Administration. While not a single voice is likely to be raised in Congress for continuation of the committeee, some Republicans and anti-New Deal Democrats are reported to be prepared to fight to have the committee's records kept under House control, with an annual appropriation for their maintenance, so that the smear campaign against the Administration may be resumed under more favorable conditions. We cannot believe that the new House will be sufficiently naive to permit this obvious political maneuver to succeed.

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LIBERALS IN CONGRESS FIND THEMSELVES IN A somewhat embarrassing position as a result of Senator Vandenberg's proposal to "freeze" the social-security tax at one per cent for another year. Both the Treasury and the Social Security Board have urged that the statutory increase to two per cent be permitted to go into effect on January 1, 1945. The Treasury favors the increase because it would yield some $1,500,000,000 in additional revenue and thus help curb inflation. The Society Security Board feels that the additional tax would be an asset in its drive for wider coverage and an expansion of benefits. On the other hand, Senator Vandenberg argues from solid ground when he points out that the present social-security reserve fund is about eight times as large as the highest contemplated annual expenditure from the fund during the next five years. As an anti-inflation measure the social-security levy is equally difficult to defend. While additional taxation is desirable to absorb the excess buying power that has been created by the war, the social-security tax has the disadvantage of falling exclusively on the lowest income group. Only the first $3,000 in wages are subject to payroll deduction. Since the additional funds that would be collected from a two per cent tax would not be used for social-security purposes but would help defray the costs of the war, the only effect of the increase would be to shift a greater part of the burden of the war to the lowest income groups.

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THE WORKERS OF THE R. J. REYNOLDS PLANT at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, this month celebrated establishment of union security and wage increases after a long struggle. But one man faces a sentence of sixty days on the road gang as the price of victory. The story begins at noon, June 20, in the federal courtroom at Winston-Salem. The morning session of a War Labor Board hearing has just ended. The dispute is between the R. J. Reynolds Company, makers of Camel cigarettes, and its workers, organized in the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America, C. I. O. Union people gather in small groups, WLB officials and panel members chat. Company officials and company-union workers are present. The C. I. O. people are discussing a point in the case with William DeBerry, who has been a leader in the fight for organization since 1942. There is no disorder of any kind. After the noon recess the hearing is resumed. That evening the police appear at DeBerry's home and arrest him on a charge of having assaulted a white woman during the noon recess. The woman in question is Louise Johnson, a notorious company-union stooge. On July 6 DeBerry is sentenced in police court to thirty days on the road gang. On appeal to the Superior Court, July 13 and 14, the testimony of the accusers changes. The original charge is too flimsy to be leaned on heavily. This time they lean on race prejudice instead. The prosecutor speaks with horror of the union custom of addressing members as "brothers" and "sisters." On the basis of such cheap tactics DeBerry is sentenced to sixty days on the road. The union has again appealed, and is taking the case to the state Supreme Court December 12.

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THE DEATH OF DR. HENDRIK COLIJN, FORMER Prime Minister of the Netherlands, reduces noticeably the small tribe of big business men with social vision. His public life was one long battle to remove or reduce barriers to international trade. At the World Economic Conferences of 1927 and 1933, and at the meetings of the Economic Committee between conferences, he warned again and again of the illusory nature of economic sovereignty in the modern world. He was one of the few men in positions of influence who saw the connection between autarchy and unemployment. He was one of the few who proclaimed, in Mussolini's early heyday, that fascism wouldn't work and was a danger to the peace of the world; he was one of the first and most outspoken anti-Nazis. As a director of three large oil companies, he was always listened to with respect, but his warnings were not acted upon. He lived to see his worst predictions come true. The Nazis overran his country, and he stayed and fought them. Interned in the home of a quisling, he was greeted by the Dutch National Anthem when he went to church. After that he was not allowed at large. He died in Thüringen, Germany.

Coming

IN DECEMBER ISSUES OF THE NATION

JAN MASARYK, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, will contribute a significant article on the future of Europe to the issue of December 2.

STUART CHASE has written a new book, "Democracy Under Pressure," to be published by the Twentieth Century Fund. Three chapters will appear in *The Nation* before the book appears. The first, Will It Be Peace? will be in the issue of December 2.

MAXWELL S. STEWART'S article, China's Zero Hour, in the current issue, is the first of a series on the crisis in China. The second, by KATE MITCHELL, editor of *Amerasia*, will appear December 9.

The Same Old Gang

THE Kilgore committee's new report on cartels and national security is given added point by the international business conference which has just been held at Rye, New York. The conference was called by the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Foreign Trade Council, and the American section of the International Chamber of Commerce. Many of the men and most of the organizations taking part represent that morally bankrupt and economically indefensible pre-war world of monopolistic restriction and covert collaborationism so congenial to the Nazis in their attempt at world conquest. Except for the Indian delegation, they seemed bent on reviving just such a world after the war, though they veer cautiously away from the now unpopular word "cartel" and pay the usual lip-service to "free enterprise." It is significant that the two leading individuals at the conference were Winthrop W. Aldrich of Rockefeller's Chase National Bank—which, like Standard Oil, enjoyed profitable relations with Nazi concerns before Pearl Harbor—and Sir Clive Baillieu, president-designate of the British Federation of Industries, which sought an alliance with German industry after Munich. The same old gang is still at work.

If men of this kind gain their objectives, the chances of world full employment will be slight and the chances of German revival for a third attempt very good indeed. "The German industrial group," the Kilgore committee warns, "has been the mainstay of the international cartel system. In their agreements with American and British companies the German cartelists specifically provided that in the event of war cartel arrangements would be resumed when hostilities were terminated. Any efforts to retain the international cartel system will therefore help to keep in power the German militarist-industrialist clique which has already planned and launched two world wars." The Kilgore committee proposes the punishment of Germany's leading industrialists as equally guilty with the Nazis, the breaking up of monopolies and cartels in the Reich, the unmasking of secret German holdings in neutral countries, and not only the destruction of the German armament industry "but also the dismantling and removal to the devastated areas of Europe of the primary indirect munitions industries, including the metallurgical and chemical industries."

The committee sees that the basic problem here is not confined to Germany. It declares that a cartel system dominated by American of British interests "would eventually produce the same undesirable results as the one exploited by the German." We agree with its attack upon loose talk about saving the "good features" of cartels—"in truth, nothing would be left, since restriction is of the very essence of cartels." And we agree with the committee when it says, "Any proposal which would vest in private monopolies the power to make international economic agreements must be considered the antithesis of genuine democracy and international cooperation." The purpose of the cartel is profit through restriction; it takes the form of secret economic treaties between irresponsible economic interests. Where competition is no longer possible, the only sound alternative is government ownership. We want no world order ruled in secret by the Aldriches and the Municheers and the collaborationists of Europe. In such a world neither prosperity nor peace could long endure.

De Gaulle and the Resistance

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

NEWSPAPER correspondents like lesser men have a natural disposition to see events in the light of their own prophecies. Nowhere has this tendency been more evident than in recent dispatches from Paris. Reporters who before the liberation were anti-Gaullist, or at least solemnly skeptical about the strength of the French leader, are today sending home dispatches which dramatize, if they do not exaggerate, the difficulties General de Gaulle is experiencing with the resistance elements. On some days civil war seems imminent; on others the "elements of order" are given the upper hand. And, as usual, the distant observer is forced to fall back on his own political judgment as he extracts the bits of solid fact from the soup of contradictory and tendentious conclusions.

The facts seem to indicate that the French government is faced with sharp differences of opinion in its own ranks and between itself and some factions in the resistance movement, especially the Communists. But it is also clear that all groups are trying to avoid open conflict with the government. In that lies the best hope of a peaceful way out of the dilemma facing De Gaulle.

That the dilemma is a real one, no one can deny. General de Gaulle is trying to be two things at once: head of a state and leader of a revolution. In the first days of liberation the two roles seemed one, but even then the conflict of functions was only hiding under a cloud of glory that could not last. As head of the French state De Gaulle has had to act in close concert with his Allies, particularly the British and Americans, on whom he is wholly dependent for arms and supplies of every sort; and he has had to recreate France, first as a sovereign power, capable of governing its own territory, and then as a "great" power, accepted as a coequal in the councils of the Allies.

This role fits the French leader's temperament and political attitude without a wrinkle: De Gaulle is first of all a patriot and a nationalist; everything else comes second. It must be admitted, I should think, by the most chronic doubter—even by Mr. Roosevelt himself—that De Gaulle has acquitted himself with remarkable skill as the head of a state which had to be fabricated, in the midst of actual invasion, out of a country crushed by Nazi occupation, demoralized by the treason of its former rulers, and torn by civil war. The disbelief in De Gaulle's popularity and genuine following inside France has been proved totally unfounded. With Churchill's recent visit to Paris, and his own visit to Moscow in prospect, the French leader must at last feel that his stubborn struggle to reestablish the greatness of France is all but finished. France is represented in the European Advisory Council and promised a share in the occupation of Germany. From now on all important decisions concerning Western Europe will be made in full collaboration with the French government.

But this victory has not been won without cost. It has meant a definite sacrifice of part of the confidence imposed in De Gaulle by the revolutionary elements whose faith and militant energy put him in power and today sustain him. In his understandable haste to swing liberated France into the ranks of the Allies—both politically and as a fighting force—he has built up the central power of the government at the expense, and at some points in defiance of, the resistance movement. The decree disbanding the Patriotic Guard, a Communist-controlled militia, was issued without previous consultation with the Council of Liberation. Inevitably the Council issued a most indignant protest, insisting that all decisions concerning internal order and the liberation movement should be made in agreement between the Council and the government, and pointing out that it had been studying the problem of the armed forces of the liberation and was ready to submit a program for regularizing and legalizing their activities. The Council agreed on the need of order, but many responsible leaders expressed the opinion that neither the police nor, especially, the secret service had been sufficiently purged of pro-Vichy elements to be trusted with full control. To disarm the resistance fighters and leave the armed police in charge would be to endanger the whole movement. The Communists naturally took an even stronger line, bitterly denouncing the government and demanding resistance to its decree.

It was at about the same time that the activities of the Spanish *maquis* in the F. F. I. began to alarm the newspaper guardians of order at all costs. That Spanish Republicans had taken over Phalangist headquarters and some Franco consulates in the south of France and were staging forays across the border seemed terribly disturbing to persons who thought that revolution should be strictly limited to acts ordered by the Allied High Command. Here, too, events pointed toward serious trouble between the French government and its more radical supporters.

But the interesting thing is that nobody chose to touch off the sticks of dynamite which could be seen protruding from each of these tinder piles. This is a political fact quite as important as the explosive elements in the situation, and it is a fact which has been largely ignored. The row over the Patriotic Guard was settled by a compromise. The Guard was disbanded, but its members were kept as a reserve force for local police action. This is not necessarily a mere face-saving formula: it is in localities far from the big centers, particularly in factory towns, that Vichy saboteurs are most active and the power of the central government is weakest. Especially in that large area of southwestern France, which is governed for all practical purposes by the F. F. I., the services of these irregulars can still be usefully employed. In any case the value of the Patriotic Guard and the prestige of the Council of Resistance were recognized by this agreement and a serious conflict was avoided.

In the matter of the Spanish *maquis*, another compromise was reached. The Spaniards were dissuaded from attempting an open invasion of Spain from French soil, but they were not disarmed or disbanded. They have withdrawn twelve miles behind the frontier to avoid trouble but their formations remain intact as a part of the F. F. I. If they trickle across the border as individuals, they do it on their own responsibility. Here, again, De Gaulle has avoided a showdown on an issue that would arouse intense feeling. The decision has been postponed rather than avoided. But by spring, when the snow melts in the passes of the Pyrenees, the political picture may be different.

It was freely asserted by American reporters in Paris that the French government was pushed toward a stiffer position in relation to the resistance movement by strong Allied pressure. Harold Callender flatly stated in the New York *Times* that Allied recognition of the De Gaulle government was granted "mainly to strengthen its hands internally." The Allies wanted order; they wanted brakes applied to the purge. They wanted the revolution to end with the physical liberation of French territory. De Gaulle seems to have given them at least part of what they demanded as payment for arms and recognition and the admission of France to the exclusive club of "major" allies. But so far he has not allowed them to drive him to lengths that would endanger the support of his militant mass following.

Allied policy is not likely to be wise enough to recognize that the revolution in Western Europe must be allowed to run its course. Certainly it has shown no such wisdom in the past. In France our military authorities have by all accounts done a good job of working with the resistance forces and keeping their fingers out of politics. It is on the higher levels of diplomatic intervention that difficulties arise. None of our political leaders seem to realize that order and stability can emerge only from a Europe purged and rebuilt by the energy of its partisans—the men and women who have shown themselves willing both to kill and to risk torture and death. If these people are suppressed or disarmed while eager turncoats are kept in power, the fires of revolution will spread in new and dangerous directions. The resistance forces will cooperate to the limit; but they will not be ignored. Europe is theirs, they believe, and neither governments back from exile nor visiting Prime Ministers can tell them otherwise. This is true in France. It is also true in Italy and Greece, in Belgium and Holland. Unfortunately in those countries no leader has appeared who commands the confidence that so far belongs to General de Gaulle. The conflict between the resistance groups in Belgium and the reactionary Pierlot government dramatizes the entire problem that faces Europe in this period of liberation. If Allied soldiers are actually used, as General Erskine has threatened, to disarm the Belgian forces of resistance, the political bungling of the Allied leaders will have reached its bitter resolution. Let us hope that sanity—such as saved the situation in France—will prevent a tragedy which might easily plunge Europe into a struggle far more horrible than the war against Hitler.

Miss Kirchwey, as vice-chairman of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, will attend a meeting of the executive board of the committee in Chicago this Saturday and will report on it in next week's issue.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THIS is it. The new offensive on the western front looks like the real thing—a carefully planned, well-mounted general offensive designed to bring Germany to defeat in 1944. As this is written (Monday morning), it is far too early to judge how well the design will succeed, but it obviously will not fail for lack of organized effort or will.

General Eisenhower has again shown himself a master of surprise, that key military characteristic which has been widely revived in this war after a pretty general eclipse in the last. The surprise in this case was not only as to the time and place of attack but as to the whole offensive itself. According to front dispatches, the Germans thought we were digging in for the winter, and they busied themselves in doing the same thing: our advancing troops have found many deep dugouts, rather comfortably winterized in preparation for a protracted stay. Not only were our preparations for an offensive concealed, but stories were planted where they would reach German ears—stories which told of no big Allied push during this earliest and most bitter European winter for eighty years. Also, air supremacy paid its usual but unpublicized dividend of restricting enemy aerial reconnaissance to a minimum, thus further guaranteeing freedom of movement without fear of detection.

That movement has certainly been on a grand and unprecedented scale. It had to be, in order to overcome the adverse circumstances detailed in this column two weeks ago: our long lines of communication versus the enemy's short lines, the quick German recovery from the demoralizing retreat of August, the strong prepared position in the Westwall, and the protracted defense of the French ports. It will be recalled that it took the Allies seven weeks to build up sufficient strength for the breakout in Normandy and the rapid pursuit to the borders of Germany. This pursuit, clearing France, Belgium, and most of Holland of the enemy, should have given us the deep-water ports needed to sustain new blows; but it didn't, and the present offensive is still being supplied largely through beach landings. Cherbourg, Brest, and Marseilles are a long way from the fighting, and it is on Antwerp that General Eisenhower must be depending for an early expansion of the supply flow. The remarkable fact is that the beach-landing method, plus the flow through available ports, has been sufficient to get this offensive off to a good start after a build-up time not much longer than was needed for the Normandy breakthrough.

Presumably the build-up of supplies has been great enough to support the exploiting of whatever successes may be won. It would be tragic indeed if the coming phases of the battle —encirclement and annihilation of enemy groupings, pursuit toward Berlin—should break down through lack of fuel and ammunition. There is every reason to assume, on the basis of past performance, that General Eisenhower and his highly efficient staff have taken appropriate measures to see that this doesn't happen; and probably the Allies have sufficient supplies to maintain themselves until the estimated date when Antwerp will be brought into full use. Again, this makes the work of the small supply ships, the beach battalions, and the Red Ball express-trucking system even more remarkable, because the expected date of Antwerp's coming into full use must still be at a considerable remove. Heavy bombardment of the port by V-1 and V-2 is reported to be currently under way and is likely to cause further delay.

By any reckoning, then, the sending forward of six armies simultaneously is a fine achievement. The tactical and logistic situation is such that, by an apparent paradox, big advances on the ground are not what we want at this stage —Marshal Montgomery's favorite "dogfight" phase, so dubbed by him before the Battle of Alamein, and during which, as he correctly predicted, the Germans in Egypt would be finally defeated and rendered incapable of protracted resistance elsewhere. Ideally, the enemy will stand and fight where he is, giving the Allies the opportunity to destroy most of his fighting strength in men and material now on the western front. Confronted by such a concentration of power as three complete armies attacking on the narrow Aachen front—the real center of gravity in the west—any normal general would stage a slow and fighting withdrawal to the east bank of the Rhine, delaying the attackers and making them take losses amid the blockhouses, field fortifications, and minefields en route. But whoever commands the Germans today—Hitler, Himmler, General Staff man, or clique of generals—is not normal, and the last-man-last-round defense theory is still strongly held in top enemy councils. On the other hand, the enemy's defense has been a good deal more intelligent in the past few weeks, after the incredible "intuitive" direction of the Normandy battle, and a comparatively sane head may prevail at this moment of Germany's crisis.

Let us fervently hope that it does not. The best hope now is for a slow advance toward Cologne and the Ruhr, with the Germans continuing to throw their best troops into the face of greatly superior man-power and weight of metal. Men and metal will, sooner or later, wear their way through the Westwall; if it is strongly held to the last, they will wear their way through the better part of the German armies in the west at the same time. Then the problem of getting across the Rhine will be simplified, and it may not be necessary to fight another major battle in the west at all. The Germans simply lack reserves to plug any big holes in the Westwall; they are topheavy up forward, and their over-all defense system has the fatal weakness of lacking depth. Moreover, they are short of mobile elements and of gas: if the Allies can break into the open, they will hardly be able to prevent quick exploitation, long gains on the ground, the increasing encirclement of isolated battle groupings, and the by-passing of strong points and fortress cities. If continued Allied pressure in the south is maintained, and, above all, if the Red Army can open a general offensive on the central sector of the eastern front, the enemy will not be able to shift any troops to meet this growing threat in the west. The freeze in the east has set in, and the lull may be nearly over.

The 65-Cent Minimum

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 19

TWO basic domestic issues have arisen here for progressives, and they call for the fullest possible measure of public understanding and pressure. Both are central to the problem of achieving full employment after the war, and on neither can we expect leadership from the White House. The first revolves around the appointment of the new Surplus Property Board; the second around the Pepper resolution for a 65-cent minimum wage, on which hearings opened Friday before a Senate labor and education subcommittee.

Something has been gained since I touched upon the first in last week's letter. Protests from Philip Murray of the C. I. O., James Patton of the National Farmers' Union, and several Senators, including Murray and Kilgore, have led the White House to withdraw one of its intended appointments to the Surplus Property Board and to hold up the other two. The appointment withdrawn is that of Colonel Joseph P. Woodlock, who has been executive assistant to Will Clayton as Surplus Property Administrator under an executive order issued last February. The two held up, after Senator Barkley told the President that a board controlled by the nominees of Jesse Jones and Will Clayton would not be confirmed in the Senate, are those of Sam H. Husbands and James Shepherd. Husbands is a faithful workhorse in the Jones-dominated RFC and its subsidiaries—unimaginative, competent in a narrow way, totally unsuited to the task of using government-owned plants, lands, and commodities as a means to break monopoly and stimulate industrial expansion toward full employment. He was to be, and may still be, nominated for the chairmanship. Shepherd, unknown here, is a partner in a corporation-law firm in Los Angeles. Such nominees are unfit for anything but maintenance of the semi-monopolistic status quo, which is exactly what the Jones-Clayton-Baruch-Byrnes crowd have in mind—and what the President appears prepared to acquiesce in, despite his talk of 60,000,000 jobs after the war. On this issue it would be most helpful if the White House heard some grumbling from the grass roots.

The second issue raises two questions, one ethical, the other economic. The first is whether at this late date we are to take a firm step toward that equality of sacrifice once promised us in the war. The second is whether we are to take the first small step toward providing the volume of mass purchasing power necessary to maintain full employment after the war. The 65-cents-an-hour resolution, for which we are all indebted to Senator Pepper of Florida, would do both. The Pepper measure has its origin in certain forlornly neglected provisions of the President's hold-the-line order of October 3, 1942. The National War Labor Board was ordered to stabilize wages except where increases were called for "to correct maladjustments or inequalities, to eliminate substandards of living, to correct gross inequalities, or to aid in the effective prosecution of the war." The WLB has moved but falteringly to correct inequalities or to eliminate "substandards of living," and the concurrent resolution introduced by Senator Pepper would declare it "the sense of the Congress that a straight-time hourly rate of 65 cents per hour is the minimum below which the National War Labor Board shall consider any wage substandard." At present employers may raise wages to 40 cents an hour without reference to the board, and regional boards may raise wages up to 50 cents an hour without reference to the national board. This is on the theory that wages below these levels are substandard. The Pepper resolution would increase the rate to 65 cents, but in the form of an authorization rather than a direction to the board.

A rate of 65 cents an hour adds up to $26 for a forty-hour week, or $1,352 a year for workers lucky enough to work fifty-two weeks a year. This is considerably below the so-called emergency budget for a family of four as figured out originally by the WPA, with the warning that it was intended only "for an emergency standard which may be necessary under depressed conditions" and might prove "harmful to both health and morale" if too long continued. This budget, as adjusted to present prices, calls for an income of $1,730 a year, or an average hourly earning rate of 86½ cents. Lest any reader think this too munificent, I give the budget as broken down into its constituent parts so he can compare it with his own household expenditures: food, $751; clothing, $214; housing, $201; household operation, $186; miscellaneous, $172; taxes, $44; war bonds, $62. This for four people, for one year. Its housing allowance—about $16 a month—will give you an idea of the living standard called for by this emergency budget, which is $378 a year more than would be made by a man working a forty-hour week the year round at 65 cents an hour.

Now despite war prosperity, and there is plenty of it in the middle and upper brackets, the testimony before the Pepper committee showed that 40 per cent of America's workers are making less than 65 cents an hour. The number ranges from 3 per cent in mining to 86 per cent in retail trade. In the manufacturing industries one worker in four is making less than 65 cents an hour. "The American economy," Philip Murray told the committee, "is still loaded down with low income groups. Thirty per cent of all consumer units in the United States were in 1943 still receiving less than $1,500 per year. There are still 7,093,000 consumer units which are earning less than $1,000 per year. The group between $1,000 and $1,500 numbered 5,120,000 consumer units. All of these families and single consumer units cannot even maintain the emergency level of living established by the Works Progress Administration for persons and families on relief."

Eleven million American workers are earning less than 65 cents an hour. It is clear that even under conditions of war prosperity, not one-third but two-fifths of the American working class is ill fed, ill clothed, ill housed. That their employers have done somewhat better in the war is indicated by testimony as to how much a 65-cent minimum would cost industry. "For industries involved," Emil Rieve of the Textile Workers' Union told the Pepper committee, "total profits in 1943, based on corporate tax returns, were 303 per cent above 1936-39. Increased wages under Senator Pepper's proposal represent only 7 per cent of 1943 profits in manufacturing industries, 1.1 per cent in mining industries, and 6.85 per cent in finance, insurance, and real-estate industries. This, it is plain, would still leave employers a substantial proportion of their increase in profits over 1936-39." It is also plain that the OPA has been a good deal more tender to business in fixing prices at a profitable level than the WLB has been thoughtful of labor in correcting "inequalities" and "eliminating substandard" wages.

This is not merely an ethical problem, it is also an economic one. Workers living on this level hardly provide the market we need for full employment after the war. The Shoe Workers' Union, pleading for the 65-cent minimum, pointed out that today 19.6 per cent of the women and 27.3 per cent of the men in this country can afford only one pair of shoes at a time and that 61.5 per cent of the population own two pairs or less. "If the American shoe industry wants a market," John Rackliffe said, "here it is." Frances Sayler of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, after analyzing the sales figures in those industries, testified that if the annual income of the lower-paid workers were moved up into the $1,500-to-$3,000-a-year class, "it would mean a potential market for some 7,000,000 refrigerators where those products had never been bought before." That, she pointed out, is more than double the 1941 boom-level production. Here, obviously, in raising low living standards, is the key to full employment of facilities and man-power.

Let no one imagine, however, that a mere increase of minimums to the 65-cent level is going to be anywhere near enough to create the post-war market we need. It is expected that with the defeat of Germany war production will slow down and overtime will be less necessary. The elimination of overtime in manufacturing would cut $2,153,000,000 from its wage bill—and that also means from its market for manufactures. As against this, the adoption of the 65-cent minimum in manufacturing would add but $935,000,000. In terms of purchasing power we shall have taken two steps backward to one step forward. Let us look at the figures in another way. Our gross national production is running at about $200 billion a year, of which $105 billion is war expenditure. That provides some idea of the gap which must be closed to get full employment after the war. The 65-cent minimum would contribute $5½ billion in purchasing power toward the closing of that gap. It is little enough, but to get even this little will take a fight.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE ALL BUT INCREDIBLE prostitution of our courts to the service of a notorious stock-jobbing, gold-gambling, railroad-ruining, and generally swindling clique will probably do more ultimately towards effecting a reform in our judiciary system than will ever be accomplished by the united efforts of the bar, the legislature, and the indignant people.—*November 4, 1869.*

THE RUSSIAN STUDENT . . . is as liberal in politics as in philosophy, will show all the faults of the government, will discuss the rights of man and the advantages of a republic, detests Napoleon III, admires Lincoln, believes in the cause of Poland, and regards America, and his imaginations of liberty, order, and simplicity there, with great reverence.—*November 4, 1869.*

"ONE POOR GIRL: The Story of Thousands." By Wirt Sikes. "It depicts the hard, the terrible experience of 'One Poor Girl' in this great city, in which, beyond all question, she is but the representative of numberless others. Poverty, vice, avarice, and remorseless lust are at various times ready to crush her to despair and suicide, although she is at last strangely rescued. The book is written with feeling and taste, but with the evident purpose to plead the cause of the wretched and defenseless."—*The Evangelist.* Elegantly printed on tinted paper. . . . J. B. Lippincott & Co. (ADVT.) —*November 4, 1869.*

THE ELECTIONS of last week may fairly be taken to show that on the whole the relative strength of the Republicans and Democrats is probably not as yet materially changed from what it was last year. . . . It is pretty clear that on the whole Grant's administration is generally approved. He could today, in spite of what mistakes he has made, be elected over Seymour and Blair by about the majority he got last November.—*November 11, 1869.*

IN SPITE OF the immense strides toward popular government which Europe has made during the last ten years, and the general admission of the conservatives that the cause of privilege is hopelessly lost, liberalism can hardly be said to be in a satisfactory condition, owing to irreconcilable differences of opinion which begin to show themselves in its own ranks.—*November 11, 1869.*

THE NEW YORK *TIMES* has a special dispatch from its correspondent in St. Petersburg announcing another "triple alliance," this time between Russia, Austria, and France—it is to be presumed against Prussia—and involving the maintenance of a certain armed force.—*November 18, 1869.*

THE OPENING of the Suez Canal promises to be one of the greatest ceremonials of the century; but already the "economists and calculators" are doing their best to mar the occasion, by asking if it will pay.—*November 18, 1869.*

China's Zero Hour

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

THE unexpected recall of General Joseph Stilwell and Ambassador Gauss has focused attention on the difficulties which have long existed between Chungking and our representatives in China. Although both the President and the Chinese Foreign Minister have chosen, for obvious diplomatic reasons, to attribute Stilwell's withdrawal to a clash of personalities between Stilwell and Chiang Kai-shek, dispatches from American correspondents which were cleared by the War Department make it evident that important issues of policy were involved. Stilwell has failed in his efforts to work out a basis for military cooperation with China, not because he lacked diplomatic finesse, but because fundamentally Washington and Chungking have different objectives in the war. Brooks Atkinson, of the New York *Times*, reflected the disillusionment of American representatives in China when he declared that the Chungking regime seems to be "more concerned with maintaining its political supremacy than with driving the Japanese out of China."

Stated baldly, this charge appears extreme. But it has been apparent for more than a year that China was not contributing as much to the war as might reasonably be expected in view of its immense natural and human resources. Although the military defeats that China has suffered in the past four or five months may be attributed in part to lack of help from abroad, they also reflect incompetence within the army, grave internal economic weaknesses, and basic political disunity. These weaknesses, I hasten to add, were at the top. No soldier is braver or more self-sacrificing than the Chinese common soldier. But the leadership left much to be desired. Several of the military commanders who fled before the Japanese advance or otherwise disobeyed orders have been executed. And apart from the laxity of a few generals, there has been a grave lack of coordination in the Chinese defense due to disorganization in the General Staff. In some instances Central Government troops have been dispatched to imperiled areas without the knowledge of field commanders; in others the appeals of local commanders for reinforcements have gone unheeded. Many of the troops called on to face the invader were untrained and poorly led, lacking arms and munitions, ill-clothed, and undernourished.

In the Honan campaign, where the Japanese first broke through for a decisive victory, the effects of years of political misrule were clearly discernible. Local Chinese peasants, angered by the seizure of grain and transport and by being impressed for forced labor, rose in protest and disarmed their own soldiers, first individually and then in groups. It is estimated that 50,000 rifles were seized by the peasants under the slogan, "Better the soldiers of Japan than the soldiers of Tang En-po." Many of these rifles are now being used by the peasants in guerrilla fighting against the Japanese.

Faced by constant evidence of military and political disorganization among the Chinese forces, the American government has long sought for a way to strengthen Chinese resistance without taking sides in China's factional struggles. The loss of tens of millions of dollars' worth of vital munitions in Burma due to graft and inefficiency within the Chinese supply organization made it clear that the task of helping China was far more complicated and hazardous than that of helping Britain or Russia. It was not enough to manufacture and ship the needed supplies; they had to be delivered where they would be used in the war against Japan. In order to make sure that lend-lease aid went where it would do the most good, supplies were consigned to General Stilwell. Since modern weapons are virtually useless in the hands of Chinese soldiers who have not been trained in modern military techniques, Stilwell naturally distributed such supplies as he received to the armies which cooperated most closely with the American military advisers. The old-line militarists resented this and undoubtedly were largely responsible for Chiang Kai-shek's demand that the distribution of lend-lease be placed in his hands.

UNITY BEGINS AT HOME

Stilwell's control over lend-lease shipments was, however, at best a negative precaution. It has long been evident that if China is to be made a base for large-scale military operations against Japan, some sort of plan for collaboration will have to be worked out between the Kuomintang and the Communist or partisan forces. The United States needs bases in the north of China as well as in the areas controlled by Chungking. And the Kuomintang blockade of the partisan areas has not only immobilized some half-million of Chiang's best troops but deprived nearly as many well-trained partisans of needed arms and equipment. President Roosevelt is reported to have urged Chiang Kai-shek at the Cairo conference to seek an early settlement with the partisans, and he may well have pointed out at that time that if China were united we would have a strong inducement for stepping up our assistance substantially. Although Kuomintang-partisan negotiations were started early in 1944, the months passed without progress. Impatient at the delay, the President sent Major General Patrick Hurley and Donald M. Nelson to Chungking to work out a basis for more effective collaboration between China and the United States. With a view to revitalizing Chinese resistance, Hurley and Nelson are reported to have urged Chiang to reorganize his Cabinet so as to eliminate members of the reactionary clique that have been obstructing the war effort and bring in representatives from the partisans and the democratic groups both inside and outside the Kuomintang. Since none of the Kuomintang leaders seemed willing to cooperate militarily with the partisans, Hurley is said to have proposed that an American general, presumably Stilwell, be given an over-all command.

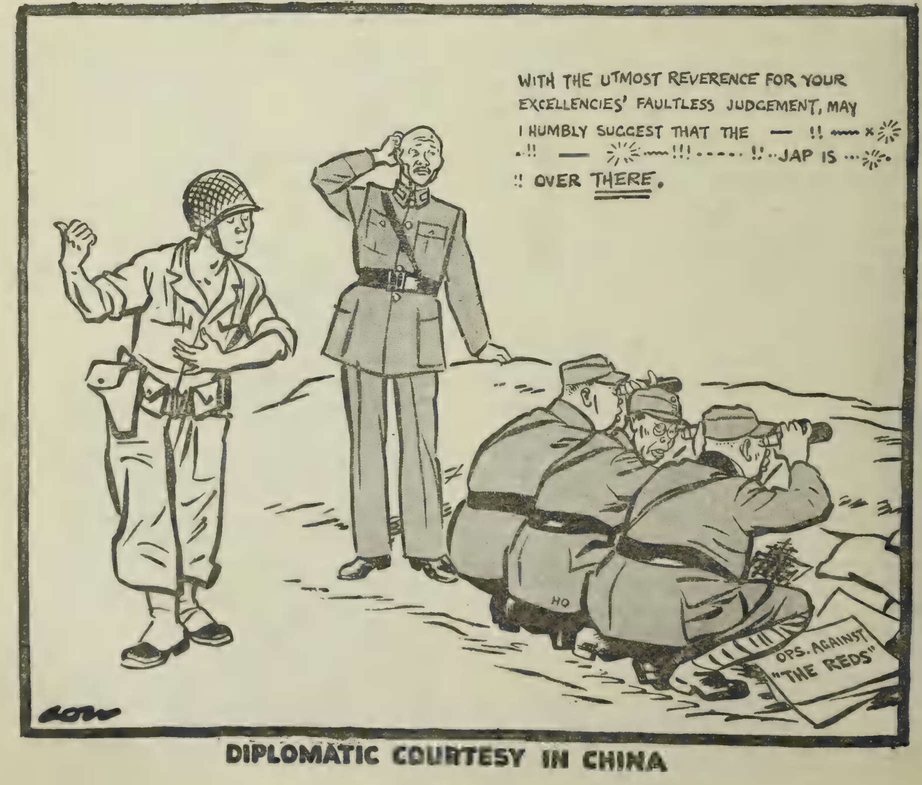
Chinese spokesmen have given varying explanations for the rejection of these proposals. Some said that China was willing to cooperate with the United States in any reasonable program but that it refused to submit to "dictation." Later, Foreign Minister T. V. Soong officially repudiated such statements by denying that this country had made any demands on China. Soong declared that American-Chinese relations were never better and expressed the belief that they would become even closer in the future.

Unfortunately, there seems to be little ground for such an optimistic interpretation of recent developments. None of the basic difficulties have been ironed out. Chungking has taken none of the steps which are necessary for an improvement in China's war effort. Despite a storm of criticism from both within and without China directed against the confusion and inefficiency in the Chinese High Command, no fundamental reorganization of that group has been undertaken. General Ho Ying-chin, who has been suspected of defeatist tendencies for more than a decade, remains as War Minister and directs important shifts in military personnel. General Chen Cheng, regarded by Americans as the ablest of the Chinese generals, has been removed from a front-line command and sent to a post where his chief duty appears to be that of "watching" the Communists. The production of war supplies within China has fallen to a small fraction of the country's potential output.

While Chiang has asked Donald M. Nelson to set up a War Production Board in China to speed production, he has failed to deal with the fundamental problems of speculation, hoarding, usury, and excessive taxation of the peasantry—practices which have been the principal factors obstructing output. In fact, many observers doubt whether Chiang has the power, without a military reorganization or support from abroad, to combat the landlord-moneylender bloc which has come to dominate the Kuomintang regime. The immense speculative profits made possible through inflation and scarcity of goods have strengthened the already large economic and political influence of this reactionary group. According to the *Ta Kung Pao*, China's leading newspaper, it has used this increased power to prevent the government from instituting the measures necessary to increase production or bring inflation under control.

This group has also undoubtedly been influential in blocking a settlement between the Kuomintang and the partisans. For while the reasons usually cited to account for the breakdown of Kuomintang-partisan negotiations involve such matters as the distribution and size of the partisan army and guaranties of democratic rights for minorities, the basic issue is that of agrarian reform.

The success of the partisan land policies has introduced a new and dynamic element into the Chinese political picture. Until the past few months most Americans have known little


WITH THE UTMOST REVERENCE FOR YOUR EXCELLENCIES' FAULTLESS JUDGEMENT, MAY I HUMBLY SUGGEST THAT THE — !! — × — !! — — !!! ..... !! ..JAP IS ... !! OVER THERE.
HO
OPS. AGAINST "THE REDS"
LOW

DIPLOMATIC COURTESY IN CHINA

about developments in the so-called Communist or partisan areas of the northwest. The blockade maintained by Chungking armies prevented newspapermen or Western government officials from visiting the region. This summer, however, the blockade was lifted sufficiently to permit the entry of a few press representatives and military observers. They report that agricultural conditions in the partisan areas are much more satisfactory than those prevailing in the region under Kuomintang control. The improvement has been achieved chiefly by lightening the burden of taxation, rent, and interest charges. In the partisan areas taxes are levied in accordance with ability to pay. Twenty per cent of the families with the lowest incomes are exempt from taxation. For the rest, taxes average only about 14 per cent of total income —an unprecedentedly low figure for China. Rents have been lowered, and interest charges cut drastically. Local councils fix the amount of taxes which each person must pay, thus making corruption on the part of tax collectors virtually impossible. Local officials are chosen by the local population and serve without remuneration. Not more than a third of those holding office may be Communists. Soldiers are required to till the fields and make such of their clothes as are not provided by the cooperatives.

The effect of these reforms may be seen in the friendly relations between the peasants and the army in the partisan areas. All the American observers agree that morale is incomparably higher than in Kuomintang Free China. Hundreds of thousands of peasants have been organized into a volunteer armed militia which is actively engaged in guerrilla operations against the Japanese. Although the guerrillas are not well enough equipped to inflict serious damage on the railways or the heavily fortified Japanese centers, they have effectively prevented the invaders from extending their control over the countryside and thus robbed them of the economic fruits of occupation. Significantly enough, nearly all the guerrilla operations against the Japanese are under partisan leadership. Chungking has not only been reluctant to make the reforms needed to win the support of the peasants but has hesitated to distribute arms to the people.

American military observers who have visited the partisan areas have been impressed by both the skill and the vigor with which the guerrilla campaign is conducted. The friendliness with which they have been received has convinced them that effective American-partisan military cooperation could easily be worked out if it were not for Chungking's opposition.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

The recent revelations of the strength and virility of the partisan regime and the failure of Stilwell's efforts to revitalize Chungking's war effort and close the breach between the two Chinas came just as many observers were urging a reconsideration of basic American policy toward China. The United States naturally looks forward to the development of a strong, democratic China as a bulwark of peace in the Far East. Such a China would provide an outlet for American capital and an expanding market for American goods. The pattern of the Kuomintang's post-war economic projects is frankly nationalistic and restrictive in character. Plans call for the development of huge government-controlled industries but pay comparatively little attention to the agricultural reforms that are necessary to increase the buying power of the Chinese masses. It is a pattern that has already worked disaster in Japan. Under such circumstances even the restoration of Manchuria with its vast industrial resources would seem to offer little benefit either to the Chinese people or to long-range American interests.

In considering whether the United States should continue unqualified support of the Kuomintang regime, it should be remembered that this regime has undergone an unfortunate shift in orientation since the early days of the war. In prewar China the industrialists, bankers, and traders of the port cities were the dominant power in the Kuomintang. By and large, this group was progressive in the sense that it had a world view and wished to see China develop along the lines of the Western economic pattern. When Shanghai, Nanking, Canton, Hankow, and Hongkong fell to the enemy, the individuals in this dominant group either remained in occupied China or lost their property and their influence. Power then passed into the hands of men whose wealth lay in the interior, chiefly large landowners and merchants. Since this group is desirous above all else of perpetuating its power, its interests tend to clash sharply with those of the American business, philanthropic, and educational circles concerned with China's modernization and development.

In view of the many obstacles to collaboration with China, numerous Americans, particularly in military circles, feel that we should abandon the effort and use all our resources to support the combined sea and island offensive which has been so successfully started by Admiral Nimitz and General MacArthur. From a strictly military view such a proposal may have merit—although even this is doubtful: Japan has built up a powerful military and industrial base in Manchuria and other parts of occupied China which conceivably might hold out after the Japanese islands had been conquered. No one knows just how stubborn Japanese last-ditch resistance will be, but if we want to make sure of a quick and decisive victory, it would seem essential that we find a way of working with the Chinese people. Moreover, we shall have to live with China after the war. If we abandon it in its hour of need, we can hardly expect its aid in post-war security and trade arrangements even if its internal political difficulties are settled.

The failure of Stilwell's efforts leaves us with three possible lines of action in the search for a workable basis of cooperation: (1) we could yield to Chungking's demands and increase our aid to China as much as is physically possible —recognizing that this aid would be used to strengthen the Chungking regime against partisan China; (2) we could throw our support to partisan China on grounds similar to those which led to the recognition and support of Tito in Yugoslavia; (3) we could endeavor to collaborate as fully as possible with both Chungking and the partisans, continuing our efforts to bring about a settlement of the differences between the two groups. Many practical difficulties would be met in following any of these courses. These difficulties and the relative merits of each course will be explored in an early issue of *The Nation.*

[*The first of two articles on the crisis in China. The second, by Kate Mitchell, editor of* Amerasia, *will appear in the issue of December 9.*]

How the Negroes Voted

BY HENRY LEE MOON

ALTHOUGH no particular segment of the electorate can completely justify the claim of being *the* decisive factor in an election, an analysis of the returns indicates the important role of Negro voters in the reelection of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The Negro vote is today more necessary to the success of a Presidential candidate than the vote of the solid South. It is also a more intelligent and more independent vote. Its geographical distribution gives it a strategic advantage. The 168 electoral votes of the seven states in which Negroes contributed substantially to the margin of victory for the Democratic candidate outweigh the 127 votes of the eleven states composing the solid South.

Ardently wooed by both major parties during the pre-election campaign, the Negro chose to remain loyal to the New Deal, under which he has made great gains in employment, social welfare, housing, and political recognition. Returns from large industrial centers in seven states show that the President carried the Negro districts by substantial majorities, outrunning Governor Dewey approximately four to one in New York, Pittsburgh, and Detroit, two to one in Chicago and Philadelphia, and three to two in Baltimore and St. Louis.

The President's majority in wards of greatest Negro concentration exceeded the margin by which he won the states of Maryland and Michigan. This vote was also essential to the Roosevelt victory in New York, Pennsylvania, Missouri, New Jersey, and Illinois, representing a substantial proportion of the number of ballots by which these states were won. Without the 168 electoral votes of these seven states the President could not have been reelected. On the other hand, loss of the entire South as a consequence of the threatened "Southern revolt" would not have defeated him.

The following table shows the Presidential vote in districts of heaviest Negro concentration, together with the pluralities by which Presidential Roosevelt carried the states. For the most part, only the larger cities are listed. In each of these cities many Negro voters live in predominantly white wards, and of course there are whites who live in predominantly Negro districts. In Illinois if the Negro vote downstate were added to that in Chicago, the total would probably top the margin of victory.

	Vote in Negro Districts		*Roosevelt's*
	Dewey	*Roosevelt*	*State Plurality*
Philadelphia	18,580	35,740	
Pittsburgh	3,906	16,150	
Pennsylvania	22,486	51,890	50,130
New York City	49,500	182,200	
Buffalo	2,970	6,560	
New York	**52,470**	**188,760**	**316,013**
Chicago	66,630	121,650	
Illinois	66,630	121,650	142,400
Baltimore	28,000	49,790	
Maryland	28,000	49,790	16,000
Detroit	10,680	41,740	
Michigan	10,680	41,740	19,756
St. Louis	18,350	29,600	
Kansas City	2,093	5,298	
Missouri	20,443	34,898	31,984
Newark	5,700	16,150	
Trenton	1,500	5,000	
Camden	543	3,675	
Atlantic City	1,200	3,375	
Passaic	20	480	
New Jersey	8,963	28,780	26,573

The Negro vote was also an important factor in Delaware, Kentucky, Connecticut, and West Virginia—all in the Roosevelt column—as well as in Ohio, which the President lost by a narrow margin, and in Indiana. Migration of tens of thousands of Negroes to the war-production centers on the West Coast has given their vote new importance in California, Washington, and Oregon.

When, in 1932, Negroes broke loose from their traditional Republican moorings, they voted against President Hoover not only because they had suffered in the depression but also because Hoover had veiled but thinly his contempt of the race. Four years later they voted overwhelmingly for Roosevelt because of his program of relief, labor, and social legislation. In 1940 Roosevelt was still the favorite, but his majorities in Negro districts were not so great as in 1936. Returns from the predominantly Negro wards in Philadelphia indicate that this trend continued in 1944. In the preceding election these wards gave the President 43,400 votes as against 20,800 for Willkie; this year the vote was 35,740 for Roosevelt and 18,500 for Dewey.

While the Negro voter's disadvantaged position in American life presents him with certain special problems, he is also concerned with the issues that confront the American people as a whole. Peace and employment are as vital to him as to any other citizen. He is for a conclusive victory in the war, a realistic foreign policy designed to assure a lasting peace, a post-war program for full production and employment. As a Negro, he considers three issues of particular importance—the treatment of colored men and women in the armed services, the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee, and enactment of federal anti-poll-tax legislation. The Republican platform promised a Congressional investigation of discrimination in the armed services, indorsed a permanent FEPC, and advocated the elimination of the poll tax through adoption of a Constitutional amendment. The Democratic platform was either silent on these questions or dealt in broad generalities.

The Republicans carried on a vigorous campaign to regain the Negro vote. They exploited the just grievances of many Negro soldiers. They sought to link the President, and even Mrs. Roosevelt, with Rankin and Bilbo and other Negro-hating, anti-New Deal Southern Democrats. They revived and circulated the Klan smear against Senator Truman.

All this was good ammunition. Why, then, did the Republicans fail so miserably to win Negro support? Primarily because their campaign was hollow, transparent, and unconvincing. Jim Crow prevailed in the armed forces under Republican administrations long before Mr. Roosevelt became President. Corrective steps, still inadequate, were taken by the President over the bitter opposition of army and navy brass hats. Mr. Dewey's plea for a permanent FEPC sounded empty when his scuttling of a bill to create a New York State FEPC was recalled. Likewise his advocacy of states' rights gained him no votes among Negroes, who realized that under that doctrine the South would be permitted to continue its discriminatory practice without federal intervention. The proposal for a constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax was a transparent fraud. And every Negro knows that his most hateful enemies are also the enemies of the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, who have tried to improve the status of the race.

Ineffective as were the efforts of the Republicans, there was need for an organized counter-campaign to clarify the basic issues. The Democratic National Committee was active in Negro communities in many industrial cities, but the principal drive was made by the C. I. O. Political Action Committee and its affiliated organization, the National Citizens' P. A. C. The half-million Negro members of the C. I. O. unions were approached through the regular trade-union channels. An intensive effort were made in cities to reach the entire Negro community. More than four and a half million pieces of literature were distributed. Thousands of volunteers were enlisted to canvass the neighborhoods. Outstanding Negro leaders indorsed the President and worked for his reelection through the National Citizens' P. A. C. Although the two Negro papers with the largest circulation went over to the Republicans, there was articulate and loyal support from more progressive publications, including two which for many years had supported only Republican candidates.

The help which the P. A. C. had contributed to the elimination from Congress of some of the worst Negro-baiters—Joe Starnes, Cotton Ed Smith, Martin Dies, and others—was an asset of incalculable value. A further advantage was the resentment against the Republicans aroused by the appeal to prejudice in their strictures on the chairman of the C. I. O.-P. A. C. But the most effective campaigner was the President himself. His unequivocal settlement of the Philadelphia transit strike, which was directed against the upgrading of Negro workers, was far more effective than any words of Governor Dewey's. This was followed by a declaration in favor of a permanent FEPC and a plea for the removal of all racial and economic restrictions upon the ballot. In addition, the President took steps to curb the vicious Jim Crow practices in the armed services, opening the WAVES and SPARS to Negro women, abolishing segregation in the transportation and recreational facilities of army posts, and rescinding an army order for the establishment of Jim Crow redistribution centers for returning veterans. Negroes also approved the President's reaffirmation of adherence to the New Deal and his advocacy of expanded social-security and public-housing programs.

Now that it has been demonstrated that the Negro vote was essential to the President's victory, Negro and progressive organizations will undoubtedly intensify the drive to eliminate Jim Crow from all phases of American life. No longer faced with the need for appeasing the reactionary elements which thrive on race hatred, President Roosevelt is in a position to make an aggressive fight for a wholesome, all-inclusive democracy in which the rights and privileges of no American are abridged by reason of class, color, race, creed, or national origin. In such a fight he may anticipate the support not only of Negroes and other minority groups but of the progressive forces in organized labor, the real liberals in the South and North, and forward-looking religious leaders.

New Times, New Homes

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

London, November 3

JUST before setting out for Moscow, Mr. Churchill told the Commons that a sharp division of opinion within the government regarding the compensation clauses of the Town and Country Planning bill, then in its committee stage, compelled him to ask for withdrawal of that part of the measure to allow time for negotiation of a compromise. The request led to a long and heated debate, for the principle at stake—that land acquired for the development of "reconstruction areas" should be paid for on the basis of its value on March 31, 1939—had long ago been publicly accepted by the government. Any revision of the formula, it was felt, would delay the rebuilding of bomb-devastated areas, encourage holdouts by speculators, and add enormously to the cost of reconstruction. Already, as the Prime Minister himself admitted, Labor members had made generous concessions to the demands of the landlords. The final showdown on the diehards' amendment for increased compensation came on October 25 and resulted in a decisive defeat for the Tories. Now the Town and Country bill has passed its three readings in the Commons and is before the Lords for its second reading.

Aside from winning the war, housing is today the paramount concern of the British people. That was made clear to me recently when I paid visits to two very different parts of the metropolitan area. In Limehouse, a wholly working-class area built around the docks, I saw both the legacy of the 1940-41 blitz, in which this district was a particularly heavy sufferer, and the more recent results of the robot-bomb attacks. The remains of the buildings destroyed in the earlier period had of course long been cleared up. Now all that is to be seen is a huge stretch of waste land with more wild flowers than Limehouse has known since the Industrial Revolution turned its green meadows into some of the most congested slums in the world.

When the Town and Country bill becomes law, the local authorities in this and similar districts will be provided with power to purchase such areas as a whole and will be able to plan their full redevelopment, deciding what portions shall be reserved for homes, schools, open spaces, what set aside for commercial and industrial purposes. Moreover, since the standards being adopted involve the displacement of a considerable part of the former population, the authorities will be enabled to acquire such additional areas as will be needed to provide for the surplus. The situation brooks no delay. At present the people of Limehouse are living doubled up in patched dwellings. Moreover, some 50 per cent of the children are still evacuated, and thousands of workers are temporarily reassigned to other port areas. These East Enders are warmly attached to their native ground, and nearly all of them will want to return as soon as possible. Thus the authorities must have plans well in hand so that construction can be started the moment man-power and materials become available.

My second visit was to the ancient and independent county borough of Croydon, a "dormitory" town on the southern outskirts of London. There I was taken on a tour by Town Clerk Ernest Taberner and Borough Engineer Bost, who were anxious to show me both the extent of the problem caused by the bombing and the very efficient and far-sighted plans which the borough council had developed. Croydon has suffered a double dose of high explosives. It was the first town in England to be attacked, and from August, 1940, to April, 1944, it received 2,621 bombs, in addition to innumerable incendiaries. During this period some 1,200 houses were destroyed and 523 people were killed. Then, between June and August of this year, it experienced as heavy a concentration of flying bombs as any district in southern England. I was shown a map on which black dots marked the spots where robots had fallen. Altogether there were 141 such spots, with the heaviest concentration in the most populated parts of the borough. Fortunately the death roll was much lighter than in the blitz, totaling 211, but owing to the extensive nature of the blast, property damage was much greater. Some 1,400 houses were completely demolished, and 54,000 others were damaged more or less seriously—three out of every four.

As I was able to see, the pattern of destruction wrought by the flying bombs in the closely built areas was almost uniform. Ten to twenty houses in the immediate neighborhood were laid flat. Those within a radius of one to two hundred yards were extensively damaged, with roofs usually removed, window frames and doors blown out, and interior partitions collapsed. Less serious damage was likely to be experienced by most of the houses within a half-mile radius.

It is obvious that with winter setting in, a town like Croydon has, apart from the long-term rehousing problem, the immediate problem of shelter. This is being tackled energetically, with repair gangs from outside supplementing local labor. But accommodation must also be found for these gangs. One solution is the provision by the government of temporary hutments of the kind used for army barracks, which will be erected on cleared bomb sites. In addition, Croydon is seeking 1,500 "portal houses"—mass-production jobs intended to remain not more than ten years. Finally, plans for permanent homes are in a comparatively advanced state, and Croydon officials are proud of the fact that they have been able this week to start clearing the site and installing utilities for one big municipal estate, even though actual construction cannot be started for some time. Altogether it is estimated that the borough requires in the next ten years something like 12,000 houses, or about a fifth of the existing number, to replace those bombed, to provide for the normal growth of the population, and to allow for rehousing the occupants of substandard dwellings.

In the Wind

OF ALL THE RESORT HOTELS in the country, Governor Dewey chose the Cloister at Sea Island Beach, Georgia, for his post-campaign vacation. A *Nation* reader informs us that last summer the hotel had prominently displayed on its registration desk a sign which read, "Catering to a Gentile Clientele Only." The New York office of the hotel assures us that the sign is still there.

IN *THE NATION* of November 4 Joseph Wood Krutch wrote, "No doubt the members of that class which hates to see money wasted by any class except its own will soon be talking about theater tickets the way it once talked about silk shirts." In the New York *Times* magazine section of November 5 Channing Pollock wrote, "When I left Broadway, or not long before that, it hadn't begun to look like the Bowery. After performances it was thronged with people of means and culture. A wise workman in the theater would look at an audience of soiled-shirt wearers and gum chewers and decide that since, obviously, they couldn't pay for orchestra seats, the management must be packing the house. Today almost nobody else can afford orchestra seats."

LOUELLA PARSONS, a Hearst Hollywood columnist, on the future of Europe: "One of the first steps in educating the people of the liberated countries will be to show them American films. More than 50 per cent of the stars of today never have been seen by these enslaved unhappy folk."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The German underground is distributing a sticker showing a black swastika partly hidden by a translucent cross. The caption reads, "A free Germany under Brüning." . . . The Stockholm *Aftonbladet* says fake obituary notices of important Nazi officials are beginning to appear in German newspapers, apparently as a step toward the formation of an underground Nazi movement after the war.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Himmler and the Volkssturm

BY HERBERT ROSINSKI

IF WE are to believe the Nazi propaganda machine, the new *Volkssturm* which the Nazi leaders have organized with frantic haste by drafting all men between sixteen and sixty not yet in the armed services has given an entirely different complexion to the military situation. Created out of the new spirit of total resistance and embodying the deepest moral and material energies of the German people, it is described as the solid rock upon which the enemy onslaught will dash itself to pieces. While press and radio repeat this theme in endless variations, German communiqués refer in glowing terms to the successes of these newly formed units in the defense of the East Prussian bastion.

But all the talk about the value of the new force has been unable to conceal its actual weaknesses, which were in fact indicated in the very speech in which Heinrich Himmler announced its formation. Speaking at Königsberg, where the uprising against Napoleon started in the spring of 1813, Himmler recalled that desperate national emergency and linked the *Volkssturm* to the revolutionary levy of the *Landsturm,* which, he said, had saved the country at that time. He quoted from the edict creating the *Landsturm* a paragraph about fighting with every kind of improvised weapon—clubs, scythes, and pikes—and promised to Germany's present enemies a "people's war" equal to the "deeds of our fathers," to be waged from every house and every hedge, a struggle in which even women and girls would participate.

Though this rhetorical appeal to the memory of past victories was undoubtedly effective, the role which Himmler attributed to the *Landsturm* is a pure fiction. The war against Napoleon was waged and won by the regular forces. The *Landsturm* had not even come into existence when the Battle of Leipzig was fought. The few half-hearted attempts to establish it in the parts of Prussia most directly threatened by the French had scant success. Complaints about its "unpatriotic and unmilitary spirit" were unceasing, and less than three months after its formal proclamation the *Landsturm,* for all practical purposes, had to be scrapped.

Of course Himmler, who is an expert on guerrilla warfare, is perfectly aware of the historical facts. No one knows better than he the pitiful role played by the *Landsturm,* and no one can entertain fewer illusions about the military value of its successor. Since all able-bodied men to the age of fifty had already been called up, or if working in war industries were being rapidly transferred to the regular army, the *Volkssturm* is necessarily largely composed of men between fifty and sixty, with a sprinkling of sixteen- and seventeen-year-old boys. Many of the older men may have had some military training and experience in the last war, but they are entirely unfamiliar with new weapons and tactics. And since most of them are still doing some kind of war work and are soldiers only "on the side," they are not likely to profit much from the limited training they can acquire in their spare time. Moreover, the additional strain which this training will impose upon them is bound to show both in their regular work and their military activities.

The best that can be expected from such hastily improvised part-time levies, inadequately trained and poorly armed, is that they will serve as a kind of stop-gap for the regular line troops—at the price of inordinately high losses. That has apparently been their function in East Prussia, where a singularly sturdy peasantry, passionately attached to its native soil, has been spurred by the fear of bolshevism to exceptional efforts. But units so formed are definitely not able to stand on their own feet; still less are they capable of the type of warfare stressed in Himmler's speech—guerrilla fighting behind the enemy lines—which requires the highest degree of stamina, initiative, resourcefulness, and cohesion.

If that is the case, if the military value of the *Volkssturm* is strictly limited and hardly likely to compensate for the disturbances it will cause in war production and the resentment it will provoke, why has it been instituted at all? The answer to this question lies in the opportunity it offers Himmler to extend his control over a section of the home front which has so far escaped him. All official statements about the *Volkssturm* emphasize the fact that its members, while on duty, will enjoy the status of regular members of the armed forces and be entitled to the same indemnities in case of death or disablement; at the same time, of course, they will be subject to martial law and under the military orders of their officers. The implications of this fact become clear when we note that the *Volkssturm* is to be a purely party organization, commanded by the *Gauleiters* and staffed exclusively by officers from the party forces—the S. A., the S. S., the Nazi Motor Corps, the Todt Organization, and so forth. Himmler has once again acted on the old Nazi principle that no group of people can be considered really "safe" until it has been brought under the control of the Old Guard of the party.

The significance of this move can be properly appreciated only if we realize that the activities of the Nazi leaders today are directed not so much toward averting defeat, which they know they cannot do, as toward preparing for the coming underground struggle. In other words, the creation of the *Volkssturm* is not only a police measure for keeping the home front in line during the present crisis but a long-range effort to tighten the party's hold on the German people against the day when its power will outwardly have been destroyed by the Allied armies of occupation. For the latter purpose it would be difficult to devise a better instrument than this semi-civilian, semi-military "people's army," divided into local, hence permanent, units, easy to camouflage, extremely difficult to break up. Through such a force almost the entire nation can be organized in advance in an "army of national resistance" under party leadership and thus be led easily from the open warfare of the present to the underground struggle of the future, with its passive obstructionism and active sabotage.

That something of this kind is the Nazis' ultimate purpose in creating the *Volkssturm* is indicated not only by Himmler's otherwise inexplicable effort to link it with the non-existent achievements of the *Landsturm* but also by the assiduity with which he and the whole Nazi propaganda corps are striving to assure to themselves control of the ideology as well as the organization of the clandestine German resistance. By proclaiming the *Volkssturm* as the special concern of the party, they are plainly trying to eliminate in advance the possible influence of any other group.

Democracy without Police

BY GUNNAR LEISTIKOW

ON SEPTEMBER 19, 1944, the Germans disbanded and disarmed the entire Danish police force, composed of 12,000 men, and shipped a large number of its members to German concentration camps. The move met stiff resistance; police headquarters in Copenhagen were defended for four hours. The Germans used a variation of their famous "innocent-tourist" trick, filling the inner rooms with men who pretended to be looking for lost articles. When the fighting began, these men suddenly brandished guns in the rear of the defenders. But even with inside assistance, the Germans had to bring up light artillery before the Danes could be subdued.

It is ironical that the Germans were forced to resort to arms, for they had themselves given guns to the Danish police. Before the war the patrolmen and traffic cops, then numbering about 3,200, carried only nightsticks, hidden under the wide coattails of their uniforms. A few special details carried pistols but rarely used them. Extreme pressure had to be applied by the Germans to induce the Danish authorities, in June, 1943, to equip the police with rifles and light machine-guns.

The purpose of the Germans was to use the armed Danish force, its numbers increased by an infiltration of riffraff from the Schalburg Corps (Danish Nazis), against saboteurs. The plan failed miserably. The police union refused to admit quislings into its ranks and threatened mass resignations. Patrolmen refused, as in the past, to arrest or shoot at a Dane who had not violated Danish law. In the rare cases when they were forced to fire on their countrymen, their aim was strangely inferior to their skill on the rifle range.

The Danish police were never trusted by the Nazis, and undoubtedly they were disarmed so that they could not turn against the occupying forces in the event of an Allied landing. The Nazis accused them of actively protecting saboteurs and murderers and said that while "in their capacity of respectable officials, they talked unctuously of the maintenance of order, during the night they sneaked about like criminals." The Germans also complained that the police engaged in "systematic passive resistance" and even in actual sabotage. "Various elements within the Danish police force," they said, "took active steps against the occupation authorities and even drew other sections of the population into the resistance movement." For a time, the accusation continued, "the police fleet was used officially to transfer various wanted persons to Sweden, and during the strike, when the Copenhagen population was unable to listen to foreign broadcasts because electric power was cut off, the police, by means of battery receivers, tuned in on foreign stations and spread inciting news."

As the Gestapo and the *Sicherheitspolizei* became increasingly suspicious of their Danish colleagues, relations between the Danish police and the resistance movement showed a corresponding improvement. When the Germans struck, almost half the police force disappeared into the underground.

Since September 19 Denmark has been without a native constabulary. Of course the country is full of German police, but these have their own special tasks—such as searching for the Danish policemen who have gone underground—and care little about the security of the civilian population. A difficult situation has been created, but the Danes are confident they can handle it. On September 21 the Danish Freedom Council, the supreme authority in the resistance movement, issued a proclamation calling on the people to cooperate in the national emergency. Because the Danes are by nature and education law-abiding citizens, the Council's suggestions are being meticulously carried out. Never have traffic regulations been observed more carefully. Mutual consideration has become a matter of national honor. Reckless driving is tantamount to treason.

All over the country civilians and local authorities are performing the various functions of the police. At Aalborg the riveters resolved to put an end to the black market. On September 27 a group of about 100, led by a huge blacksmith, marched through the city to a street where the black market was concentrated, beat up most of the racketeers, and confiscated large stores of goods. In many towns private citizens have organized guards to prevent burglary. These guards wear white sleeve bands and are equipped with

France Must Not Confuse the Issue

If France, fighting against Nazism by the side of the Allies, accomplishes at the same time the first democratic socialist revolution in Europe—and we believe France, and France alone, is capable of that—then France will gain a position of unrivaled prestige and influence in Europe. Progressives all over the Continent, and above all here in Britain, will look to the new France as a source of inspiration and a model. But if the French people allow themselves to be diverted from their unique and gigantic task by the hunt after the will-o'-the-wisp of great-power prestige now, if they allow the purge to be called off in the name of national unity, or the F. F. I. to be drowned in a big conscript army, then France will turn out to be unable to compete with the other world powers and will, for all the nationalist shouting, in fact remain tied to their apron strings.—The *Tribune*, London, October 20.

sticks and whistles. At Hillered they have a former national wrestling champion as their head. One of the local guards in a Copenhagen block housing 250 persons has worked out an ingenious alarm system. Whenever a resident needs assistance, he opens a window and bangs on a pot lid with a wooden spoon. Whoever hears it opens his window and does the same thing. In no time the entire block is aroused, and any suspicious character is held for questioning.

Naturally, some criminal elements have tried to take advantage of the absence of the police. A few bank robberies and other crimes have been committed. The thieves, however, have not always got away. In the town of Helsinge three gunmen took 200,000 Kroner (about $40,000) from a bank. Pursued by private citizens in truck and on bicycles, they were caught a few miles away, given a beating, and saved from lynching only by the intervention of the local clergyman. Similar cases have been reported from all over Denmark. Sometimes the mayors have sanctioned corporal punishment, and to prevent mob abuse, sentence has been executed in a public square by professional boxers, under the strict supervision of a doctor.

The Germans have been surprised and irritated to find that a nation can do so well without police. Police-minded themselves, they find the Danes' inordinate self-control quite intolerable. After first threatening to dissolve the private and local guards, they suddenly changed their mind and suggested that these be transformed into a sort of municipal police under their supervision. On the advice of the Freedom Council the local authorities said "no thanks." They would rather have no police at all then one controlled by Germans.

The Nazis continued to arrest hostages and ship Danes to Germany. Finally the head of the Gestapo, Police General Pancke, gave up. Somewhat crestfallen, he announced on October 12 that the "police emergency" was ended and the curfew canceled.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

WHAT the circulation of the blood is to the human organism the transportation system is to a modern state. In the degree that the transportation system deteriorates, industry and the food supply must also deteriorate. The relationship is one of cause and effect.

Now the deterioration of German transportation—more precisely, of transportation in the vital industrial areas of western Germany—is proceeding inexorably; on this point we have, fortunately, information of no uncertain character. Switzerland is a neutral country, but in a sense it is a dependency of the German transportation system. Authentic news about the condition of the German railroads that lead to Switzerland is received there daily and hourly. And for several weeks the Swiss press has been reporting a very high degree of disorganization. The *Argauer Tagblatt,* for example, said on October 10:

> To travel from Berlin to the Swiss border at Basel [formerly a trip of about ten hours, over one of the main German lines] now takes nearly five days. Even the short journey from Stuttgart to Schaffhausen, formerly a matter of four hours, now takes two days. Trains are often stopped at some way station, and the passengers, without being given any reason, are compelled to wait for the next train, which never arrives on schedule. Often buses are used to transfer passengers over the gaps where the tracks have been destroyed, but buses are scarce and sometimes people have to wait till the next day.

Ten days later the situation was even worse. The *Bund,* a paper published in Berne, the Swiss capital, stated on November 3 that "since Tuesday, October 31, no trains whatever are running in the Stuttgart district, and through trains from Berlin to Switzerland can use only the Ulm-Augsburg line." A day later the Berne correspondent of the Stockholm *Aftontidningen* reported as follows:

> Since October 31 traffic from and to Stuttgart has been completely suspended. All traffic from central Germany to Switzerland is now via Augsburg and Ulm. Even on this line a journey which normally takes a few hours now lasts several days because passengers must frequently get off and walk several kilometers. Travelers from anywhere in southern Germany tell of extremely long delays caused by Allied air raids.

On the same day the Berne *Bund* announced that "during the last few days no German newspapers have arrived in Switzerland, obviously owing to transportation difficulties."

Can these conditions on the lines leading to Switzerland be considered typical of conditions in all western Germany? There is certainly no reason why the situation elsewhere should be any better. On the contrary, the Rhineland and the Ruhr—containing the heart of German industry and the untransferrable coal mines—have been bombed not less than the Stuttgart section but oftener and more heavily. We can give complete credence, therefore, to a "private report" on conditions in the Ruhr published in the Stockholm *Tidningen* of November 7:

> After forty-five days of aerial blockade the situation in the Ruhr is worse than critical. People are standing in long queues before the shops, hoping to get food of any kind. For several days now nothing but cereal soup has been obtainable. No food supplies have arrived since September 23, when the Dortmund-Ems Canal was damaged. Great efforts were made to repair this important waterway, but a new raid on November 4 destroyed everything that had been done. Some 15,000 tons of potatoes cannot be brought into the region because the railroads have been so damaged by bombings; with other vegetables and fruits, they are rotting along the way. . . . Even armament factories in the Ruhr cannot get transportation for the raw materials they need. No coke is coming in, and iron ore cannot be brought from Emden. Steel production has therefore dropped 50 per cent.

And not only has transportation *to* the Ruhr been fatally disrupted but also transportation *from* it. On this point the report makes the laconic statement: "Owing to the damage inflicted on the Mittelland Canal no coal from the Ruhr is being sent to other parts of Germany."

This column still believes, as it stated earlier, that the haulage of coal from the Ruhr is the knottiest problem that the Reich has on its hands. There is no longer any other conceivable source of supply, and if deliveries are slowed up, industry all over the country will be slowed up to the same degree. The strangling effect on war production may be felt only slowly and at first may be concealed—but it is bound to be fatal eventually.

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"ONLY A DETECTIVE STORY"

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

THE detective story, so I once assumed, was read only by weary statesmen on the one hand and by the barely literate on the other. Discreet inquiry among friends and acquaintances soon revealed, however, a very different state of affairs. It is read either aggressively or shamefacedly by nearly everyone, and it must be, at the present moment, the most popular of all literary forms. "Only a detective story" is now an apologetic and depreciatory phrase which has taken the place of that "only a novel" which once moved Jane Austen to unaccustomed indignation.

My own experience with the genre began with Nick Carter and the once almost equally famous, though now almost totally forgotten, Old King Brady. It continued through Sherlock Holmes and, I believe, the very first of the Mary Roberts Rinehart *opera*. But it stopped there. Philo Vance and Ellery Queen were only dimly familiar names, while Nero Wolfe was known chiefly because he was the creation of a friend and neighbor. Dorothy Sayers and Agatha Christie attained their eminence quite unbeknownst to me, and, so far as I was concerned, Erle Stanley Gardner wrote in vain (under two different names) his five or six novels per annum. During the past twelve months, however, I have read perhaps 150 volumes, among which were included most of the accepted classics as well as a reasonable number of the run-of-the-mill tales.

Even this, I realize, leaves me still a novice, and I dare speak only because so little, relatively, has been said about so astounding a phenomenon. Even those magazines and newspapers which review this sort of writing usually do so in a special department and thus emphasize the fact that detective stories constitute some realm entirely apart. Would it not, for a change, be interesting to encourage some discussion of the "detective story" in relation to something else, to treat it as a branch of fiction or as a department of literature, while maintaining some recognition of the fact that branches and departments are not wholly unconnected?

Many a best-selling novel of the sort commonly regarded as respectable is read from mixed motives. No small proportion of the recent readers of, say, "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn" and "Strange Fruit" read those books, in part at least, because they felt some compulsion to do so, some sense that it was a social obligation to be able to discuss what others were discussing. But no one feels any compulsion to read a detective story. Few discuss what they have read with their neighbors. These books are read for pure pleasure, and there is certainly some significance in that fact. Pleasure is, many would maintain, the only legitimate reason for reading any sort of belles-lettres, and it is, I would agree, at least a sounder motive than either the desire for "self-improvement" or an inability to resist social pressure.

Two arguments are sometimes advanced to prove that the detective story must be sub-literary: its authors are sometimes very prolific; and the stories themselves "follow a formula." But neither of these arguments will hold water. Copious productivity has often been one of the most striking characteristics of the great writers of fiction, and comparatively few of the outstanding detective-story writers can have written more than Balzac, Dickens, or Anthony Trollope. As for "following a formula," it would be more accurate to say that certain conventions tend to be followed, and it would certainly be pertinent to ask whether this fact is as damning as it is sometimes assumed to be. No inconsiderable part of the great literature of the world has been written within the limitations of an established tradition, and so written not because the authors lacked originality but because the acceptance of a tradition and with it of certain fixed themes and methods seems to release rather than stifle the effective working of the imagination. Perhaps instead of saying that the detective story follows a formula we should say that it has *form*, and perhaps we should go on from that to wonder whether this very fact may not be one of the reasons for its popularity at a time when the novel, always rather loose, so frequently has no shape at all.

Great popularity is not, to be sure, proof of literary excellence, but excellence does often attract great popularity. Moreover, works of art which are not good as a whole often owe their temporary vogue to some quality good in itself, and it is surely not impossible that the millions who read detective stories read them because of certain virtues more evident there than in most of the conventionally respectable novels. And it is for those virtues that I should like to see critics look, because I think it might be not only interesting but instructive to have them identified. They might even turn out to be virtues which the conventional novelist has failed to cultivate and for the lack of which his work has suffered.

To the sort of inquiry which I am proposing, the question of the extent to which detective-story writers do or do not exhibit certain of the virtues characteristic of the good novelist is quite irrelevant. No one could deny the broad statement that, in some general sense of the term, Dorothy Sayers writes very well indeed; but neither can anyone deny that certain of her almost equally popular rivals, write, in this sense, very badly. The fact that Miss Sayers is obviously a woman of cultivation and taste and that in her best work she draws character and creates atmosphere more successfully than do some quite respectable conventional novelists is of course all to Miss Sayers's credit. But since other popular detective-story writers get along very successfully without attempting anything of the sort, it is clear enough that the unique virtues of the genre are not these. Obviously the detective story has some characteristic appeal of its own.

The simple statement that men evidently love puzzles and violence has been repeated so often that it has come to seem almost meaningless, and the fact remains that if this supposedly "natural" taste is to be posited, one still wonders why one particular way of satisfying it should have developed at this particular time. Despite all that one can say about Poe and Wilkie Collins or even Conan Doyle, who is, of course, the true begetter of the modern manner, the contemporary detective story is rather different from anything written before. There are some hundreds of volumes every one of which is immediately recognizable as having been written within a very definite period, beginning, I should guess, about 1925, when the contemporary genre first defined itself.

A few months ago Louise Bogan, introducing the subject in the pages of *The Nation* for what may have been the first time in history, suggested the ingenious theory that the essential element was an element of dread which corresponds to a nameless sense of apprehension characteristic of men living in our insecure civilization. She suggested that this element might gradually detach itself and by so doing give rise to a new and terrible sort of fiction. She implied, if I understand her aright, that Mr. Queen, to take an example, is really an unconscious Kafka or Kierkegaard *manqué*. But in actual fact apprehension is not by any means evoked in all detective stories. It is characteristic of some and serves to mark a sub-species, but the story in which the reader identifies himself with the detective rather than with either the criminal or his victim is at least equally common, and in such stories dread may often be entirely absent as one follows the sleuth in what is to him simply a matter of practicing his profession. If, for example, Mrs. Eberhart, Mr. Hammett, and Mr. Chandler frighten their readers, and if Mr. Gardner manages usually to combine two formulas by personally involving his lawyer-detective in dangerous adventures, many other of the most successful writers—S. S. Van Dine, Mr. Queen, Miss Sayers, Miss Christie, and Miss Allingham, for example—usually either employ dread as a very minor element in their effect or, by avoiding it completely, make the detective story one of the most detached and soothing of narratives.

Miss Bogan's suggestion remains interesting and provocative, but I doubt that her explanation is all-inclusive. There are, I suspect, simpler, less subtle reasons why thousands go to the detective story for some sort of satisfaction and relaxation which they find less often in more pretentious novels, and I am wondering if it does not commonly exhibit certain of the very elementary virtues of prose fiction which the serious novelist began utterly to despise just about the time that the detective-story writer stepped in to steal a large section of the reading public away from him. When Shakespeare wrote "Hamlet," it was "only a play." When Jane Austen wrote "Emma" it was "only a novel." And while I am very far from suggesting that any of the detective stories which I have read are "Hamlets" or "Emmas," I am suggesting that the fiction writer is in some ways better off and more successful when his public regards the reading of his works as a dubious self-indulgence than when the reading is regarded as a cultural duty.

Perhaps the "serious" novelist has tended to become, in some bad sense, too serious; perhaps, that is to say, he has tended to cultivate certain virtues and to pursue certain ends which, while laudable in themselves, are incompatible with the primary virtues of fiction or, if not quite that, have at least led him to be careless of, if not actually hostile to, these same primary virtues. We have grown accustomed to having reviewers say first of all that a novel is "important" or that it isn't, and to relegate, perhaps to the last paragraph, an expression of mild regret that some "important" novel or other is also structurally formless, stylistically inchoate, and pretty confusing as to intention. Even when such criticism is not made, the terms of praise are terms which do not necessarily imply excellence as fiction. Important novels are commonly described as "dealing with a serious problem," and as being, with rather monotonous regularity, "disturbing," "bitter," "uncompromising," "stark." But a novel can easily be—in fact it very often is—all these things without being readable and without furnishing any of the satisfactions which fiction, from the time of Homer through at least the great Victorians, was generally supposed to furnish.

The distinction is often made between what one "ought" to read and what one will enjoy reading. In connection with works of instruction and information, the distinction is one which is perfectly legitimate. But when it is employed also in connection with works of belles-lettres, it is preposterous in itself and an outward sign that those who permit themselves to employ it are also assuming some real distinction between what is important and what is interesting. But to the artist no such distinction ought to be possible. In art whatever is interesting is, artistically, important; and anything which seems important but not interesting is, artistically, not really important so far as that work of art is concerned. If it is important for some other artist, that artist will make it interesting, and it might be argued that a hopeless decline in the art of writing fiction began *when the novelist willingly acquiesced in a distinction between the important and the interesting.* I doubt that Homer or Chaucer or Shakespeare or Fielding or Balzac or Dickens ever permitted himself such an error.

Certainly it is one of which the detective-story writer is never guilty. He may often fail to be interesting, but he at least acknowledges that when he does so he is failing utterly and unredeemedly. And by acknowledging that fact he is driven to seek the elementary virtues of fiction as surely as the serious novelist who is concerned only to be "important" is led to neglect and despise them.

Two millenniums and a half ago Aristotle pointed out, first, that the "fable" is the most important element in a work of fiction, and, second, that the best fables are "unified," by which, as he explains, is meant that all the parts are interrelated in such a way that no part could be changed without changing all the others. And surely the popularity of the detective story is not unconnected with the fact that, whereas many serious novels are so far from exhibiting any such unity that they sometimes can hardly be said to have any fable at all, the detective story accepts the perfectly concatenated series of events as the *sine qua non* of a usable fable. Moreover, and partly as a consequence, the form of the detective story—that is, progress from the discovery of the corpse to the arrest of the criminal—insures that it shall have that self-determining beginning and that definite conclusion upon which also Aristotle insisted. In other words, the detective story is the one clearly defined modern genre of prose fiction impeccably classical in form.

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Happy endings have of course come to seem to most people not only incompatible with "serious" fiction but also vulgar *per se*. But to those who hold this prejudice—in itself one of the most vulgar—it should be pointed out that detective stories commonly provide that particular sort of happy ending which is the most perfect of all and which may be described as "justice triumphant." Indeed, the detective story, alone of all the current forms of fiction—except, perhaps, the "Western"—generally tends to distribute what used to be called poetic justice even to minor characters, including those whose just deserts destine them to some middle state between success and failure. And if any attempt to insist that poetic justice must be administered in all fiction is to impose an almost intolerable burden, the fact remains that one source of the popularity of the detective story may be that in it poetic justice may be achieved without obvious artificiality or improbability. Dr. Johnson once observed as follows in commenting upon those who insisted on incorporating a demand for poetic justice among the "rules" of tragedy: "A play in which the wicked prosper, and the virtuous miscarry, may doubtless be good, because it is a just representation of the common events of human life, but since all reasonable beings naturally love justice, I cannot be easily persuaded that the observation of justice makes a play worse; or that, if other excellences are equal, the audience will not always rise better pleased from the final triumph of persecuted virtue."

It is not, I hope, necessary for me to add that I am not claiming for the detective story all possible virtues; I am not, as a matter of fact, actually claiming any except the very specific ones alluded to. Indeed, I am so far from urging all writers to write such stories or all readers to read nothing else that my remarks are really intended to be rather more about novels of a different sort than they are about the detective story itself. The serious novelist, it seems to me, is ill-advised either to rail against or remain indifferent to the vast popularity of what he is inclined to regard as a sub-literary genre. I am suggesting that he might be well-advised to consider whether it would be possible for him to incorporate into his own novels certain of the virtues which have won so many readers for works which, often enough, have no virtues except those which the "serious" novelist has come increasingly to scorn.

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

HENRY JAMES WAS BORN in 1843, and his centennial last year was duly celebrated in critical and commemorative plaques. I wish I could record that this homage had "beautifully bloomed" in the set of handleable, durable, and inexpensive volumes I hope sometime to have on my shelves. Such an edition would take a good deal of paper—but even so it would be necessary to cut down only a couple of trees in Brooklyn to obtain a sufficient supply. And a complete edition of a great American novelist is little enough to expect, almost thirty years after his death, from the publishers of the richest country in the world. To induce such an edition I would even exploit the American weakness for quantity. The quantity of James's writing was only second to its quality.

AT PRESENT JAMES is hard to come by. Two of his books—"The Portrait of a Lady" and "The Turn of the Screw"—are in the Modern Library. New Directions last year issued "The Spoils of Poynton." It is sometimes possible, but less possible since the James boom began a few years ago, to pick up the New York edition or scattered volumes of earlier editions. Until the war got under way one could obtain the excellent little volumes published by Macmillan in London, but printings of these have been suspended for the duration.

The list of easily available selections is fortunately now augmented by two anthologies—"The Great Short Novels," edited with an introduction and comments by Philip Rahv (Dial, $4), which contains ten pieces, and a collection of stories of writers and artists edited and introduced by F. O. Matthiessen (New Directions, $3.50). In a few months Random House will bring out an anthology of James's short stories edited by Clifton Fadiman. Here is at least a beginning.

MR. RAHV'S VOLUME is a good introduction to James. It provides a rich variety, ranging from "Daisy Miller" to "The Beast in the Jungle," and a fair sampling of James's style and subjects, particularly of his great subject, the American in Europe. Mr. Rahv's preface and comments are brief, simple, and unobtrusive. They are also informative, critically as well as factually. As a result James appears in a frame of reference which defines and sets off its subject but is refreshingly free of distracting critical scrolls and medallions.

MR. MATTHIESSEN'S ANTHOLOGY is far more specialized, comprising as it does eleven of the stories in which James dramatized, analyzed, and sported with the difference, in both senses, not only between the artist and the journalist but between the artist and the general run of mankind. By way of introduction Mr. Matthiessen himself contributes a highly intelligent essay to the discussion. Among other things, he puts to effective use the almost symbolic relationship between James, the artist, and H. G. Wells, the journalist. James had always enjoyed Wells from the bottom of his heart, though the time came when he could not admire him from the top of his mind. Their relationship had a crude climax when Wells published "George Boon, the Mind of the Race," which parodied James and attacked his insistence on method and composition. "James has never discovered," said Wells, "that a novel isn't a picture . . . that life isn't a studio." He said that James's people were "eviscerated" and had nothing to do with living human beings. James was deeply hurt. His reply was firm and self-assured. "It is art that *makes* life, makes interest, makes importance . . . and I know of no substitute whatever for the force and beauty of its process." Wells, who asserted at this point that he would rather be called a journalist than an artist, said that he could only make sense of James's answer by assuming "that you are using 'art' for every conscious human activity. I use the word for a research and attainment that is technical and special." To Wells, in other words, James's art was a fine sarcophagus containing the remains of life; to James it was the organic force which gives form and meaning to inchoate experience as the life force gives body and mobility to a mess of chemical elements.

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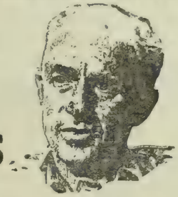

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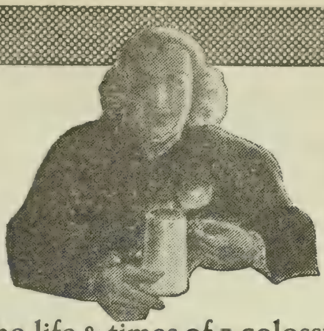

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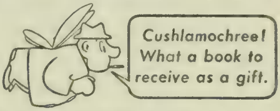
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The relationship between the two men likewise provides a commentary on the opinion of Wells, and many another, that James's attitude toward life was special and limited. For it was James who in relation to Wells displayed the more inclusive and the more insatiable interest, if only because his "intellectual" view allowed for a free and exuberant enjoyment of Wells—"he makes the whole apple cart so run away that I don't care if I *don't* upset it and only want to stand out of its path and see it go."

James has outlived Wells. That does not prove, and James would not have claimed, that good journalism is a vain, though it is a "daily," thing. It would seem to prove at least that his own art had the breath of life and that mere vitality deprived of containing and perpetuating forms drains off like unchanneled water in a dry field.

IT WAS AN INTERESTING IDEA to gather the stories dealing with artists and writers into one volume. The best of them—"The Author of Beltraffio," "The Middle Years"—are very fine. All of them abound in keen insights, quick and sharp characterizations, broad humor, and irony turning upon itself—some of them are sheer tall tales spun by a moralist who was also a comic poet. Yet I'm afraid the singleness of subject may put off the general reader and the subject itself appear as a more obsessive preoccupation with James than it really was—these stories, in a word, would be better strewn through the complete edition I have posited. The effect may also be to accentuate the impression that James is only a writer's writer and that he got more pleasure than pain out of dwelling on the differences that divide genius and society. He did get satisfaction out of it—genius as well as non-genius requires compensations. And he was a writer's writer, though, reading him today, one wonders if that is not partly a way of saying that he was ahead of his time as all "primary" writers are. It seems to me that more Americans are more ready than at any time since James's first fleeting popularity to appreciate and be fascinated by his stories of America in Europe. The old confrontation persists, and is at the moment crucially real and immediate. And while James's stories are "period" in their surface aspects, his basic statement of the issues is still relevant and profound. As for his psychological insights, to mention another facet of his genius, they are so contemporary that they may well startle the sophisticates, lay and intellectual, of the "new" lore of human motives and behavior. Verily this is a lively sarcophagus.

SINCE I READ JAMES ONLY FOR PLEASURE, I would be the last to suggest that others "ought" to read him. What I do suggest is that he may be worth looking into. And I would like to add that the charge of "difficult" which certainly can be applied to some of his books has been carelessly flung at all of them; that it is partly a question of conditioning—the manner seems less forbidding as the matter it invigorates becomes more absorbing; and that in any case difficulty *per se* is not a very intelligent or self-flattering reason for ruling out a writer—it depends on whether the reward is worth the effort. "The faculty of attention," said James, "has utterly vanished." Pulp is easier to read than literature. And good crusty bread is "harder" to eat than the limp, sliced stuff in the mass-production package.

Krutch on Johnson

SAMUEL JOHNSON. By Joseph Wood Krutch. Henry Holt and Company. $3.75.

IN APPROACHING any new biography of Johnson no doubt it is standard practice to remark that a pretty good life of the Doctor already exists. The comment, however, won't really stretch from a wisecrack into a warning, for no writer in his senses would challenge Boswell on his own ground. And on other grounds there have always been two, and today there are three, sound reasons for further full-length studies of Johnson. To begin with, Boswell's "Life" omits a great deal about its subject that is pertinent and revealing. The "Life," again, though incomparable as portraiture, offers little interpretation, and largely ignores the writer and the critic for the talker and the man. Finally, modern research has unearthed a vast number of facts about Johnson, Boswell, Mrs. Thrale, and others that, besides having their own fascination, perceptibly alter the picture.

All these reasons are subsumed in Mr. Krutch's general approach, which is comprehensive in its use of old material and corrective in its use of new, which is focused quite as much on Johnson's writing as on his talk, and which interprets rather more than it portrays. "Samuel Johnson" has, indeed, less the special savor of a book about an enormously vivid human being than the solid character of a critical biography of an important literary man. It has Johnson's weight and a little of his wit, but hardly any of Boswell's color. To read it, with its digest of scholarship, ahead of Boswell, would, I think, be a little confusing; to read it in place of Boswell would hardly be judicious; but to read it after Boswell (and after Johnson) is to gain in perspective, knowledge, and understanding. It will leave the informed reader, who is yet no specialist, much better informed.

On the biographical side he will, indeed, find here—and at not too forbidding a length—all the significant facts of Johnson's life and many of the lively details; Mr. Krutch has slipped into the text an uncountable number of Johnson stories and sayings. On occasion, too, he can be a finished narrator; you could not ask for a more succinct account of either the Chesterfield episode or the history of Mrs. Thrale. As for interpretation, Mr. Krutch's feeling about Johnson the man is admirably put in the very first sentence of the book—"Samuel Johnson was a pessimist with an enormous zest for living"—and it is, of course, the right feeling, borne out by all we know and all Mr. Krutch goes on to show us. Among other things, he shows us how this grotesque figure, who simultaneously aroused "awe and amusement," had to be something of a bully to avoid being very much of a butt; and again, how this most sociable of beings was yet quite outside the world of normal affections, was always, even to those who were fondest of him, "a strange apparition rather than a man."

Nor is Mr. Krutch literal-minded about Johnson's Toryism, or too much baffled by Johnson's intellectual defense of the privileged and emotional concern for the poor. Mr. Krutch suggests that Johnson was a good deal of a "parlor white"—the opposite of a parlor pink—who took pleasure in outraging people whose liberalism he thought merely fashionable or glib. All this is plausible, even obvious; yet

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whatever poses and perversities it involves, Johnson remains a reactionary. He was a deeply humane reactionary; but to explain his motives, and even to tear off his masks, is not quite to vindicate his position. His public attitude toward politics, religion, morality, and the arts helped fight a delaying action against progress (however disappointing progress itself turned out to be); his "common sense" was as much an incentive to philistinism as a repulse of highfalutin. I say this not censoriously but only to maintain perspective; for my own delight in Johnson is boundless, and my admiration for his largeness, vigor, and benignity grows constantly greater.

To Johnson the writer Mr. Krutch devotes a great deal of space, not all of it used, perhaps, to the best advantage. Among most qualified judges Johnson's poetry and criticism stand higher today than at any other time since his own century. For that reason Mr. Krutch's attitude, at once a trifle combative and a trifle defensive, seems needless; his strictures against Romantic criticism of Johnson seem belated; and his insistence that Johnson—or rather Johnson's shortcomings—should be judged in historical terms would be better suited to a writer of more questionable stature. Mr. Krutch has done a very useful job in establishing a wide frame of reference for Johnson's ideas, but I could wish he had devoted less space to analysis and more to appraisal. I am not certain just how good a critic Mr. Krutch considers his subject. For myself, Johnson—though a great critical force and stabilizer—falls short of being a really great critic, both from his well-known aesthetic blindnesses and from an imbalance of toughness and sensibility. But I have a higher regard for Johnson's verse than Mr. Krutch has.

In his introduction Mr. Krutch remarks that two readers for whom he has great respect have accused him of "being hard on Boswell"—a charge that distresses him. Toward Boswell the man—which is what they refer to—I think he is a little cold rather than hard, being always just but not always sympathetic. If he is hard, it may rather be on Boswell the biographer. To anyone so saturated in Johnson as Mr. Krutch, what Boswell failed to do must understandably cast its shadow on what he did. But that Boswell's "naturalistic" ideal requires merely "documentation and more documentation" identifies a method better than it explains an achievement. Mr. Krutch shows that Boswell was not selective in what he jotted down, or in the use he made of his jottings; but Boswell may have been selective notwithstanding—in what he remembered. That nothing seemed too small for him to preserve does not prove that nothing seemed too dull. And what seems in Boswell like incredible slavishness is often the most astounding boldness; the way his material is organized is certainly a triumph of something more than method.

As for Mr. Krutch's own book, I do not know where else one can find so many-sided and thoughtful a study of Johnson—his life, his personality, his talk, his writing, his historical position, his biographers; perhaps only the intellectual atmosphere and the famous companions—Burke, Goldsmith, Sir Joshua—are slighted a little. To be sure, the many-sidedness has a drawback: the book fails to be outstanding on any one ground. As a "reading" biography it frequently lacks verve; as a critical one it rather lacks decisiveness. The trouble may be, on both scores, that while Mr. Krutch is not academic in his thinking, he sometimes is in his tone, in his fondness for elaborating on small points, in his now and then putting the history of criticism ahead of criticism itself. But since whole libraries have been written about Johnson, doubtless it is no longer possible for a biographer to study him face to face; and students of literature, at least, will not be too unhappy about Mr. Krutch's special concern with literary matters. LOUIS KRONENBERGER

Propriety

It's a chord
like one word
Brahms had heard
from a bird
warbling at the root of its throat.
It's the little downy woodpecker
spiraling a tree
up up up like mercury.

A bird song
is not long,
a wayside
of hayseed
tune; a reticence with rigor
from strength at the source. Propriety's
Bach's *Solfegietto*,
harmonica, and basso.

The fish-spines
of fir pines—
somber trees
by the sea's
walls of waveworn rock—have it; and
a moonbow and Bach's cheerful firmness
in a minor key.
It's an owl-and-a-pussy

both-content
agreement.
Come, come. It's
mixed with wits;
it's not a graceful sadness. It's
resistance with bent head, like foxtail-
millet's. Brahms and Bach,
no; Bach and Brahms. To thank Bach

for his song
first, is wrong.
Pardon me;
both are the
unintentional pansy-face
uncursed by self-inspection; blackened
because born that way;
blackened because born that way.

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BRIEFER COMMENT

Strictly One-sided

VLADIMIR NABOKOV'S "NIKOLAI GOGOL" (New Directions, $1.50) is an inadequate study of the great Russian writer. Brilliantly appreciative as Nabokov is of the grotesque side of Gogol and, indeed, of all that side of him which relates to the poetry of the irrational and the spirit of incongruity and mystification, he has no eye whatever for the social-historical and peculiarly national background of his subject. Thus he dismisses, with bad quips and worse logic, precisely those aspects of Gogol which situate him in the Russian milieu.

One recognizes in Nabokov something like a phobic fear of all critical techniques not strictly literary in reference—a fear which drives him toward the radically one-sided approach of an extreme aesthete-modernist who takes the literary act to be a phenomenon solely "of language and not of ideas." (The formulation is dashing but scarcely original, being but a belated echo of the theories advanced by the formalist school of Russian critics—Shklovsky, Zhirmunsky, *et al.*—and thoroughly refuted in their time.) Moreover, Nabokov reduces his formalist bias to a sheer absurdity when he goes so far as to state that "Gogol's heroes merely happen to be Russian squires and officials; their imagined surroundings and social conditions are perfectly unimportant factors." He is equally vehement in denying that Gogol can in any way be characterized as a realist. It is true, of course, that Gogol never deliberately set out to describe his social environment; but the fact is that his subjective method of exaggeration, of caricature and farce, produced an imagery of sloth, ugliness, and self-satisfied inferiority which is fully expressive of the realities of life in feudal-bureaucratic Russia. What Nabokov chiefly overlooks is the dynamic plebeianism of Gogol's genius. For that is what enabled him to make a new selection of material and to assimilate to the literary medium elements of everyday existence, with their low-life and vulgar details, heretofore excluded by the aristocratic conventions of Russian letters.

Yet inadequate as this study may be, it is to be recommended for its close treatment of Gogol's rhetorical power and formal devices. The writing is lively, and through his play of sensibility the author succeeds in adapting his subject to modern interests. PHILIP RAHV

"Rumor, Girls, Hopes . . ."

THERE IS SCARCELY A DOUBT that Ernie Pyle is America's favorite correspondent of this war, and that his name will become associated with it—just as Richard Harding Davis comes to mind in connection with the Spanish-American War and Floyd Gibbons in connection with the last war. The contrast between the men is significant. Davis and Gibbons were swashbucklers who made everybody out to be a dashing hero, especially themselves. War was a glamorous affair. Ernie Pyle is desperately scared, and says so in almost painful detail. He realizes that most of the soldiers are scared, too. He describes the hideousness of war with a realism which few correspondents have achieved. Ernie was doing a job which he hated but felt he had to do; and that was exactly how most of the soldiers felt about it. In fact, Ernie *is* the G. I. soldier—with the gift of expression added—the typical doughboy, wired for sound.

Of no concern to Ernie are matters of strategy, high politics, or historical trends. He is interested in how the homo Americanus behaves under the stress of war; what he talks about in relaxed moments ("rumors, girls, hopes of home, jokes, little experiences, opinions of their officers, and an occasional offhand reference to what might happen to a man in the end"). He is interested in names and street addresses and what the men hope to do after the war, which usually works out to be just what they did before. "Brave Men" (Henry Holt, $3) is essentially a continuation of "Here's Your War"; the new book takes Ernie to the front lines in Sicily, Italy, France. As before, Ernie sees all there is to see and tells about it unpretentiously. MARCUS DUFFIELD

Distrustful Neighbors

MR. HERRING'S SHORT BOOK, "America and the Americas" (Claremont College, California, $2) provides a very frank and realistic appraisal, with forecast, of the state of inter-American relations. The author begins by insisting upon the predominant colonial characteristics of Latin America. He briefly reviews the historical circumstances of Latin American economic development, with the early imperialist monopolism leading to an artificial and gravely deficient one- or two-staple agriculture, which has never, and cannot ever, sustain even a modest population above the level of wretched poverty. From this springs the political problem of dictatorship, etc. Turning to foreign relations Mr. Herring approvingly reviews the Good Neighbor policy and its war-time amplification. Nothing must cause us to blink the fact, he says, that we do not like and tend to despise Latin Americans, while they neither like nor trust us. And their distrust is not unreasonable. They still resent many features of our foreign policy and on the whole collaborate grudgingly. The new war-time "dollar diplomacy" differs radically from the old policy so described, but is far from providing sure title to gratitude or trust. In the temper implied by these recognitions Mr. Herring discusses the way in which our future policy should be handled and framed. It cannot be said that the author's discussion is conclusive, yet it is certainly thoughtful. Not for the body of fact presented, nor for the concrete utility of its results, is this book valuable, but for its candid and brisk address. RALPH BATES

American Subject

A GOOD PICTURE BOOK of the TVA was long overdue. It has arrived in "The Valley and Its People" (Knopf, $2.75), with text by R. L. Duffus and illustrations by the Graphics Department of the TVA, of which Charles Krutch is chief. The most photogenic of government achievements shines, under the good treatment of Mr. Krutch's camera and the offset press, with misty mountain ranges, fat or eroding fields, superb modern machinery, and work-worn Southern farm folk, all natural as life.

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AT ALL BOOKSHOPS

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The text is exciting too. Those who had read R. L. Duffus's newspaper feature stories on the TVA naturally expected him to lay them end to end in a book. Instead, he has done a new, compressed, and streamlined text that gains instead of suffers from following previous books, and supplements rather than competes with David E. Lilienthal's "TVA—Democracy on the March," published earlier this year. Blending harmoniously with the eye-filling pictures—Charles Krutch, chief TVA photographer, is an artist with the perfect subject—Mr. Duffus's prose takes on the easy rhythm and power that seem to flow through writing about the valley:

> For one observer, who saw the task going forward at intervals over a decade, it came in time to have the thrill of the march of an army with banners—and more than that. It was like seeing the pioneers cutting down trees in New England and Ohio. It was like watching the first plows moving across the unbroken land of Kansas. It was like coming on the first wagons moving over the South Pass. It was like history. . . . It was like victory. You wanted to take off your hat.

A happy ending to "The River," the book as a whole has the functional beauty and proportion of the TVA dams. Put it beside "The Wind That Swept Mexico" and Gerald W. Johnson's "Woodrow Wilson" as printing for the age of television. WILLSON WHITMAN

Positive, Wholesome, and Wise

WHY EVERYONE SHOULD REJOICE that the social enthusiasm of the thirties has lost caste is not clear. What we are getting instead is an epidemic of spirituality, lowbrow in the columnists, highbrow in such as Auden and Isherwood, and middle-brow in that body of writers for whom a Van Wyck Brooks speaks.

J. Donald Adams's first book, "The Shape of Books to Come" (Viking, $2.50), follows in the tracks of Oliver Allston. This survey of American literature since 1900 will not help the student of that literature, but for the social pathologist it will serve as another key to the Allstonian mind. We are again warned against esoteric aesthetes and dirty naturalists. Literature should be positive, wholesome, and wise. According to Mr. Adams, Robert Frost is the greatest living American writer and a model of style and philosophy; modernist poetry is represented in this book only by E. E. Cummings, whose idiosyncrasies are assumed to be typical. The bad boys of the novel are Dreiser, Joyce, Céline, and D. H. Lawrence. Superseding these bad influences, however, is seen a new literature that is positive, wholesome, and wise, a literature so far represented by such books as "Eyeless in Gaza," "Song of Bernadette," "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn," "A Bell for Adano," "The Keys of the Kingdom," and "The Robe."

Obviously Mr. Adams's book will also be considered positive, wholesome, and wise. But it almost makes at least one reader homesick for the days before Huxley met Gerald Heard, the days before Mr. Douglas and Mr. Cronin were heard of, the days when Franz Werfel was a poet, the days when Lawrence and Joyce slapped the philistines where it hurts. Mr. Adams edited the New York *Times Book Review* from 1925 to 1943; hence the fact, unfriendly readers may think, that what he chiefly knows about books, past, present, and to come, is their shape. ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

China's Workers

IT WOULD BE AN INTERESTING EXPERIENCE to enter a war-time factory in Kunming, live for some months with the Chinese workers in their dormitories, discuss their problems with them and also with the management, and be on hand to see difficulties as they arise and to note how they are settled. To all readers of "China Enters the Machine Age" (Harvard, $2.50) this experience can be at least vicariously enjoyed. Kuo-heng Shih, the author, has presented the results of his investigation of the labor situation in Kunming Factory, one of the larger government-administered modern plants, in terms of labor supply, wages, social accommodations, workers' budgets, morale, and efficiency. Most of the detailed material incorporated in the report was gained during the period of actual residence, from August 25 to November 10, 1940. The valuable case study itself is topped off by a substantial and most illuminating discussion of the general problem which China faces in changing from an agricultural to an industrialized country. T. A. B.

VERSE CHRONICLE

Robert Penn Warren and Others

I HOPE it is not too cheaply epigrammatic to say that, as one of T. S. Eliot's favorite themes is death by water, so one of Robert Penn Warren's is death by petrifaction. I notice that the imagery of his "Selected Poems" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50) is strewn with stones. So too, it appears, are his native Kentucky hills, which are probably the source of his frequent mineralogical figures. But the stones are in his poetry for reasons other than local color; they mean something.

Thus he writes of "the northward hills whose final stone /In dark ogive supports the fractured loam"; of "the taciturn tall stone/Which is your fathers' monument and mark"; of "men there have lived who wrestled with the ocean . . . the polyp was their shroud"; of "the fires that in the brutal rock once strove"; of Kentucky's "lean men . . . figured in kinship to the savage stone"; of the "many ways to die/Here among the rocks." And in a remarkable recent love poem, Bearded Oaks, he has this strange geological trope:

> Upon the floor of light, and time,
> Unmurmuring, of polyp made,
> We rest; we are, as light withdraws,
> Twin atolls on a shelf of shade.

And there are in Warren's poetry almost as many bones as stones. The former are of course only an imaginative analogue of the latter, and together they signify Warren's intense preoccupation with death, the inorganic that hides out within the organic. His mind is full of those forces that pull us backward and downward—nightmares, family guilts, homesickness. And his poetry yearns strangely toward what Freud calls the "reinstatement of something earlier," the "return

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to lifelessness." In Kentucky Mountain Farm, an early genre poem but one of his best, he addresses the hill-people as follows:

> Then quit yourselves as stone and cease
> To break the weary stubble-field for seed;
> Let not the naked cattle bear increase,
> Let barley wither and the bright milkweed.
> Instruct the heart, lean men, of a rocky place
> That even the little flesh and fevered bone
> May keep the sweet sterility of stone.

Warren's morbidity, which he frankly accepts and boldly works in his poetry, informs the best of it with a true passion and terror. The best of it is contained, I think, in relatively short pieces like Bearded Oaks, Cold Colloquy, and Garden Waters, where the emotion is sufficient to itself and requires no body of general ideas to support and clarify it. The longer poems are not usually successful. The lengthy Ballad of Billie Potts is admirable as a folk narrative but weak as a philosophical poem; the interpolated passages of philosophizing are tedious and confused, the "passion" in them somehow *voulu.* Likewise The Return: An Elegy. This poem is too elaborate to succeed as a simple *cri du cœur* and too personal to be anything else; with its pointed references to a dead mother (*"the old fox is dead*/what have I said") it is even mildly embarrassing.

Warren has his troubles as a poet, but they are the troubles of an always interesting mind. His emotion is not always spontaneous, nor does he consistently possess his own personality when Donne or Marvell or Auden is around. These difficulties may be connected with what appears to be his prime problem—the conquest of such ideas as would give more meaning to his rich and complex experience. I only wish that his experience *inspired* him a little more and *haunted* him somewhat less.

Warren's stones and bones may sometimes, through lack of clarification, fail of being true literary symbolism, but they are exciting evidence of a genuine personal obsession. The images that clutter up the later verse of Muriel Rukeyser do not justify themselves even on grounds of a neurotic urgency. In her most recent book, "Beast in View" (Doubleday, Doran, $2), I can discover no passion apart from a desire to publish more poetry. The titles and the "myths" are her own and are very nice. The more essential materials of language, rhythm, and image are out of the stockroom. And what is on view here, I am afraid, is not a live beast but a dead pigeon: the corpse of "modern poetry" all prettily laid out with its wombs, flames, pillars, prisms, black roses, and webs of time beside it. Marya Zaturenska ("The Golden Mirror," Macmillan, $1.75) is likewise pretty fond of familiar poetic objects. But her properties, such as morning dew and Time with a finger at his lips and swans and urns, are old and hallowed and comparatively innocent. Moreover, the nostalgia with which Miss Zaturenska stares upon the literary past through her frequent windows, mirrors, dreams, and old pictures is a real if slight emotion. And her poems do manage to compose themselves—a little vaguely and wanderingly, it is true, like children making their way home from school. "The Golden Mirror" contains the sort of poetry which women English teachers would probably write if they were as accomplished as Miss Zaturenska. F. W. DUPEE

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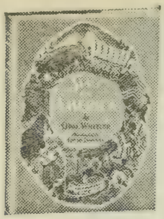

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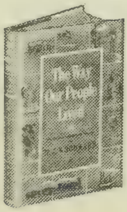

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VOLUME 159 NEW

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

A PERFORMANCE of Boito's "Mefistofele" led Bernard Shaw to remark, in 1889, that Gounod's "Faust" was "a true musical creation, whereas Boito has only adapted the existing resources of orchestration and harmony very ably to his libretto." I would say that William Walton, in his "Belshazzar's Feast," has only adapted existing musical resources to the Biblical text arranged by Osbert Sitwell; and has done this with technical expertness, fastidious taste, and impressive effect. The Victor set (974; $5.50) offers a good performance with Dennis Noble, baritone, the Huddersfield Choral Society, the Liverpool Philharmonic, and brass bands, conducted by Walton himself, and recorded with superb fidelity, clarity, balance, and beauty of sound.

Victor's other November set (975; $2.50) gives us an unfamiliar minor work of Dvôrák, his "In der Natur" for orchestra, which is engagingly melodious but rather diffuse by the time it ends. It is well performed by Stock with the Chicago Symphony; and the recorded sound is spacious and rich, but blurred occasionally by reverberance.

On a single disc (11-8644; $1) are three bits of lesser Delius—the Intermezzo and Serenade from the incidental music to "Hassan," the dance, La Calinda, from "Koanga"—which are characteristic in their exquisitely wrought, gorgeous-sounding texture. They are beautifully performed by Constant Lambert with the Hallé Orchestra, and beautifully recorded. On another single (11-8621; $1) is Kindler's overinflated transcription for full orchestra and performance with the National Symphony of two movements from Handel's Concerto Grosso Opus 3 No. 5 for strings, recorded with great magnificence of sound. And on still another (11-8643; $1) is Brailovsky's tastelessly mannered performance of Chopin's Impromptu Opus 29, with Liszt's "Liebestraum" No. 3 on the reverse side. The recorded sound is good; the surface of my copy is very noisy.

On Columbia's November-December list is a new set (X-243; $2.50) of the first and longer version of Tchaikovsky's Overture-Fantasia "Hamlet." There are passages in the main *Allegro* portion of the work which are good Tchaikovsky; only the slow introduction and coda impress me as good "Hamlet." In the new set an excellent performance by Lambert with the Hallé Orchestra is well recorded; but on the second side of my copy the pitch wavers badly.

Columbia also offers a set (551; $3.50) of Shostakovitch's Sonata Opus 40 for cello and piano, in which an occasional bit of uncharacteristic melodic prettiness is mingled with the normal varieties of rubbish of that facilely vulgar mind. The sound of Piatigorsky's cello is well recorded; that of Pavlovsky's piano is dull and unresonantly percussive.

Featured as the record classic from the existing catalogue is the set (356; $4.50) of Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 491 in C minor, with one of Mozart's two outstandingly powerful concerto first movements in minor keys (the other being the first movement of

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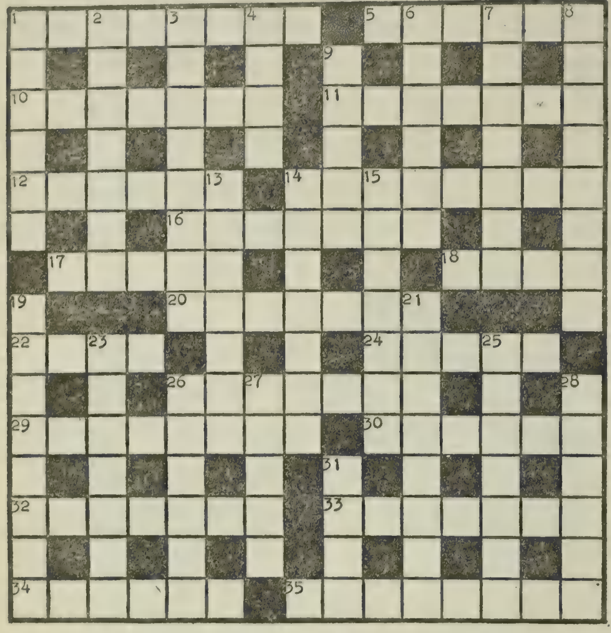

ACROSS

1 State in which eight U. S. Presidents were born
5 There was a young fellow named - - - - - -, Who when asked if he'd take a degree, Said, "It's bad enough to be - - - - - -, Without being - - - - - -, D. D."
10 You will always find a friend in this Italian town
11 That which deadens, wound round the neck?
12 "Old - - - - - - gray and melancholy waste" (Bryant)
14 "Thy soul was - - - - - - - -" to abridge slightly what Wordsworth said of Milton
16 In ecclesiastic slang, those who go to church twice on Sundays
17 A capital place in India
18 Here the newspaper chief has no alternative
20 The Sage of Concord
22 A song in variations
24 Hood, or Goodfellow, perhaps
26 Good news does
29 Mews that have no connection with horses or cats are (hyphen, 3-5)
30 Make oneself at home
32 Gave Theseus a clew which enabled him to escape from the labyrinth
33 Play to the gallery
34 Here you find us in the act of melting
35 Not much of a washer woman

DOWN

1 Diana of Scott's *Rob Roy*
2 Full
3 The Fairy Queen married the army private in this Gilbert and Sullivan extravaganza
4 A pressing necessity—but hardly to golfers
6 Deduces what the trapper deals in?
7 All died (anag.)
8 Samples of what is to follow
9 "Abner, etc. - - - - - him under the fifth rib" (Old Testament)
13 His best pace may be a crawl
14 Players who interest sport fans most?
15 "Re-arm or . . . !" (anag.) might be his motto
19 Shakespeare character: corpulent, jovial, humorous and dissolute
21 Those not predestined to salvation (hyphen, 3-5)
23 Type of type
25 Flatter sincerely
26 Occult
27 Early American humorist
28 This literary lady's table talk would have been interesting
31 Like only with immortal reputation

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 90

ACROSS:—1 HOBSON; 4 JUSTICES; 10 REGATTA; 11 CALYPSO; 12 BOOST; 13 SHE; 14 PRIME; 15 OWNED; 17 NINETEEN; 21 FORENOON; 23 ACTOR; 26 ARIEL; 28 BET; 29 DONAT; 30 SHOTGUN; 31 PAINTER; 32 SHORT CUT; 33 OLD MAN.

DOWN:—1 HORNBOOK; 2 BIG HORN; 3 OCTET; 5 UNCLE; 6 TULIP; 7 CAPSIZE; 8 STORED; 9 BASSANIO; 16 DIE; 18 NONSTOPS; 19 TEA; 20 BRETHREN; 22 ORINOCO; 24 TINY TIM; 25 MASSES; 27 LIGHT; 28 BANTU; 29 DRILL.

---

ility for Peace. By William T. R. Fox. Harcourt

be Young Soldier in Search of the Better World.
d. Arco. $4.
By Walter Lippmann. Atlantic Monthly Press
own. $1.50.
ugh Air Power. By Allan A. Michie. Holt. $2.
g World. By Leopold Schwarzschild. Knopf.

Ol [illegible] T Shotwell [illegible] $3

dulled, as though the records had been pressed from old and worn masters.

And finally Columbia puts its "Swan Lake" set (349; $4.50) into a new picture album. The set offers not the music you may have heard in performances of "Swan Lake" in this country, but a collection of pieces drawn from Tchaikovsky's music for all three acts of the original ballet—a collection comprising some but not all of the music used in the one-act "Swan Lake" performed in this country, some but not all of the music used in the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe "Magic Swan," and some music not used in either of these two. Most of it is not only superb ballet music but highly enjoyable for itself; and Dorati's performance with the excellent London Philharmonic is well recorded except for a brashness caused by reverberation.

CONTRIBUTORS

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

ALL AMERICANS TOOK PRIDE IN THE FIRST bombing of Japan by B-29 Superfortresses based on Saipan, and well they might. Turning bomb-pocked Aslito airdrome into a Superfortress base in five months will undoubtedly stand as one of the great engineering achievements of the war, and the sending from that base of the huge, clean-limbed bombers against Tokyo is a sure portent of heavier trouble looming for Japan. However, that trouble will probably not materialize in force for some time: the B-29, like any new weapon, has many bugs still to be ironed out, and the B-29 force based in the China-Burma-India theater has carried out only seventeen missions since its shakedown run early in June against Bangkok. But the closing of this long-range aerial pincers has deep significance. The Tokyo region, with its population of more than 15,000,000 and with its surrounding chain of industrial cities providing Japan with the sinews of war, is under attacks which will certainly increase in scope and frequency as the base on Saipan is built up and as the number of B-29's grows. Saipan is closer to Tokyo than is Chengtu, corresponding base on the other side of the pincers; moreover, Saipan is not even remotely threatened by advancing Japanese troops, and is far easier to supply. Japan is still producing more aircraft than our forces are destroying in the air and on the ground, but that favorable balance should decline rapidly once the Twenty-first Bomber Command moves into high gear with concentrated attacks on Tokyo's neighboring aircraft plants.

*

THE BITTER BATTLE ON LEYTE CONTINUES, despite typhoons and drenching rain. The Japanese are fighting hard and apparently as well as usual, reinforced by several thousand troops who were landed subsequent to General MacArthur's unfortunate communiqué claiming that organized resistance on the island had virtually ceased. The United States Navy has also done some back-tracking in recent weeks: the first flush of enthusiasm over the great victory of the Second Battle of the Philippine Sea has paled a little with the realization that the enemy still has a respectable fleet at his disposal—a fleet which is top-heavy in capital ships and very short on screening forces such as destroyers but still a force to be reckoned with. Consequently the fighting in the Philippines has taken a peculiar and unexpected turn; our forces are actually waging war of attrition on the Japanese, who are suffering heavy losses through their determination to fight it out on Leyte. Although our naval and air forces do not have control over the sea lanes between the islands and Japan, those lanes are not at all safe; but they are short. Our supply lines, on the other hand, are safe, but they are very long. So the communications problems are close to equal: and at the end of them two armies are slugging it out with one another. Air-power tips the balance in our favor, however, and already some 17,000 Japanese have been drowned or killed in our successful attacks on reinforcing convoys.

*

THE CIVIL AVIATION CONFERENCE APPEARS TO be ending its labors on a note of diplomatic harmony that conceals gigantic failure. B. T. Richardson's story in the current issue, based upon three weeks' close observation of the Chicago meeting, bears out the worst forebodings of Mr. Bolté's article of two weeks ago. The achievements of the conference in matters of technical agreement fall far short of the goals set, not by immediate national interests, but by the demands of the air age into which we have entered. It is poor comfort to the peoples of the world, who above all else pray for security, that the smooth arrogance of Mr. Berle was matched by the unyielding correctness of Lord Swinton. Peace cannot emerge as a compromise between American expansionism and Brtish conservatism. It will come only when international order is seen to be the condition of national security. But the conference under American leadership rejected all proposals that an international air authority should be invested with power. In post-war air competition, the sky's the limit.

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SECRETARY HULL'S RESIGNATION WAS EXPECTED. His serious illness has made it appear inevitable for weeks past that he would have to retire in order to recuperate and then, if possible, assume some lighter task at a later date. The President's statement, made public just as we go to press, included no announcement of Mr. Hull's successor—a problem which has been a chief preoccupation in Washington ever since the Secretary of State fell ill. Liberals near the President have urged the appointment of Mr. Wallace or, as an alternative, Ambassador Winant or even Mr. Stettinius. None of these, however, seems likely. It is known that the President wants a Secretary of State who can "get on with Congress," i. e., a man who can guide the world security plan through the Senate with a minimum of friction. The report that seems most widely credited is that Mr. Roosevelt will select Mr. Byrnes. His present role as Director of War Mobilization and "assistant President" has given him the prestige necessary to sustain such an appointment, and Mr. Roosevelt thinks well of his general ability. Whatever may be the strategic excuses for such a choice, it would be a disaster from every other point of view. Byrnes is reactionary, and his experience of foreign affairs is negligible. He is unknown in other countries. If ever America needed a man of stature and international standing as Secretary of State, it is today. Byrnes does not measure up.

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THE CABLED STORY BY GEROLD FRANK IN THIS week's issue gives sharp definition to a picture that has been badly blurred in the daily press. The assassination of Lord Moyne was a blow struck at the Zionist movement far more than at the British government. The government can replace even the most valued civil servant. The cause of Jewish Palestine is seriously wounded just at the moment when it needed all the strength it could muster. Opponents of Zionism have used this act of terrorism as a pretext for attacking the whole structure of Jewish effort in Palestine, while even Winston Churchill, who has been counted a friend despite his government's hostile attitude, laid upon the Jewish people of Palestine the responsibility for putting down the terrorists. They are trying to do so, as Gerold Frank reports. But the fact is that as long as Britain rules in Palestine, and as long as Jews are not allowed arms even to defend themselves, the Jewish community cannot be held responsible for maintaining order or blamed for the acts of any criminal, be he Jew or Gentile. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, now in Jerusalem, has said that his grief over the death of Lord Moyne was even greater than that occasioned by the loss of his son, a young flier in the British Air Force. This poignant statement is easy to believe. Dr. Weizmann is both a Jewish leader and a British patriot, and no man realizes more profoundly the tragedy that faces Palestine today. Jews all over the world are celebrating Dr. Weizmann's seventieth birthday this week. We join in tribute to one of the great statesmen and democrats of our time, and we hope he may be given the years and the courage to tackle the difficulties that lie ahead.

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THE ITALIAN CRISIS WILL NOT BE RESOLVED even if Signor Bonomi comes back with a reformed Cabinet. The issues lie deeper than that. They are the result of a conflict between the truly progressive forces, to whom liberation means not only the expulsion of the Germans but the complete destruction of the political and economic basis of fascism, and the conservative elements, who believe in maintaining the pre-war social order. Even as good a friend of Prince Umberto's as Herbert L. Matthews realizes that. "One of the political questions of the greatest importance in all Europe," he wrote in the New York *Times* on November 27, "is the part that the Left is going to play." And, further: "No strong government can be formed in Italy without the Communists and Socialists, and, if they abstain now, it would be only to await the liberation of northern Italy." As to the immediate solution of the present ministerial deadlock, two men have been mentioned to succeed Signor Bonomi in case he does not succeed in forming a ministry: Count Carlo Sforza and Signor Vittorio Emanuele Orlando. Orlando is the favorite of the Vatican and of certain high officials in the Allied agencies in Rome. Sforza seems to have the support of the Left. An Orlando Cabinet, with the possible inclusion of Marshal Badoglio, would simply aggravate the crisis.

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WHENEVER GERMAN RESISTANCE STIFFENS, THE Spanish Phalangist heart beats with renewed hope. On November 22 a Spanish overseas broadcast expressed the belief that the German High Command was "enticing" the Allied forces "on to a previously prepared battleground in order to try their annihilation through combat, which will frighten the whole world." To Ambassador Hayes that may sound simply like a military opinion, a bit mistaken, perhaps, but in itself not necessarily unfriendly to the United Nations. But what about the rebuke to the British for sinking the Tirpitz? "The Tirpitz," said the Spanish radio, "was playing an important part in placing difficulties in the way of a Russian invasion of northern Norway. British aircraft has eliminated the main obstacle against the arrival at the fjords of Stalin hordes, driven by an imperialism unprecedented in history. We do not understand it." We understand still less why the American government does not break off diplomatic relations with Madrid once and for all and leave Franco alone in his grief for the "beautiful Tirpitz."

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IS THE *READER'S DIGEST* A MIRROR OF CURRENT American opinion? In raising the question the magazine and newspaper committee of the National Council of Teachers of English has performed a useful service. And the hysterical efforts of Dr. Angela Broening, president of the National Council, to have its report suppressed seem completely unjustified even by normal academic standards. The report contained no conclusions and no recommendations but it brought into the open the fact that the *Reader's Digest* is in the main not a "digest" at all but a staff-planned publication whose editorial policy influences not only its own selection of articles but those of other magazines as well. The committee's analysis showed that approximately 45 per cent of the magazine's contents was not reprint but original material, fully a third of its contents was editorially planned by the *Digest* staff, and 19 per cent was actually prepared by the staff. To give the effect of presenting a cross-section of American thought, a substantial proportion of the hot-bed articles were planted in other periodicals first and were then "reprinted" by the *Digest.* The genuine reprint articles covered for the most part human-interest and scientific subjects; a very large proportion of the anti-labor, anti-Russian, and anti-New Deal articles were products of the *Digest's* office. No one will deny the *Digest's* right to plan and prepare such articles, any more than one would deny Dewitt Wallace the right to contribute $2,500 to the Republican National Committee. And alert English teachers will undoubtedly continue to use the *Digest's* controversial articles in their public-speaking and debating courses. None of them, however, will be fooled into believing that the *Digest* is impartial.

Canada's Crisis

THE crisis that Mr. MacKenzie King faced as he met the Canadian Parliament on a vote of confidence was only partly of his making. It stemmed from an ancient tension between two nations which together comprise Canada. This tension is most acute in time of war when the cultural foci of the two nations gravitate to opposite poles: the French Canadian is drawn more closely than ever to local loyalties in his Laurentian valleys, the English Canadian feels the quickened pull toward the British Commonwealth and responsibilities in the larger world.

It is useless to think in emotional terms about the "imperialism" of English Canadians or the "disloyalty" of French Canadians. Each group thinks of itself as loyal to Canada as each understands "Canada." Each group expresses strong cultural bias rooted deeply in its past. The critical problem of any wartime Canadian government is how to carry on the war effort with maximum strength and efficiency and at the same time prevent the intra-national tension reaching the breaking-point of civil strife. The problem is not made any easier by the fact that the English-speaking group is dominant, economically and politically.

Few of Mr. King's political enemies will venture any serious criticism of his direction of Canada's war effort. In all, this nation of twelve million has raised a fighting force of three-quarters of a million men. Its Air Training Scheme has supplied the majority of flyers not only for the R. C. A. F. but for the R. A. F. as well. Its navy, built from scratch, patrolled the North Atlantic sea lanes during the height of the submarine war. Its armies have fought bravely in some of the grimmest battles in Italy, France, Belgium, and Holland. On the home front, Canada has tapped the last reserves of civilian manpower in vastly increasing its industrial production to supply munitions for its own troops and for the Allied armies. Canada's war record will stand up alongside of that of any of the United Nations.

Mr. King has attempted to solve the problem of national unity by a series of compromises. Remembering the disastrous consequences of the conscription program put through over French protests by the Conservative Union government in the last war, Mr. King endorsed voluntary enlistment for overseas service: more than ninety per cent of Canada's forces have been raised in this way. Under the National Resources Mobilization Act about 70,000 have been drafted for service in Canada: a third of these are French. When two years ago a national plebiscite decided in favor of general selective service Mr. King accepted the principle but still refused to implement it until it became evident that the voluntary system would not meet the need of Canada's armed forces. Now, he has been pressed a step further by the resignation of his Minister of Defense, Colonel Ralston, on the issue of reinforcements to the heavily battered Canadian forces in Europe. General McNaughton, the new Defense Minister, an advocate of the voluntary system has informed Mr. King that his investigations have revealed that the infantry reinforcements required exceeded earlier estimates. Mr. King has, therefore, adopted an emergency conscription measure and by an order-in-council has drawn upon N.R.M.A. draftees to the extent of 16,000 men who will be needed for reinforcements within the next three months. But in general the voluntary system remains in force.

This time, it appears that the compromise has not worked. Riots have been reported in Quebec. Some of the drafted troops in Western Canada have demonstrated—in some cases coupling their demonstration with a demand for "conscription of wealth as well as manpower." In both camps, French-speaking and English-speaking, extremists appear to be gaining positions of leadership. At this writing it is not clear whether Mr. King will be able to hold his party together in the House on the motion of confidence: "That this House will aid the Government in its policy of maintaining a vigorous war." If he cannot do so a general election will be held.

An election at this time and on such an ill-defined issue would appear to be a great misfortune. Mr. King may have many marks against him on account of his government's failure to educate French Canada on the meaning of the war and its ambiguous manpower mobilization program. But these mistakes are not going to be remedied by a knockdown, drag-out fight under extremist leadership. It would be tragic if, at this late date, the great war record of Canada were to be obscured by civil strife not wanted by the majority of French and English Canadians. One of its most serious consequences would be to accentuate reaction and set back the progressive trend in Canada which has received its most active leadership from the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation but which has found some expression in the post-war plans of Mr. King's government. The narrow autonomy of one race, or the domination of the other race, or a temporary compromise between the two is no real solution for an ancient problem. National unity in Canada will in the long run be achieved—as national unity in this country will be achieved—in terms of social objectives that meet the needs of the majority of all the people.

Bodyguard of Reaction

THE Allies seem once more to have constituted themselves the bodyguard of reaction. General Eisenhower used admirable methods in France, allowing the nation to settle its internal affairs without attempting to curb the explosive emotions of a population which hated Vichy collaborationists as much as the German invaders. In Belgium the Allied authorities have shown a different attitude. An Associated Press cable dated November 19 said, "In streets off the line of march Allied troops and armored cars were held in readiness with equipment for street barricades." Who was the enemy against whom the Allies were ready to throw the weight of a modern army? Not the Germans, making a surprise comeback, but 15,000 anti-fascists marching through the streets of Brussels and shouting for the resignation of Premier Pierlot's government.

The same dispatch gave the reason for the popular demonstration: "One of the major complaints seemed to be the government's reluctance to seize and try political and business bigwigs who allegedly had been sympathizers or supporters of the Germans, and who now are in high government posts and running the nation's business."

Here is a new form of collaborationism, not so shameful, perhaps, as that practiced under the German occupation but no less dangerous politically. It was against this danger that the people of Belgium demonstrated. They were not ready, however, to turn November 19 into a Belgian July 14; this was not an assault on the Bastille. And only a Metternichian like William Philip Simms, the *World-Telegram* columnist who longs for a new Holy Alliance, could have written these words: "While General Eisenhower's armies are slogging forward through blood and mud and ice in a desperate effort to knock out Germany and end the war quickly, bands of armed revolutionaries are threatening their lines of communication in the rear." Now American mothers, sisters, and sweethearts know. If the war is not ended in 1944, if hundreds of thousands of casualties are added to the list of men now falling on the plains of Cologne, it is because 15,000 citizens marched through the streets of Brussels asking that a government which is officially dedicated to the fight against fascism carry out an honest anti-fascist policy.

It is hard to believe that competent generals on the spot share Mr. Simms's grave forebodings about the military consequences of the Brussels demonstrations. But the fact remains that British and Canadian military police were used to keep order in Brussels during the anti-government demonstration. In Britain the reaction of the liberal press was prompt and strong. The *New Statesman and Nation* described the event as "the most disquieting thing that has happened since our armies began the liberation of the country." Previously the London *News Chronicle* had denounced the campaign against the Belgian forces of resistance as being inspired by the Belgian General Overstratten, who long had been reputed an active agent for Nazi Germany and who, as King Leopold's military counselor, had carried out various projects which weakened Belgium's defenses and prepared the way for its capitulation. He, of course, is still at liberty and may be having dinner with Allied generals while the Belgian *maquis* is being disarmed.

In a strongly worded editorial *Pravda* has criticized the Pierlot government and indirectly the protection given it by the Western Allies. This is another sign that agreement among the major powers about policy in Europe is not so perfect as could be desired on the eve of the projected meeting of their heads.

During the last few days the crisis has sharpened to the point of making the continuance of the Pierlot government almost unthinkable. Belgian blood has been shed for the first time since the Germans left the country. Six persons were killed and many more wounded by the police in the course of a street demonstration on November 25. The demonstrators, a great majority of whom belonged to the movement of resistance, changed the cry "Down with Pierlot!" to "Pierlot, murderer!" Fernand Demany, leader of the resistance forces, declared, "There can be no compromise. Until yesterday it was a misunderstanding. Now it is a drama—a brute struggle." It is a shame that men and women who for four years have been fighting the Germans should be handled so ruthlessly by a government of exiles out of touch and out of sympathy with the spirit of the country. After all, what the Belgian people want is to destroy fascism and prevent a return to the conditions of 1939. Should the Allies continue to encourage and protect Pierlot in his fight against the resistance movement, the worst fears about the counter-revolutionary tendencies of American and British policy in Europe would be confirmed.

Stuart Chase's article "Will It Be Peace?" the first of three selections from his forthcoming book "Democracy Under Pressure," will appear in *The Nation* of December 9.

A New Popular Front?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

Chicago, November 25

EVERYBODY who reads the papers knows what happened at the C. I. O. conventon here this week. Sidney Hillman was welcomed with a demonstration that outlasted and out-roared any ovation given the President during the campaign, and the Political Action Committee by unanimous vote was continued. The convention, delegates told me today, had the air of a victory celebration. Labor has learned that it is a political force—a force strong enough to change, in a single election, the balance of power in Congress. Perhaps the C. I. O.-P. A. C. elected the President; it certainly defeated a number of Senators and Congressmen who would have made the President's fight for a decent international program even more difficult than it will be in any case. But the delegates had no illusion that the struggle was behind them, that they could sit back and let the President do the rest. While strenuously repudiating the idea of a third party or any intention to "take over" the Democratic Party, they are organizing for action over a broad field. Their platform can be abbreviated to a demand for victory, a lasting peace, social security, an end to race or religious discrimination, and 60,000,000 jobs. But those items call for a bit of filling in; and the C. I. O. will have its work cut out turning its program into legislation. It will need help in that job—the help of every progressive group in the country. And that brings me to the point of this article.

Today a meeting was held to decide the future of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, offshoot of the C. I. O.-P. A. C., organized to rally non-labor progressives and independent voters behind the Roosevelt ticket. It was started strictly as a campaign affair, and in the normal course of political events it would have gone out of business on November 8. But word came from other sections of the country, from branches of the Citizens P. A. C. and from independent committees cooperating with it, that these groups had no intention of quitting. I don't think the C. I. O. leaders had ever reckoned on quite such lusty offspring: they didn't know when the N. C.-P. A. C. came into being that they were starting a progressive movement outside their own ranks.

The executive committee of the N. C.-P. A. C. voted today to continue its existence. It also decided to try to form some sort of alliance with other organized groups. The idea is to get in touch with the more important independent committees and with some "like-minded individuals" and, if they agree, together call a conference to see whether an association or a federation or at least a plan for common action on a few concrete objectives can be launched. Not a very ambitious scheme. Not the sort of organized progressive force I'd like to see created in America. But a start—or an attempt at a start.

There are good reasons for making the beginning tentative and modest. In the first place the N. C.-P. A. C. is itself a small organization that owed its life to and drew its inspiration from the C. I. O.-P. A. C. In some places it was vigorous and effective; in others little more than a name. It raised a good deal of money—well over $350,000—and used it well. But all in all it was not a big show on its own account, and this is no discredit to the men and women who built it up. For they were well aware that its real role was to serve as the non-labor arm of the C. I. O.-P. A. C. That the Citizens P. A. C. developed none the less a vitality and will to survive is a tribute both to its own spirit and to the militant enthusiasm generated by the great rank-and-file movement of which it was an offspring.

But other excellent progressive and independent committees sprang up around the country during the campaign. Some worked directly with the P. A. C. Some were on their own. Most of them developed a strong sense of worth and identity. They intended to continue in existence and apparently they are not ready to merge in a single organization—neither in the N. C.-P. A. C. nor in any newly created over-all association.

This, at least, was the consensus of opinion expressed at Chicago today by people coming from many parts of the country. They all reported an unprecedented bubbling up of progressive feeling, a record of effective action, a determination to go on, a belief that now is the time to "do something"—to harness the momentum of the campaign to a plan for continued political action—but with it all a general hesitation to attempt to create an inclusive national organization.

This hesitation is natural and due to a variety of reasons. One of them is based on the very structure of our political system. As things stand, progressive action in the country has to be organized largely outside the parties—and applied to them. The resistance of the C. I. O. leaders to any talk of a "third party" is founded on a lot of unhappy history. But the absence of a progressive party makes the job of organizing independent progressive sentiment on any permanent basis an extremely difficult one. You can create committees to put Mr. Roosevelt into office or throw Representative Fish out, but to hold such groups together for a long-haul effort is a different matter. The C. I. O.-P. A. C., I believe, will succeed just because it can set up an organization as tight and laboriously constructed from bottom to top as a political party; its solid union basis gives it the necessary coherence and mass strength. Can a group of independent committees and other organizations with no tie except their common support of the President and no mass base anywhere achieve effective union? It is easy to see why even the enthusiastic progressives gathered here today approached the task with diffidence.

Another reason for hesitation is the lack of any common program with which to bind such an alliance. We can assume the groups organized to put Mr. Roosevelt in office could agree on a few basic objectives. Undoubtedly they want the United States to join some sort of world security organization. And one can assume they accept the need of a measure of government intervention to prevent economic collapse and millions unemployed after the war. This is a good beginning, but what does it mean in terms of program—and specific legislation? Could you line those independent committees up behind the Kilgore bill or the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill? Would they even agree on the attitude to take toward the Dumbarton Oaks plan? Without a program, a union of forces is meaningless—between elections.

These are two of the dubious elements in the prospect of progressive political action. A third really underlies both. Independent liberals in America have no tradition or habit of working together. The best of them are critics, not political fighters. Or if they fight, they usually choose a very narrow salient and go after a limited objective—one small isolated reform—leaving the field as a whole to the professional politicians who, also by tradition, are only occasionally liberals. To learn to act together is our chief need; perhaps we can do so in the face of the world's greatest political crisis. But our ability is still to be proved.

One of the finest and most hopeful things about today's meeting was the attitude of the C. I. O. representatives on the N. C.-P. A. C.'s executive. They strongly approved the decision to continue the organization, they realize fully the value of political action outside the ranks of labor, and they showed no inclination whatever to try to keep the N. C.-P. A. C. under C. I. O. control. On the contrary, without exception they backed the idea of establishing contact with other progressive groups, while promising, at the same time, the continued cooperation of the C. I. O. I emphasize this fact because a good many liberals outside the P. A. C. have proclaimed that the C. I. O. group would either dominate or lose interest in any non-labor organization associated with it. The exact opposite was the attitude in evidence today. I cannot report in detail proceedings that were closed to the press, but I can at least set down my conviction that no one in this country would be happier than Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray to see an independent progressive political movement develop alongside the C. I. O.-P. A. C.

I must add, however, that I left the meeting today somewhat chastened. I have seen the rise and collapse of a good many hopeful political efforts, and I appreciate the need for caution and a realistic appraisal of chances. But I feel so acutely the need of a popular front in America—a solid union of progressive forces—that I fear an overemphasis on obstacles. A person who rushes ahead without looking is likely to fall on his face. But it is also true that timidity often creates difficulties instead of leading one around them. Confidence and enthusiasm might do more to draw American progressives together than a too tender concern over probable differences.

What I would like to see grow out of a conference of progressive leaders is a federation of existing groups—if nothing more substantial is possible—headed by a man of the stature of Henry Wallace. I would like to have this body adopt a very simple but concrete program of action in domestic and foreign affairs. I would like to see plans made for building, on the basis of the federated groups, a national movement able to take concerted action on specific measures and in support of progressive candidates for office. I would like to see this body enter into a close working alliance with the C. I. O.-P. A. C. and with any other bodies that are effectively organized.

Such a federation would, I believe, provide an answer to the desires of millions of Americans who today have no political home. It might well change the future of the country. We may have to settle for less, but we should try hard to achieve at least this. The chance may not come again for a long time.

Washington Notes

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 24

NOW that pressure from Washington seems to have succeeded in prying loose a few of the reactionaries around Chiang Kai-shek, it would be nice if there were pressure from Chungking to help us get rid of a few of the reactionaries around Franklin D. Roosevelt.

AMONG THE MEN an effective and democratic American war effort could very well do without are Admiral Leahy and James F. Byrnes and Jesse Jones and Will Clayton and Leo T. Crowley. They have about as much conception of how to wage a people's war as the worst of the Kuomintang crowd around Chiang. Two of them, Byrnes and Crowley, were reported ready to resign recently, but it was announced that the President had prevailed on both to serve until the defeat of Germany. The appalling whisper around town is that when Byrnes resigns he will succeed Harlan F. Stone as Chief Justice and that Crowley will be replaced as Foreign Economic Administrator by Will Clayton. If the former is true, Mr. Roosevelt will have the distinction of giving us a new Chief Justice somewhat to the right of William Howard Taft and considerably less progressive than Charles Evans Hughes. Clayton would be worse than Crowley as head of the FEA since he is a shrewd and highly intelligent rightist while Crowley, in a post requiring wide knowledge and broad horizons, is one of the dumbest men ever to hold an important position in Washington.

I notice that John H. Crider, one of the able correspondents of the New York *Times* in Washington, has been taken in by Crowley. Crider reported that Crowley wanted to resign so he could "return to his $50,000-a-year post as chairman of the board of Standard Gas and Electric, which he left last year when he went to the FEA." If Crider will look at the proxy statement filed by Standard Gas recently with the Securities and Exchange Commission, he will see that Crowley is still chairman of the board of Standard Gas and still draws, not $50,000, but $75,000 a year from that job while serving as head of the FEA and (at $10,000 a year) as chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Standard Gas has been engaged in putting a reorganization plan through the SEC while its chairman of the board has occupied a high position in the government. This seems to me highly improper, but dollar-a-yearism has apparently become the accepted thing here. Actually Crowley is not a dollar-a-year man, a business man "drafted" to help out in the war effort, but a Wisconsin political hack whose only visible qualification for a big business job at the head of Standard Gas was his political influence as a New Dealer.

NOT ALL IS SAD and gloomy here, not by a long shot. Progressives have won a clear victory in the defeat of the original Jones-Clayton-Byrnes-Baruch slate for the new Surplus Property Board. The President had intended to name Jones's right-hand man, Sam H. Husbands; Clayton's executive assistant, Colonel Joesph P. Woodlock; and a Los Angeles corporation lawyer, James Shepherd. Thanks to vigorous protests from Senators Murray and Kilgore, Senator Barkley's firm warning to the President that these men could not be confirmed, and behind-the scenes protests by Philip Murray of the C. I. O. and James Patton of the National Farmers' Union, all three nominations have been discarded. The President will nominate Senator Gillette of Iowa as chairman and has already nominated former Governor Robert Hurley of Connecticut and Lieutenant Colonel Edward Heller of San Francisco as the other two members of the new board. These appointments, though unspectacular and political, are a big improvement over a Jones-Clayton board. Senator Gillette learned a great deal about monopoly and showed much courage in dealing with it in the course of the Gillette committee investigation into the utilization of farm products in the war effort. Hurley is an engineer and small business man. Heller is an intelligent liberal, a member of a social-minded, wealthy family on the West Coast. Most progressives here are hopeful that they will do as a good job.

ANOTHER PROGRESSIVE victory this week was the defeat in the Senate, by forty-two votes to twenty-seven, of the Bailey amendment to the Rivers and Harbors bill. The bill, as reported to the Senate, contained a provision authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to construct and acquire transmission lines for the sale of power generated at new flood-control dam projects. The amendment by Senator Bailey of North Carolina, the friend of almost every monopolistic lobby in the capital, would have provided for sale of power "at the point of production"—as advocated by Governor Bricker in the late campaign. The Secretary of the Interior could have built transmission lines only if private power companies after three years had failed to buy up at least 90 per cent of the power generated. "The effect," as Senator Aiken of Vermont told the Senate, "would be to turn over the public power of the United States, all power generated at public dams, to private utility companies, and if they did not want it at the end of three years, then the proper authority would have a chance to sell it to the public." Aiken pointed out that under the terms of the bill the only possible customer for St. Lawrence power would be the Niagara-Hudson Power Company.

The debate on the Rivers and Harbors bill in the Senate on November 21, 22, and 24 makes good reading. I wish the majority of the members of that body were as well informed on other economic problems as they are on power. The debate concerned not only the Bailey amendment but the effort, focusing on the Missouri valley, to prevent the establishment of new regional authorities modeled on the TVA. I hope to write of that in an early letter. It is a pleasure to record the able and enlightened leadership provided by Senator Barkley of Kentucky in the fight against the Bailey amendment. Bailey thumped lustily for "private enterprise" in an effort to save his amendment and drew an eloquent rejoinder from Barkley. "Our rivers," the Senate Democratic leader said, ". . . were not made by any corporation. They were not made by any private enterprise, free or otherwise." They constitute, he said, "a part of the great body of natural resources which belong to the American people, and they ought to be developed for the benefit of the American people." Senator Barkley said that while he favored free enterprise he was "not in favor of making it so free that it will be free to do nothing, or free to do anything it may see fit to do in order to carry out its own program." When this point of view begins to extend beyond water-power, we shall make progress.

A GOOD grass-roots task for the P. A. C. would be a well-organized drive of public education looking toward revision of state unemployment-compensation laws during the 1945 legislative sessions. The Senate's George committee and the House Colmer committee, both right wing, recommended state action to improve unemployment compensation as a means of heading off federal legislation, and the "States' Righters" ought to be put on the spot when the state legislatures meet. A mousy little report put out here by the Social Security Board on "Unemployment Compensation in the Reconversion Period: Recommendations for Improvement of State Unemployment Compensation Legislation in the 1945 State Legislative Sessions" is worth reading. Although we now have a working force, exclusive of the armed forces, of 55,000,000, less than 31,000,000 were covered by jobless insurance as of September, 1943. Allowances are so low that the bottom will fall out of the market if we have to depend upon them to maintain purchasing power during reconversion. In the sixteen states with average weekly wages above $40, only one grants a maximum benefit of as much as $22 and three allow a maximum—maximum, not minimum—benefit of $15. "The maximum weekly benefit," the Social Security Board suggests meekly, "might well be raised to $25."

ALL THAT I hear from men in touch with the facts of business indicates a sharp increase in labor productivity. Little that I hear here indicates that the men in and out around the White House really grasp the gigantic dimensions of the problem we face after the war in making this a blessing instead of a curse. Only among the lesser New Dealers is there comprehension of the need for new measures and new thinking if we are to raise living standards sufficiently to achieve full employment. War prosperity and the war alliance among the Big Three tend to hide the danger that American big business will be drawn toward the classic solutions for "overproduction"—an intensified imperialist struggle for foreign markets and war, the former with the British, the latter with the Russians. That is the undertow the progressive movement will have to fight after V-Day.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

GENERAL EISENHOWER has now expressed his own belief that the Germans will stand and fight west of the Rhine. He likewise expressed his hope that they will do this, and underscored what cannot be emphasized too often: the fundamental Allied aim is the destruction of Germany's armed power, not the taking of territory. If the Germans will stay west of the Rhine for the duration of this decisive battle, all the better for us, even though the immediate prospect is as grim as General Eisenhower declares it to be: "The German has to be hit with everything we've got and finally the breaking point will come. At present we are keeping up the pressure at maximum strength along the entire front. . . . To get peace we have to fight like hell."

Allied soldiers are indeed fighting like hell, and so is the enemy. What may turn out to be the battle for Germany itself is now raging on the western fringes of the Cologne plain, between Aachen and the Rhine, on a front of only about forty miles. It was apparent very early in the present offensive that this was to be the scene of the Allies' most highly concentrated effort and the enemy's most determined defense —a conclusion soon justified by the announcement that the United States Ninth Army and elements of the United States First and British Second armies were fighting here, and by the subsequent announcement that the enemy had counterposed six armored divisions and six infantry divisions to this thrust.

This is no accident—the Cologne plain was not simply chosen by mutual agreement as a convenient battlefield. Behind the fighting zone lies the Ruhr, that iron heart of Germany from which flows the bulk of the warrior nation's sinews of war. One of the last acts of the now defunct British Ministry of Economic Warfare was the issuing of a detailed report which showed that loss of the Ruhr would cut Germany's basic war potential in half—from 9,000,000 tons of pig iron and 14,000,000 tons of crude steel annually to 5,000,000 tons of pig iron and 7,000,000 tons of crude steel. In addition, the Ruhr has been producing a good part of Germany's coal, and the district's population of 3,250,000 includes a high proportion of the nation's skilled workers, as Jack Tait pointed out in a dispatch to the New York *Herald Tribune* last week. Moreover, north and east of Cologne lie the flat Westphalian plains, with easy going eastward to Berlin.

It is not wonderful, then, that the big battle is being fought west of Cologne. Nor is it wonderful that the battle is perhaps the most bitter ever waged in Western Europe. Rain, snow, and sleet; mines and booby traps by the thousand; barrage and counter-barrage; tank sallies and anti-tank fire; bayonet fighting in the forests and house-to-house fighting in the villages—that is the story told by front dispatches. "Let's get to hell out of these woods, men. We're going to do it today or die in the attempt," said a battalion commander of the American infantry which finally drove out of the Hurtgen Forest last week-end after a ten-day battle in which gains were measured by trees, not by yards. Many died, but the rest got out of the woods.

One of the more disquieting aspects of this truly epochal battle has been the enemy's apparently successful use of the new sixty-seven-ton King Tiger tank. Even the high-velocity armor-piercing shells of the seventy-five-millimeter guns mounted in American Sherman tanks bounce off the seven-inch front armor of this latest German Pz. Kw., and the enemy's tank counter-attacks have been stopped largely by the daring employment of United States tank-destroyers operating well to the fore—presumably at a high cost. Even in the final phases of the war the Allies thus continue to find themselves outstripped by the enemy's technical development in a most important branch of ground battle.

However, no late technical advances can alter the German fate, or long delay its consummation. Tank losses and heavy attrition of Allied man-power are bitter to contemplate, but in such fighting the Germans must give way long before we even approach the point of exhaustion. General Eisenhower has still not committed his strategic reserve as this is written (Sunday); when he does, that should shift the balance sharply. The enemy has concentrated most of his strength against the United States First and Ninth armies, and the greater part of the British Second Army has not yet been actively engaged. Thus a blow from Venlo across the base of the Germans' Roermond salient would seem a possibility, with the British and elements of the First Canadian Army attacking together. On the front immediately east of Aachen any signs of weakening in the enemy's line should produce a similar concentrated blow from the available American reserves; and then important results can be expected.

The enemy still has strength and resources for local counter-attacks, as was shown by the drive farther south to cut the Saverne corridor through which French and American troops advanced to Strasbourg. But these counter-attacks cannot be decisive and can be delivered only in dire need—as was certainly the case here, with all the Germans in the Vosges on the point of encirclement by Allied columns moving toward a juncture in the Rhine valley behind them. This dual envelopment in the south, through Strasbourg and Belfort, was a very neat and dashing maneuver, incidentally, and the comparative softness of German resistance only emphasized once more that it is on the Cologne plain that the decisive battle is going forward.

The Sky's the Limit

BY B. T. RICHARDSON

Chicago, November 24

AN ELEMENT of unreality at Chicago has been the failure to regard the International Civil Aviation Conference as truly part of the peace conference. The settlement of international civil-aviation problems cannot be separated from the making of peace, because the issue of future war or peace will rest upon air power and because in these days when the United States is an active leader in consolidating the unity of the Allied and associated nations, its attitude toward problems of the air is the main yardstick of future world collaboration.

One of the lesser but extremely significant battles of the Chicago conference, as it proceeded from crisis to crisis, raged over the relation of the proposed international air administration to the world security organization envisaged in the Dumbarton Oaks document. It served first to reveal the unexpectedly narrow position taken by the United States delegation. Mr. Berle's opening speech cogently argued that rivalry in civil aviation might cause wars, as rivalry in sea transport had done in the past. But the difference between making a polite bow to the problem and defining the precise relation between international civil aviation and the causes of war eluded the conference. A partial draft convention, produced after three weeks of work, left the matter to a two-thirds' majority vote of the world air assembly.

The work of the Chicago conference naturally fell into two divisions. The rules of air navigation and technical practices were advanced with speed. This work will never end, of course, as long as air navigation develops. There was harmony on the scientific front, for everyone hopes to fly better and more safely. But air-transport regulation made little progress beyond the position taken by the American delegation that the United States opposed controls of commercial or political character. Smaller nations were mere spectators of the battle over commercial and political controls. They sat on the sidelines while the fight raged behind the scenes between the United States and Great Britain, between Mr. Berle, leader of the American delegation, and Viscount Swinton, leader of the British delegation, with H. J. Symington, acting leader of the Canadian delegation, serving as third-party conciliator. These three countries brought detailed proposals with them. On the crucial issue of empowering a referee to regulate air services between nations they were still unreconciled at this writing, and no prospect existed of resolving the deadlock.

The disagreement was intensified by a conflict of personalities. Each was cold and capable—Mr. Berle, the incisive American intellectual, and Lord Swinton, the professional British diplomat; the two were products of differing backgrounds, traditions, and educational systems. Beyond these things lay a great conflict of interests. The American claim, backed by planes and plans and fresh aeronautical skills, to fly air lines everywhere met the British fear that their existing disadvantages would harden into permanent competitive disabilities.

By Thanksgiving Day, the deadline on which hopes of agreement rested in original estimates of the Chicago conference, the delegates had produced only an empty framework, barren of decisive authority, with two important exceptions. One exception was that the structure or machinery of the international air administration had been decided in favor of an assembly in which fourteen voting members and a president would represent the seven leading aviation countries and seven chosen for geographical location. The other exception was an effective system of rate control in which international air-line operators would first fix rates which would be subject to review by the board and to consultation in case of disagreement. The rate clauses represented a genuine achievement, for as Mr. Berle said, they rested upon consent at three levels. They also rested in the ultimate upon a clause by which a rate-cutting operator might be outlawed from world airways. This clause said, "Each member state has the right and undertakes not to allow the operation of international air service through the air space above its territory if it is satisfied that the operator concerned is not conforming to the provisions of the convention or to the decisions reached under it or in consequence of it."

Such a clause would provide effective regulatory power without surrender of sovereignty in other than rate matters, if covered by the convention. Besides rates, the main source of friction on world airways will be the division of traffic and the methods by which the capacity employed by each operator is geared to the traffic offering. These are problems of routes and schedules. To operate empty planes for prestige or for destruction of competition means subsidies in one form or other. So the failure to deal with schedules will leave the convention's declaration against economic waste merely a pious hope. To avoid subsidy wars the draft convention relied solely on publication of particulars of subsidies paid from public funds.

In his opening speech Mr. Berle declared that the United States would support an organization having power only in technical matters, with consultative functions in economic and political questions. Mayor LaGuardia summed up the limits of this position later when he said, "Everybody is against bad weather." The Berle thesis meant that past experience in international transport would be discarded to permit a process of evolution from bilateral rights to multilateral freedoms. The world, he said, was in the stage where traffic is possible only by permissions between nations. This thesis does less than justice to the universal desire for effective international organization, not in aviation alone. Indeed, Mr. Berle's position by implication applied to all fields of international collaboration. The school of thought shared by the United States, he said, "believes that international organization at this time in economic and political fields must be primarily consultative, fact-gathering, and fact-finding." Never has the world had a clearer indication of the limits of American foreign policy.

"A great silence prevails," said Mr. Berle, "when it is asked on what basis shall routes be allocated or traffic divided." That the function of the Chicago conference was to fill in that "great silence" escaped notice. What is the "natural right" of friendly intercourse by air among nations? This was the crux at Chicago. The choice lay between agreeing to wait until the natural right of which Mr. Berle spoke should ripen into an established body of law and seizing the opportunity to define the hopes of many nations and their present willingness to recognize multilaterally the freedoms of the air.

The freedoms of the air are simple matters in principle. No one at Chicago spoke against recognizing the right of innocent passage as a "freedom." No one spoke against the freedom of non-traffic stops in foreign territory. The right to land with one's cargo was a third freedom which everyone was ready to recognize. The fourth freedom, the right to embark one's own traffic, could be recognized without serious dissent. Beyond that, the fifth freedom involves the right of traffic stops between two or more other countries. The sixth freedom, if it should ever come, will be the right to traffic stops within the territory of other countries, that is, the right of cabotage. By universal agreement, no one is prepared to concede the right of cabotage to other countries. So the great battle of the conference raged over the fifth freedom. Without agreement on freedom of the air, said Mr. LaGuardia, "the meat is taken out of the convention. All the rest is sauce."

In asking for the fifth freedom, the right of intermediate traffic stops along an international route, the United States delegation faced immediate demands from the British for adequate safeguards. Shall an American operator flying from New York to Paris compete with British and French traffic between London and Paris by embarking passengers at London on the way over? That was the problem in a nutshell. Until settled, the free choice of the passenger to take any service he wishes, at any point of departure, will not exist.

Coupled with the right of an operator to increase air-service capacity—on which agreement was possible under the Canadian proposal for escalation of services which operated 65 per cent or more of their capacity—the fifth freedom involved the fundamental issue of full competition along international routes. With full reciprocal rights Canada was prepared to recognize the fifth freedom. Without this vital clause written into the convention the nations could fall back only upon bilateral agreements, and no effective multilateral convention could exist.

Whether American insistence on the fifth freedom in full was too hard-boiled needs to be judged in the light of safeguards asked by the British. No word came from the American delegation on special claims of war-devastated countries for a breathing spell in order to remedy their temporary disadvantage, an urgent matter with half a dozen European nations present. No word was uttered of the wartime agreement which concentrated British aircraft capacity in combat types while America made phenomenal progress in transport planes. The American offer of transport planes for an interim period on equal terms contained a proviso as enunciated by Mr. Berle. Planes would be available, he said, for countries "which recognize, as we do, the right of friendly intercourse to others." The right of friendly intercourse, defined to include the fifth freedom, made the price too high for the British and left the conviction with nations needing planes that the United States insisted upon too hard a bargain.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE MOST INTERESTING ACTION of the Vermont legislature, which adjourned last week, is the action which it did not take. The professional politicians, who have always been disgusted that the state was persuaded to adopt the Australian ballot, set out to secure the repeal of the law, and appeared to be quite hopeful of success. Vermont being so terribly one-sided in politics, the professionals there are chiefly Republicans, and their main argument was the claim that the secret ballot "hurt the party." . . . But when it came to the point, the courage of the repealers gave out, and no change was made in the system, for fear of the public sentiment which demands its maintenance.—*December 6, 1894.*

THE CITY'S DELIVERANCE from Tammany was naturally and appropriately the burden of most of the Thanksgiving sermons in this city.—*December 6, 1894.*

MR. HALL CAINE delivered an address at Edinburgh a few days ago on "Moral Responsibility in Fiction." His view of the novelist's function is serious and sober enough, and we have no exceptions to take to it. If anything in his remarks could be considered startling, it would be his description of the novel of the future, which will be, he thinks, a sort of compound of the penny newspaper and the Sermon on the Mount. The new journalism united to the New Testament may possibly be conceived of by an active imagination; but that the resulting mixture could be called a novel . . . is too much for mortal credulity.—*December 6, 1894.*

SENATOR LODGE, in his remarks before the West Side Republican Club last Friday night, declared that "the party of construction, the party of action," has been "recalled to power." He went on to say that what the party of action was going to do was to "give the country a rest," and that what the party of construction was going to construct was—nothing.—*December 20, 1894.*

THE SCENES in the Reichstag over the Socialist disrespect to the Emperor are evidently only the beginning of further trouble. . . . The Germans are just beginning to find out the difficulty, if not impossibility, of basing a feudal monarchy on universal suffrage and parliamentary institutions and a free press.—*December 20, 1894.*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: Horatio Alger, Jr., "Victor Vane, the Young Secretary"; Conan Doyle, "The White Company"; Eugene Field, "Love-Songs of Childhood."

Europe's Road to Peace

BY JAN MASARYK

THE end of the war is like the moment of death. It is an absolute certainty, and yet we do not know when it will happen. I long for a speedy victory. Every day that dawns brings death to hundreds of Jews and Christians in the slaughterhouse of Nazi-occupied Europe. The summary courts set up by the butcher Heydrich are still functioning in Prague and in Brno. There may be few intellectuals and leaders left in my own and other countries if victory is delayed too long. The Nazis are doing their best to make the occupied countries permanently leaderless and destitute. We do not want them to remain in power for a single day longer than can be helped. Yet if the collapse comes suddenly, the statesmen of Europe may be unprepared. We may improvise remedies where we need a plan and a policy. We shall not, I think, be detracting from the final war effort if we give serious thought now to the shape of things to come in Europe and the world. On the contrary, we shall be fulfilling our duty as citizens of the twentieth-century world.

In the last war the mighty German army collapsed in France and Flanders. Not an inch of German soil was taken by the Allies. The German civilian, though weary and undernourished, knew nothing about the actual devastation of war. This time it will be very different. I do not know where the valiant Soviet army will halt, but the war will certainly be carried right into the heart of Germany. The assault on the Westwall has begun. Hitler is to meet his Waterloo in Germany.

We shall soon have the task of clearing the last German soldier and Nazi official out of the countries which have been occupied. It will be a wretched time for the would-be rulers of Europe. They will understand the meaning of hatred and revenge. Blood will flow. My own government has prepared lists of men whom it intends to bring to justice; I emphasize, *justice*. But the trial and punishment of war criminals will not be left—I hope and believe—entirely to the governments of the occupied countries. British, Americans, Frenchmen, and Russians will be fighting at Hitler's Waterloo. We want them to stay on in Germany until the moment is ripe for their departure. We want Berlin—at least for a time—to be just as much an occupied city as were Paris, Warsaw, Brussels, Prague. And we want the trial and punishment of the war criminals to be the joint responsibility of the United Nations.

I do not assert that exacting retribution is the main concern of victorious and occupying armies. It is not. But there must be no saying that the Czechs or the Poles were surreptitiously encouraged to slaughter those who had oppressed them, while the great powers looked on and did nothing. When the victorious Allied armies converge on Berlin, their chiefs must assume the responsibility for taking over, and annihilating, the Nazi empire. They must also distribute food, restore the forced foreign laborer to his country and his family, combat disease, and be ready to impose a temporary order upon a collapsed Germany. I expect to see British, American, Russian, Polish, and Czechoslovak generals installed in Berlin or Potsdam. Only thus can we prevent this second Great War from being succeeded by numerous civil wars raging from one end of Europe to the other.

But this responsibility, I must emphasize, marks only the temporary military phase. It cannot do duty for enlightened statesmanship. It is not peace. It is merely a police precaution. Our plans for the future of the collapsed Nazi empire will provide the real test of our statesmanship and our capacity to promote lasting peace. They must be based on an honest and whole-hearted return to the principle of national self-determination, as far as that is possible in the complicated ethnography of Europe—a return to adapted Wilsonism. (Whatever the faults of the Versailles settlement may have been, it produced the fairest political map of Europe that so far had been devised.) Germany seized its "living space" at the expense of other people and should be allowed to retain nothing which it took after the spring of 1938. Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland—each is an ancient country, deeply conscious of its national identity. We must return to healthy, non-aggressive cultural nationalism, even if we proceed to devise schemes of confederation. In Europe the submergence of a distinct nationality has always led to trouble. To recognize its existence is the way of wisdom.

Drawing by Dolbin

Jan Masaryk

I do not wish to discuss at great length the post-war claims of Czechoslovakia. In 1938 we had no territorial demands of any sort. We rejected Hitler's demands, and we never willingly accepted anything which happened after Munich. With this well-justified attitude the leaders of the United Nations agree. We are preparing ourselves for two major tasks—to restore the well-being of our stricken people, and to reconstitute our foreign policy so that we can again be a nucleus of liberty and democracy in Europe.

Even in war time we can discern the future policy of Europe taking shape. From the first meeting between President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill in the summer of 1941 emerged the Atlantic Charter. At that time the United States was not a belligerent; nor was the cause of China definitely identified with the cause of the Western democracies. The grand alliance known as the United Nations had not been created. The situation is radically different today, and I believe that some day the authors themselves would like to amplify the Atlantic Charter. It was never intended to be the last word in Allied policy. It was a milestone on the road to victory, a very important one.

Equally significant for the future of the Czechoslovak people is the Anglo-Soviet pact, together with the agreement between the two great powers that their alliance shall last for twenty years. May I state the Czechoslovak attitude toward Soviet Russia? Our relations with Russia have always been friendly. Many of my countrymen sincerely believed that Russia would come to their rescue in 1914. My father, who knew Russia intimately, was skeptical. And he was very angry when he discovered that Russian soldiers had been sent to the front by the tens of thousands without arms or equipment, simply to be butchered. None the less, our men deserted daily from the Imperial forces to the Russian army, and my father was with the Czech legionaries in Russia during the Bolshevist revolution. There is no need for me to recall the great story of the legionaries' march across Siberia to Vladivostok; the two years or more they spent in Russia increased the understanding and deepened the sympathy between Russian and Czech. Some of those Czech legionaries—for example, the Minister for War and Commander-in-Chief, General Ingr—are at the head of our armed forces today, and they take particular delight in the fact that Czech soldiers are again fighting at the side of their Russian friends.

We Czechs are democrats; our democratic institutions correspond to those of the British, the Americans, and the French of the Third Republic. We have never disguised the fact that Soviet ideology is different from ours, but we have never been afraid of the difference. We believe that Soviet Russia, unlike Nazi Germany, wants none of our territory, that it has no intention of frustrating our democratic way of life. Soviet Russia's long isolation from the affairs of Europe was a very unfortunate development. Throughout the spring of 1941 my countrymen saw unmistakable signs of German preparations for an invasion of Russia. Czechoslovakia was intended to be the chief arsenal for that war. My countrymen knew their duty. They would commit grave acts of sabotage. They would make the railway communications chaotic. I was not surprised when the embittered Nazis turned upon the Czechs and sent Heydrich to Prague.

There are critics who say that the Czechs are too pro-Russian. I should not myself call pro-Russianism a crime. The courage and intelligence and endurance of the Russians gladden the hearts of all Slavs and destroy forever the boastful racial pretensions of the *Herrenvolk.* But we are not exclusively pro-Russian. We established firm links with the West before the days of Munich. We look to the West again —so eagerly that we would regard the exclusion of France from the affairs of Europe as a blunder no less fatal than was the twenty years' exclusion of Soviet Russia. The Anglo-Soviet pact gives us the right assurance. The Czechs are pro-Anglo-Russian. I need hardly add that they are also pro-United States. A Czechoslovakia in fully harmonious relationship with Britain in the west and Russia in the east would be, indeed, a contented country. It would cease to fear the old enemy who by treachery and violence climbed the Bohemian highlands to make himself the master of Europe.

It is not for me to say whether the Anglo-Soviet pact can be converted into a full alliance between the Russian and English-speaking peoples. No one can say what will be the orientation of British or American policy in ten or fifteen years' time. Moods of isolation will, I daresay, recur in the United States, and moods of aloofness will recur in Britain. The pendulum never quite stops swinging. But twice within a lifetime Americans have become major participants in a European war, and I am convinced that American statesmanship will not make yet another withdrawal from the European arena. In 1919 we built our future on the assumption that the actions of the President of the United States would be indorsed by the Senate and the people. We must not again put all our eggs in one basket—American, British, or Russian. We must also proceed, as it were, to save ourselves by our own efforts.

I am myself an ardent believer in some sort of European confederation. I shall confine my remarks, however, to the project of a Czechoslovak-Polish confederation, because if this is firmly established, it may well lead to the larger association we seek. In November, 1940, the Czechoslovak and Polish governments announced their readiness to discuss tentative schemes for a confederation. They stipulated that the final scheme would have to be indorsed by the legislatures of the two countries, and those two legislatures would, of course, require the confidence of the Czechoslovak and Polish electorates. Our joint declaration had the warm approval of the British government. At the time Britain was the only great power engaged in active warfare against Germany. Today the situation is entirely changed, and it is unthinkable that we should proceed with our plans without fully explaining every step to the Soviet, British, and American governments. These governments would all be vitally affected by our action, which would add a new, and we believe beneficial, element to the European structure. We are not confederating for the purpose of combining against any other power, least of all Russia. Nevertheless, we believe that our confederation could give us military strength and pliancy as well as economic resilience and that it would go far toward making impossible a successful resurgence of German militarism.

We are prepared to confederate, but we will never abate our patriotism. We shall be good Europeans and good Czechs. Often when I have examined some scheme for a post-war settlement in Europe, I have found that its framers underestimated the power of patriotism. People write glibly of public-utility developments throughout the Danubian and Balkan countries. They hint at the transplanting of vast Tennessee Valley schemes. I am sure that the settlement of our problems will be neither so simple nor so ambitious as that. The Czechoslovak people have an internal cohesion which will enable them to make a quick recovery when the war is over. Czechoslovakia will be a great industrial nation again. Yet, when I think of my country, there is always a hard-working peasant in the picture. In its villages—its little Lidices—you see the real strength of Czechoslovakia. That is true of all Central Europe. The Western democracies must not make the mistake of regarding Eastern and Central Europe as a region for colonization and development, where they can do skilfully what was done by the Germans clumsily and with shocking brutality. We ask first and foremost that our people shall live in freedom again, so that they can discuss the affairs of men and the ways of God without any let or hindrance.

The Truth About the Terrorists

BY GEROLD FRANK

Jerusalem, November 19 (by Cable)

THE tragedy of Palestinian terrorism should be seen in its correct proportions. Of Palestine's 600,000 Jews, less than 2,000 are terrorists, but the entire Jewish population now suffers the ignominy of identification with terrorism. It is difficult to convey the depth of bitterness which the recent outrages have aroused here. Jewish leaders point out that the Zionist movement, from its earliest beginnings, has been on a high spiritual and moral plane and that its record of achievement in Palestine has been free of violence. That at this critical hour the movement should be perverted by men whom they describe as suffering from a type of dementia is a tragedy for them. Churchill's blunt statement in Parliament two days ago only underlines that tragedy.

Who are these terrorists? Why is it so difficult to eradicate them? They are divided into two illegal organizations, small but virulent groups fighting for the freedom of Israel —the so-called Stern gang, with 150 active members, and the melodramatic Irgun Zevai Leumi, or National Military Organization, whose active membership plus a fringe of youthful hero-worshipers is set at 1,500 to 1,700. The Stern gang is guilty of a long series of anti-British outrages, culminating in the Moyne murder. To complicate matters, it is alleged that the gang may be backed by sinister non-Jewish elements who are using it to settle anti-British scores of their own.

These two organizations, a bizarre conglomeration of youngsters in their teens and veteran terrorists, combining the technique of Chicago gangsters with the posturings of comic opera, have precipitated a crisis and dealt Zionism a damaging blow. They prey not only on the British but also on the Jewish community, using extortion, blackmail, and kidnaping to swell their treasury. The Zionist leaders are meeting the challenge with every means at their disposal. Chaim Weizmann, who has just arrived in Palestine, is reported to be taking vigorous steps. In the past fortnight a country-wide "speak-up" campaign has been launched. Citizens are asked to come forward and tell what they know of the terrorists and their hide-outs. Organization after organization is calling on its members to do all they can. Every day in Jerusalem one sees Zionist youths pasting up posters denouncing terrorism and ripping down illegal placards.

It must be understood, however, that the terror in Palestine is not an isolated phenomenon. It is symptomatic of a disease which finds its easiest victims among Jews forced to sit idle while their relatives are massacred in Europe and their appeals to let Palestine give them haven go unanswered. It is particularly contagious among a certain type of youth for whom time and diplomacy move too slowly and who consider spectacular action better than the unpublicized constructive labor which occupies the majority of young men in Palestine.

It stems from the activist movement in pre-war Poland, which formed an extremist wing of Zionist revisionism. The revisionists preached that the way to achieve a Jewish state was through political action. That, they asserted, and not the slow process of immigration and colonization depended upon by the Zionist organization, would realize the Zionist ideal. The activists went far beyond the revisionists and called for the use of force. The hunted leaders of the terrorists today—Nathan Friedman-Yellin, the thirty-one-year-old Sternist chief, and Menachim Begin, the thirty-five-year-old head of the I. Z. L.—are both former Polish activists. Both are so convinced that Great Britain will never permit a Jewish majority in Palestine, and that the Jews and Arabs would have reconciled their difficulties long ago if Great Britain had not interfered, that they are believed ready to accept support from virtually any other United Nations power. Beyond this, however, the groups differ sharply in their methods.

The Stern gang is a completely secret terrorist society which takes human life. Its members hide in the large cities under various aliases. No more than two or three are ever found together. It is reported that no member is acquainted with more than nine others. They operate in such successful anonymity that even their parents are frequently unaware of their activities. Many of the Sternists have been arrested before, and many are here illegally: they have the desperation of men with nothing to lose. Perhaps 8 per cent of them are Palestinian-born; the majority are Polish Jews under thirty. The gang takes its name from Abraham Ben Mordechai Stern, an Italian-educated Polish Jew and one-time schoolteacher who had a Messianic complex, wrote lyric poetry, and was impressed by Mussolini. In 1937 Stern organized a group of activists in Poland. When the war broke out, these men became part of the Polish army. They were later among the Polish troops captured by the Russians, who released them in 1941 to make their way to Europe via Palestine. In Palestine the Sternists promptly deserted. Stern and two of his followers were killed in Tel Aviv in 1942 by the British police while attempting to escape from prison. The Sternists charge that they were deliberately murdered and since that time have carried on a perpetual vendetta against the police.

The present leader, Friedman-Yellin, is square-faced, blue-eyed, bespectacled—and one of the most elusive men in Palestine. He has been arrested half a dozen times under various aliases and has a price on his head. At one time he was editor of *Der Tat*, a Polish activist publication; today the members of his organization are pouring out a flood of propaganda calling on the Jewish youth to "revolt." Their pamphlets find their way under the doors of many innocent householders. After each outrage they publish a leaflet justifying their action. "The Assassination of Moyne," the latest of these leaflets, announces that "two of our brave fighters for freedom were carefully selected from volunteers for an especially dangerous mission. They successfully achieved their objective and liquidated an important and vital member of the enemy forces, Lord Moyne. Our brave raiders have been captured in the course of duty."

One understands why, despite concerted appeals to speak up, the man in the street may be reluctant. It is no healthier for the Tel Aviv merchant who has been forced under threat of bodily harm to pay an "assessment" to the terrorists to "talk" than it was for a New York merchant who paid tribute to Dutch Schultz. And if anyone knows of a Sternist hideout, it takes courage to report it. Moreover, citizens point out that in 1942, with the help of the Jewish community, fifty leading Sternists were rounded up and imprisoned but that during the last year or two twenty-five of the most important have managed to break out. There is reason to be genuinely fearful of future reprisals.

Whereas the Sternists' chief weapon is murder, the I. Z. L. tries to destroy the machinery and institutions of the government—post offices, public buildings, police stations, and the like. But if its members encounter resistance, they too shoot to kill. They protest strenuously against being called terrorists. They are the Jewish *maquis,* they insist hotly, and they want recognition as the official military Jewish underground in a country occupied by the "enemy," that is, Great Britain. They actually formally declared war against the British administration earlier this year, and their "communiqués" are couched in approved military terminology. They wear armbands and lapel insignia so that if caught placing their alarm-clock bombs they can claim they are wearing a uniform and are therefore entitled to be treated as prisoners of war. One might be inclined to laugh them off if they did not destroy property and take human life.

Menachim Begin, the I. Z. L. leader, is a thin, pale, ex-law student from the Warsaw University. He is technically still a private in the Polish army. He worked as a clerk in the office of the Polish mayor of Jerusalem until May, 1944, when he was given a year's leave of absence to carry out a special assignment. In Poland Begin was active in "Betar," the revisionist youth movement, and also in "Brith Hahayal," a revisionist body of former Jewish soldiers who trained under Polish officers. It was revealed recently that during the period 1936 to 1939 the military training of these Polish Jews included training in terrorism and sabotage.

Whether the "speak-up" campaign will be successful remains to be seen. Within the past few weeks two hundred suspected terrorists have been arrested. According to reports, most of the information leading to their arrest came from Jewish sources. At the moment the assassination of Lord Moyne has brought home to the Jewish community the fearful lengths to which the terrorists are prepared to go, and the temper of the public is rising swiftly. Moshe Shertok, chief of the political section of the Jewish Agency, has declared that "anti-British terrorism is the greatest danger ever faced by Zionism from within. It distorts our struggle and it threatens to destroy the very basis of our claim." Apart from the terrible moral issue involved, Jewish leaders ask how men who pretend to be serving the interests of the Jewish people now, when half of Europe's Jews have been massacred and Palestine offers the only hope of escape for the others can be willing deliberately to destroy that hope by undermining the confidence of the democracies in their great effort of national reconstruction. They regard it as nothing less than high treason.

In the Wind

THE Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade pass on this quotation from the magazine *Sales Management:* "Dr. John Dollard is the author of a valuable and interesting pamphlet called 'Fear in Battle,' which gives the findings of a survey made among 300 survivors of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. While it deals only with the causes and cures of fear in battle, any alert sales-training executive will find many helpful hints on how to train new salesmen."

A REPORT FROM the Spanish frontier says many veterans of Franco's Blue Division, which was sent to Russia to help the Germans, are now in concentration camps in Spain, accused of spreading Communist propaganda.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL of the Churches of Christ in America announces the results of its 1943 survey of church membership, the first since 1926. The number of churches has increased 7.6 per cent since the last survey, the number of Sunday schools 15.6 per cent, and the number of their students 8.3 per cent. But the largest increase—21.7 per cent—was in the number of denominations.

A LETTER to the *Catholic Worker* reports a rumor that Hollywood is making a movie about the good works of American nuns, and warns against it: "Lest we again spend our enthusiasm and our money too readily and rashly and be caught again by Hollywood, we should try to perceive the dangerous hook of naturalism which is so subtly concealed within the attractive bait of religious entertainment." The letter is signed, "A Priest Who Saw 'Going My Way.' "

THERE IS less than one public-library book per capita in the United States, according to the American Library Association. The figure for the country as a whole is .87 per capita; New Hampshire has 3.58, the highest for any state; Mississippi has .15, the lowest.

FESTUNG EUROPA: All rail connections between eastern and western Slovakia having been cut by the partisans, the Minister of Transportation announces that postal service has been discontinued for "technical reasons." . . . The neutral Swedish radio is a major source of news in Denmark. It is considered discourteous to telephone people during its broadcasts. . . . A common sight in Holland these days is a procession of German officers retreating before the Allies in anything that will roll, including automobiles drawn by horses. They are usually accompanied by a Gestapo detachment threatening to shoot anyone who laughs.

[The prize for the best item received in November goes to F. Steegmuller of New York, who contributed the story of Dewey's choice of a hotel in the issue of November 25. This is the last of the monthly prizes. Henceforth The Nation *will pay $1 for each item used in this column.]*

A Tear for Jose Davilla

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

FOR some fifteen years several thousand Mexicans from San Antonio have trekked north to work in the sugar-beet fields and orchards of Michigan. When the work is done, the long procession of rattletrap jalopies makes its way back to Texas. Mexican workers have been a great boon to Michigan agriculture; yet at the end of the season they have, on occasion, been escorted out of the state by highway patrolmen or given a gentle but firm push by welfare workers along with a meager food supply and a few dollars toward the expense of the return trip. And almost every season has produced a "Mexican incident" of some sort, as, for example, the strike of Mexican beet workers in the Blissfield area a few years ago.

One of this season's "incidents," which occurred in Hart, Michigan, promises to become as notorious as the Blissfield strike. While working with his family in the cherry orchards of Oceana County, José Davilla, nineteen years of age, got to know Maxine English. They worked together, and on one occasion Davilla escorted the girl home from the county fair. A few days later, as a prank, he took the girl's glasses away from her. Sheriff Marland H. Littiebrant heard of this affront to white womanhood and set out to look for Davilla. He found him on the main street of Hart, just across from the county courthouse, and there, without a warrant, attempted to arrest him. The two fought in the street for more than half an hour. When the sheriff had failed to subdue the boy even with the aid of an eight-inch blackjack, he shot and killed him.

The Hart affair is altogether typical. In the course of their long seasonal junket Mexicans are forever being arrested. Seldom are their offenses serious. But highway patrolmen and local law-enforcement officials are quick to arrest Mexicans and never hesitate to use force. The news in the Davilla case is that Davilla resisted arrest and that the incident provoked local protest.

For no sooner had Davilla been killed than Swift Lathers, editor of the *Mears Newz,* "the world's smallest newspaper," came out with an editorial in which he denounced the killing as "murder." With equal promptness, the sheriff swore out a complaint charging Mr. Lathers with criminal libel. But Mr. Lathers is not a man to be easily intimidated. His arrest brought forth no apologies or disclaimers or retractions; on the contrary, he proceeded to write a series of editorials not only denouncing this particular high-handed action but calling attention to the many abuses from which migrant Mexican field workers have long suffered in Michigan.

Some of these editorials merit a wider audience. "Do I stand alone facing the sullen crowd?" he asks in a recent blast. "I have stood there before. I am that way. I would rather stand up against the whole world to defend the under-dog than sit on the plush chairs of the aggressors. I know that somewhere there is a tear for José Davilla. Short days ago he worked and sang among us, felt dawn and saw sunsets glow. A few more days and his lingering countrymen will go back to the border. But that pool of blood on the sidewalk of Hart will not wash away."

When a metropolitan newspaper leads a fight against municipal corruption or launches a campaign against the Klan, it stands a good chance of increasing its circulation and even of capturing a Pulitzer prize. But when the editor of the "world's smallest newspaper" takes on the sheriff of the county, offends the *mores* of the community by defending Mexican field workers, and gets himself arrested in the process, the chances of notice or reward are rather remote—about as remote as Hart, Michigan, from New York. We hear much criticism of the rural press for its backward and reactionary tone, but we seldom hear of the rural editors who occasionally speak out for truth and justice. The editor of the *Mears Newz,* who sports a vivid green shirt and a flamboyant red necktie, deserves national recognition for his courageous stand in this case. The Detroit *Free Press,* to its credit, has assigned a special staff writer to cover the Lathers trial.

The Mexican workers have long since departed for San Antonio, carrying with them, as a rather grim reminder of Sheriff Littiebrant's notion of the Good Neighbor policy, the body of José Davilla. But at least they know that one rural editor in Michigan, at the risk of his own liberty, has spoken out in their defense.

The Angels

BY ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Angels within the plague-infected city
Confront the sickly population's gaze
With neither arrogance nor too much pity;
Continue on their ways

Untroubled by the intrigues of infection
Whose barricades are built in every square,
Whose barb-wire tangles every intersection;
They pass through these like air.

Their only armor is their own completeness:
They carry no archaic sword or shield;
Their mirth is music of compelling sweetness;
Their presence light revealed.

However black the alleys of suspicion,
However thick and pestilent the air,
They go, unscathed, unscathing, on their mission;
They heal by being there.

For they are Being's perfect revelation,
Whose very essence is Becomingness;
Intense existence, pure illumination;
They more than heal, they bless.

So, when they reach the city's edge and harbor,
And walk, across the water, out of sight,
The silence, offering music to the darkness,
Receives her gift of light.

Leadership in Europe

NO MATTER how long the last stage of the war drags out, the political and economic problems which Europe will face, and which the United States will face in Europe, after the collapse of Hitler's Germany are already clear. If there are still Americans who find it hard to understand them, it is because Europe has undergone a very deep change, which makes it a different continent from the one that emerged from the First World War.

To begin with, the power constellations are not the same as they were in 1918. Then there were four great powers in continental Europe: two victorious—France and Italy; one defeated—the Kaiser's Germany; and a fourth—the Soviet Union. There was still room for a policy based on the classical conception of balance of power; and for a while England was able to exercise a strong influence on political events in Europe without becoming directly involved. We saw a good deal of that technique in Geneva.

In 1945 the situation will be different. At the end of this war there will be only one real world power on the Continent—the Soviet Union. True, France will have fully recovered the status of a great power; its well-deserved admission to the deliberations of the European Advisory Commission was a long step in that direction. But in comparison with Russia, France will not be a world power. Italy, at best, will be only a "medium" power. There will be, further, a defeated and occupied Germany, which at first must be counted out as a political factor. And there will be a number of smaller powers.

If England and behind England the United States intend to play a decisive role in Europe, they no longer can do so by practicing balance-of-power politics. In fact, without England a balance of power does not exist. For the first time in centuries, when European problems arise, England will be obliged to throw its own weight into the scales.

England knows that, and the last conference between Stalin and Churchill shows clearly in what direction English policy in Europe, as determined by the Tories, is tending. England wants to agree with Russia upon a European policy which would leave the Mediterranean countries—first of all Greece, and to a certain extent Yugoslavia—within its sphere of influence, while the Soviet Union would be the dominant factor in the states lying between it and Germany. Further, England would like to see its influence strengthened in France, Belgium, and Holland, according to the ideas once formulated by Field Marshal Smuts.

So far so good: Russia the deciding power in Eastern Europe, England in the West. But the division doesn't quite come out even. The basic question is not answered—what about Germany? The only point on which agreement seems to have been reached is that during the occupation Germany shall be divided into three zones, of which Russia shall occupy the east—in general, the unbombed areas—and the Anglo-Saxon powers the North Sea harbors, the west, and the south. It is not known whether any kind of common policy has been designed for the multiple problems which must arise from the occupation of so vast a country. It is just there, in the handling of these problems, that England, or the Anglo-Saxon powers together, will encounter the test of their European policy.

Some people talk of Russia as an enigma. But in one respect at least we know just what kind of policy the Soviet Union will pursue in the part of Germany it occupies, as well as in the other countries which fall under its influence. Russia will seek to harness the productive forces of these regions to its gigantic reconstruction effort, to the rebuilding of its devastated areas and the restoration of its productive capacity.

The Russians have already, in the midst of war, begun the reconstruction of their economy. Pierre Cot told in these columns of the enthusiasm with which the people tackled the rebuilding of their cities as soon as the Germans had evacuated them. The Soviet government has been the first to take the initiative; elaborate plans for the reconstruction of the country have been worked out, even while the struggle on the front continues. To realize those plans, the Russians will make use of all the industrial resources of Germany that come under their administration. Opinions may differ about Russia's political aims in Europe, but no one can seriously question its economic intentions. In the part of Germany administered by the Soviet government and in the countries along the border there will be few unemployed; factories and machines will be busy. The standard of living may not be high, but no one will have to worry about unemployment insurance. Bread and security will be provided.

People in the Anglo-Saxon countries are gradually coming to recognize that fact. In discussing, for example, the problem of German reparations, British and American writers have stressed the differences between Russia's position and that of the Western democracies. For countries operating under private capitalism, the exaction of reparations will only increase their own economic difficulties. Russia, on the contrary, with its planned economy, will be able to accept reparations in any amount, whether in the form of raw materials, machinery, or German labor. And not only will Russia be in a position to make good use of reparations, it will also benefit from full production in Germany and the border states. In the process of carrying out its program of post-war reconstruction Russia will help the states within its orbit to develop their economies and build up their industries.

What can be expected from the Anglo-Saxon countries in this respect? It would be better not to put that question to the Italians just now! And if unemployment and hunger in Italy are mounting at incredible speed, the prospect of industrial production in France and Belgium is none too bright. For Germany there is not one plan but many. Indeed, throughout Europe, to the extent that it comes under English, or Anglo-Saxon, influence, the complete absence of planning threatens unemployment for millions.

Even observers who are not Socialists agree that Europe must move toward a Socialist economy during the coming years. Europe has been bled white by the war. It has no reserves to speak of. The rebuilding of Western and Central Europe requires a thoroughly worked-out general plan to integrate its economy and use as efficiently as possible its remaining resources. The problem is one which will doubtless be difficult for most Americans to understand, especially now, when the United States is tending in exactly the opposite direction—away from a war economy, away from bureaucracy, away from too many government controls. But America is enormously rich. If it undergoes dislocations after the war, it can change its economic policies, suffer the consequences, and gradually recoup. In Europe the situation is different. If experiments are tried there and they fail, the result will be misery, hunger, and general chaos.

Moreover, Western and Eastern Europe are no longer barred from each other. What happens in one part of Europe will have an immediate effect on the other part. Even less within occupied Germany can the regions controlled by the Russians and those occupied by the Western powers be segregated from each other as if behind a Chinese wall. The Anglo-Saxon powers must understand that a day will come when idleness and hunger resulting from their inability to apply over-all economic plans to the territories they occupy will be bitterly resented—particularly if in a neighboring area the people are working and eating.

What the Russians have to offer is clear: steady employment and, in addition, the probability that the standard of living will be raised, even if slowly. What the Anglo-Saxons should offer, in addition to these benefits, is personal freedom and democratic guaranties. If they are not in a position to offer food and employment, if the economic collapse which is a fact in Italy today also occurs in Western Europe and later in Germany, what then? Luigi Antonini, who cannot be suspected of partiality to the Communists, analyzed the Italian situation in the New York *Times* of October 5. "Emphasizing the explosive political and social potentialities of the situation, Mr. Antonini reported that the Communists, under Palmiro Togliatti, Minister without Portfolio, were pursuing a policy of waiting, knowing that unless there is a marked improvement very soon, the facts of the picture will play into their hands."

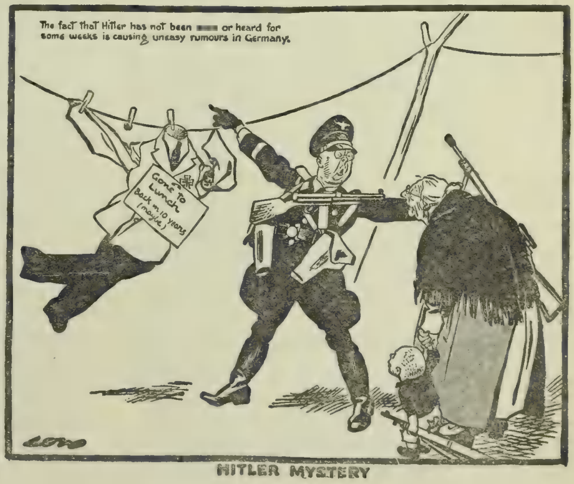
If the Anglo-Saxon powers want to exercise leadership in the economic and political reconstruction of the Continent, they must prove the worth of their policy in the regions they occupy or control. And the first thing they must keep in mind is that Europe, whether they like it or not, is definitely going left. They must stop giving support to the reactionary elements of the old order—the House of Savoy in Italy,, the Kings of Greece and Yugoslavia, the cartels and monopolies in Germany. The Anglo-Saxon states must prove also that while preserving their economic systems they are capable of liquidating unemployment in their own countries, without resorting to war or rearmament.

In an article in the current issue of *Social Research* entitled The Coming Peace Crisis, Alvin Johnson writes:

> Let us bear in mind this fact: Russia too will have some twenty-five or thirty million workers to divert from war and war industry. Will Russian statesmen lie awake nights worrying about unemployment? Certainly not. The veterans from the Ukraine will come back to the fields to relieve the old men and children from the heavy toil on the land. The workers from the cities will return to find every factory reaching out for more hands. Indeed, the Russians will find themselves so hard put to man the works they project that they will try hard to postpone final peace so as to work their German slaves a year or two longer. This kind of efficiency we do not pretend to emulate. The Russians attained it at a cost we do not care to pay. But if we drop into a deep slump that holds us bogged year upon year, with millions of workers dependent upon relief checks and wearing out their moral and physical stamina day by day, how will we like the comparison? Shall we try the desperate expedient of blindfolding and ear-muffling a hundred and forty million people, in the hope of keeping them ignorant of the fact that in Russia there is no unemployment and the whole nation is working to meet the needs of the nation?

Alvin Johnson is right. If the Anglo-Saxon powers are not capable after the war of preventing mass unemployment both in their own countries and in the countries under their influence, everyone is going to ask: Why is it like this here, when things go well in the Soviet Union?

It is the same question that keeps coming up in connection with Communist activities in this and other countries. Socialists and liberals often complain that the Communists try to take advantage of any situation to extend their power. But they seldom put forward an aggressive democratic policy of their own which will draw people to *their* side. Similarly in the international field we shall soon hear all kinds of complaints, even from people not fundamentally antago-


The fact that Hitler has not been [illegible] or heard for some weeks is causing uneasy rumours in Germany.
Gone to Lunch Back in 10 years (maybe)
Low

HITLER MYSTERY

nistic to the Soviet Union, that the Russians are trying to become the dominant political factor on the Continent. The first thing to ask in that case is whether the Western democracies have tried to support their claim to leadership in Europe with anything better than the theory of free enterprise, big business as usual, a diplomacy *à la* Murphy, and Prince Humbert, Archduke Otto, and Franco.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THE facts about the so-called *Volkssturm* are gradually emerging from the deluge of propaganda that accompanied its founding. It is now clear that since the creation of this people's army there are no civilians left in Germany. That is literally true. All males between sixteen and sixty are now soldiers. And not simply soldiers in theory, in conformance with a law that will only gradually be enforced, but soldiers in fact. The whole male population within the age limits set has already been inducted into the new force. The end of the civilian in the German Reich is a *fait accompli.*

First question: How was it technically possible to create at one stroke a force which must consist of millions of men? The answer is that the authorities did not wait for arms or uniforms or quarters. Members of the *Volkssturm* live in their own homes. As for their uniforms and weapons, the Berlin correspondent of the Stockholm *Dagens Nyheter* furnishes a description. He was present at the swearing in of the Berlin formation, 200,000 strong, on November 12 and reported on it as follows:

> I was impressed by the motley appearance of the *Volkssturm.* Many of the men were old, with gray mustaches and protruding stomachs. There were street-car conductors, motormen, and postmen. Dr. Heinz Brauweiler, the elegant head of the Propaganda Ministry's foreign press department, in a sport suit and Tyrolean hat, was observed in one group with a gun over his shoulder. In another was the jovial Councilor Giese, who is well known to Berlin correspondents. One company was composed entirely of Berlin *Schupos* (security police) in their gray-green uniforms. They were supplied with *Panzerfausts* (anti-tank guns). Others carried long muskets, carbines, or even double-barreled shotguns. The youngsters had hand grenades in their belts; old men lugged grenade throwers and machine-gun mounts. Some wore helmets, either the usual German type or the round Italian helmet. Others wore berets or ski caps. The majority had no uniforms or weapons, but Goebbels has promised them guns within a few weeks.

Second question: Will all these men actually be inducted? Will not an exception be made for the unfit and ill, who form the most numerous class of the remaining civilians? The answer is contained in a press interview granted by the head of the Dresden *Volkssturm*, S. S. Staff Leader Rabe, on November 5:

> No dispensations are being granted and no medical examinations are being held. The degree of fitness is irrelevant; people suffering from heart disease or physical handicaps can very well do duty as sentries, guards for bridges, and auxiliary troops. Therefore they, too, will be trained in the use of arms.

Third question: Where do the officers of these troops come from? For the most part they seem to be the poor-quality leftovers of the S. A. cadres. But we do not know exactly. The same Staff Leader Rabe said: "As for the selection of *Volkssturm* Führers, not military rank but National Socialist attitude and talent for leadership will be primarily decisive. *Volkssturm* leaders must be fanatical Germans who will fight to the very last; only those who have proved they possess such qualifications are permitted to lead others." In an article in the *Angriff* of November 12, Dr. Ley declared he was highly satisfied with the Führer personnel: "Usually the training staff is much younger than the trainees. It should not surprise anyone that this fact creates tension. It is truly surprising, however, to see how tactfully the training staff discharges its task." The conclusion to be drawn from this, as from almost all Dr. Ley's statements, is that the opposite is true.

Fourth question: What purpose does the *Volkssturm* serve? In the beginning the official thesis was that the various units would be used only locally, in the vicinity of their home towns, either for routine watches and patrols or to put down revolts of forced foreign workers—or at the front, in the event that the front approaches the home province. The *Volkssturm* troops of East Prussia are in fact in the front line there, and Saar units are stationed around Metz. But uncertainty about their use has developed since Goebbels suddenly announced on November 12, at the swearing in, that "the *Volkssturm* regiments will be thrown in wherever they are most needed." According to the Berlin correspondent of the Stockholm *Tidningen*, "this statement caused great consternation among the *Volkssturm* men"—and certainly among others too. And this brings us to the last and most important question of all.

It is: How shall industry, agriculture, transportation, administration be carried on when all the men have become soldiers? At first the answer was that members of the *Volkssturm* were only part-time soldiers. They would drill for a few hours a week but continue their regular work as before. Only when the front was close would they become full-time soldiers—and when the front is close, industry stops anyway. That was of course no satisfactory answer. Every worker in the Reich has long since spent himself to the point of physical exhaustion, and to take on the additional burden of "a few hours" of drill was simply unthinkable. The plus of military training must inevitably be paid for with a minus of regular work. Everyone saw that the *Volkssturm*, as the Swiss *Appenzeller Zeitung* expressed it, was nothing else than a "transfer of forces to a critical field from another equally critical field. It is not an addition to Germany's total war potential." Goebbels's statement confirms this. If the *Volkssturm* regiments are not to await the approach of the front in their own districts but are to be sent to any front where they are needed, the effect is simply to deprive industry, already gasping for more workers, of relatively good material in order to bolster a front panting for men with relatively poor material—with "veterans' clubs" as the people say.

However that may be, every man in Germany is now a soldier and under military law. Every breach of discipline, of whatever kind, will be mutiny. Every man who flees under bombardment will be a deserter. "The possibility of any panic or revolt," says the correspondent of the Stockholm *Tidningen*, "has become even slighter than it was before."

ON WRITERS AND THEIR CRITICS

BY ROLFE HUMPHRIES

LECTURING at Cornell University under the aegis of the Messenger Foundation, M. Henri Peyre has devoted himself to a study, now published, of "Writers and Their Critics" (Cornell University Press, $3). What a wealth of material the topic affords! What a nice rapport is established, so quickly, between speaker and audience! How pleasant a give and take, where all can relax, chuckle, or gasp, in comfortable superiority, over the boners of the little, the near-great, and, sometimes, it must be confessed, of the very great indeed! This can go on for some time; in the present series it went on for three lectures, and even in the remaining four M. Peyre was not entirely able to shake off the habit. Still, it must be said to his credit that he does make the attempt. Beginning with his fourth lecture he endeavors to discuss the prospects for a better criticism.

Why do critics err? First of all, suggests M. Peyre, because they are human. They are therefore jealous, afraid, political, religious, pious, moral, patriotic, parochial, neurotic, and baffled. And to make their confusion worse confounded, authors, for some strange reason, seem, perversely, to insist on making themselves obscure. To this matter of obscurity in literature M. Peyre devotes his fifth lecture. He is willing to concede that some modern literature is obscure because it actually has no meaning whatsoever. But even beneath some kinds of meaninglessness meaning may lurk; some nonsense is joking, some senselessness a protest against too much logic, some outlandishness a protest against the conventional and trite. But since "the total absence of meaning is an infrequent exception in significant literary works," the critic would do well not to dismiss as obscure that which is really profound, or subtle, symbolic, or difficult. "If a work is too easy, too smoothly pleasing, too 'nice,' if it requires no vigorous adaptation from me, the chances are that it is not deeply and truly good." So, M. Peyre warns the critic, he should learn to admonish himself; and the admonition is put, even better, in a quotation from Barbey d'Aurevilly: "The passion for clarity should not go to the extent of liking empty glasses."

The search for standards, M. Peyre is convinced, is largely a futile business, summed up well by Oscar Wilde: "There are two ways of disliking art; one is to dislike it, the other is to like it rationally." M. Peyre does propose one test: critics should "force themselves to look for the one quality in a creator which is most likely to disconcert them and most likely to assure his survival . . . we would call this quality intensity." But how the baffled, the lazy, the tasteless, the frightened, are to learn to distinguish between intensity and hysteria, between passion and violence, this M. Peyre does not say. Should we, then, give up the whole business and dump it resignedly in the lap of posterity? Not so; for posterity will consist, by and large, of just such fools as we. "Just now"—M. Peyre is quoting Anatole France—"just now, on the Quai Malaquais, I am watching the posterity of Corneille and Voltaire. It walks leisurely under a cheerful April sun, a veil over its nose or a cigar in its lips, and I assure you it cares very little about Voltaire and Corneille."

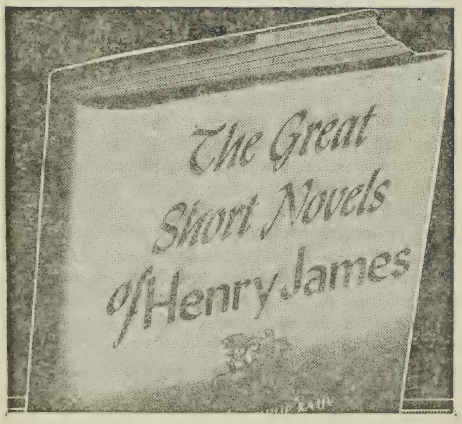
Here, I think, M. Peyre dismisses the matter with somewhat too easy generalizations, and fails to offer us—meaning, now, us writers—a consolation to which we are entitled. For while it is true that posterity, in general, will be, save for its fashions, pretty much like ourselves, there will be one element in posterity on which we can count to give us more justice, to show us more interest, than our own time in general. Posterity will include, among others, men of taste; and while the incidence of these cannot reasonably be expected to be any higher than among ourselves, still posterity has a somewhat longer run than any immediate generation. And these men of taste will never be able, in the work of their own time, to find enough to satisfy their appetite; they will be compelled, therefore, to search the past. Some of them will find some of us; others others: no single one of us may draw the lucky number, but we all, at least, can go on in the possibly illusory notion that we have a chance. Who but a lackey would write for his own time only, without submitting his work, in imagination at least, to the judgment of the great in the past and the wise in the future?

In his final lecture, which looks toward a reconciliation of criticism, scholarship, and literature, M. Peyre tells us, first of all, what the critic must do. He must know the past, enjoy art, develop a strong personality yet not be confined within the walls of his ego, become mature, be humane without being either esoteric or vulgar, be honest, make judgments, be able to instruct the artist, and write well. That is all. But if a man could meet all these requirements, one must ask at this point, what the devil would he be doing in the galley of criticism anyway? Why shouldn't he go the whole hog, and be an artist himself?

Having gone along this far with M. Peyre, one begins to suspect that his use of the term "criticism" is too general and loose, that he does not recognize the fine, and the not so fine, distinctions of that near-art. The truth is that there are at least three levels to which the term may apply. The highest level in the hierarchy, the only one of substantial profit and interest to artists, is that on which criticisms are made by other practitioners of an art; occasionally found in articles and reviews, these more often appear in journals, notebooks, letters, or conversation. Below this level is that on which the good readers, the good interpreters, the good appreciators edify and stimulate those whose faculties qualify them to aspire to the same plane, no higher. And far, far below these is the circle where the critics entertain each other. Who does not know of those delightful symposia in the quarterlies where A discusses B, C discusses A's discussion of B, D treats of C's treatment of A's treatment of B, and so on, till the wheel comes full circle, or the next issue starts publishing the letters from the various unpaid disciples? And who, except A, B, C, D, and the said unpaid disciples, ever manages to read the stuff?

When it comes to the academics and scholars—and the lowest level of criticism (*v.* supra) comes perilously close to that level—M. Peyre's denunciations have an all too familiar ring. Even so, he appears to be rather starry-eyed about the possibilities for improvement latent in the American scheme of higher education. Perhaps it would seem rude for a lecturer on a university foundation to face more squarely the fact that the setup is middle-class in essence, middle-class through and through. If there is anything more anathema to sloganeers of "democracy" than the threat of a socialist economy, it would be the intimation of an aristocracy of art. It has been said, to the point of triteness, that colleges are not educational institutions, that they cannot, by their nature, become so; they are country clubs, hallmark stamp-mills, places where the girls go to make dates and the boys to make contacts.

Well, but there must be some among them who are bright and eager, who do really want to know. What happens to them? Into whose hands do they fall? Largely, it must be admitted, into the hands of the frustrated. Some of those who profess literature are frustrated business men. They hate letters, as so many business men do, but they know how to promote themselves, to conduct raids and forays that will enlarge the enrolment in their courses, and generally devote themselves to getting on. There are fewer of these than of frustrated writers. These break down—the phrase is used advisedly—into several categories: the scholastic or research type—who may also be frustrated scientists—who write theses on the number of commas in the "Canterbury Tales" as compared with the number of semi-colons in the "Faerie Queene." There is a type which hates all writing better than its own. And there are those, more generous and warm-hearted, who like writing better than their own, who like any and all kinds of writing, who have, as one observer puts it, "an excited reverence for culture without knowing exactly what it is." These make the best teachers: their enthusiasm is infectious, and their happy-go-lucky bumbling seems to provoke the brighter-minded into giving their own critical lenses that necessary turn of the screw to bring them into proper focus.



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Edited by PHILIP RAHV
One of the editors of the Partisan Review

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In our own time we have seen one experiment in the teaching of literature that might give cause for encouragement and optimism. Chairs have been established, their occupants to be not necessarily holders of advanced degrees but men and women whose primary literary interest has been their own writing. Usually, it seems, these have been poets—M. Peyre, by the way, surmises that our age may some day be defined as above all an age of poetry. Robert Frost at Amherst and Michigan was the first of these, and by now the others are almost too numerous to mention—Spencer at Harvard, Coffin at Bowdoin, Van Doren at St. John's, Auden at Swarthmore, Winters at Stanford, Holmes at Tufts, Taggard at Sarah Lawrence, Ransom at Kenyon, Roethke at Penn State and Bennington, Tate at various places, etc., etc. To the extent that this phenomenon is not mere window-dressing by smart administrators, may it not be a good thing? It is easy to see the advantages, but it might also be worth while to dwell, for a moment, on the dangers.

The danger here lies less in the risk to the student than to the teacher. It is so easy for him, himself to drift into the ranks of the frustrated, to substitute the immediate audience, in time and place, for the wider and greater one. It is so easy to create a personal following, to grow sentimental about the college, to take on the protective coloration of the middle class, to play it respectable and safe. So easy, even, if you don't watch out, to win the Pulitzer prize. And granting that all these temptations can be understood and overcome, granted that the teacher, in addition to being an artist, is a warm-hearted, generous, and sympathetic person, his very virtues can become his ruination. How much of his energy, his creative power, his surplus, may not be siphoned off, spent, dissipated in the work of doing others' creation for them, and with them—reading all those young poems, understanding what they are trying to say, showing their authors how to get them right, talking and drinking with them far into the night—till in the end, when is a man going to have time and energy to do anything of his own?

Still, writers are a hardy breed. Not even kindness, not even their own kindness, is enough to kill off the really good ones.

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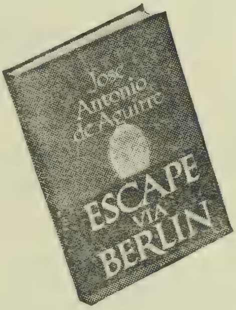

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BRIEFER COMMENT

Purging the Real

HERMAN MELVILLE was a man of tempestuous nature to whom writing was far more a means of self-expression than of objective creation. Figures like Ishmael, Ahab, and Pierre are clearly psychological self-portraits; and such heroines as Mrs. Glendinning, Lucy, and Isabel in "Pierre" and Hautia and Yillah in "Mardi" are, again, not objectively posed characters but projections of their author's unresolved emotional experience. For this reason it would seem impossible to deal intelligently with Melville if one adopts a critical method which deliberately isolates the psychic content of his work from its philosophical content and the personal crisis behind it from the crisis it imaginatively represents. Yet this is exactly the method employed by the late William Ellery Sedgwick in his study "Herman Melville: The Tragedy of Mind" (Harvard University Press, $2.75). The result is a solemn, high-minded, but essentially lifeless job of criticism. Sedgwick handles his subject on so ideal a plane as to make it altogether easy to reconcile glaring contradictions and to discover in Melville's career—a career full of problematical elements—a pattern of unity and basic fulfilment which no other critic has been able to discern.

Typical of Sedgwick's approach is the attempt to blur the psychosexual theme dominant in "Pierre." The chapter dealing with this book piles one ethical abstraction upon another, and the passage in which incest is first mentioned begins as follows: "The incest between Pierre and Isabel has a multiplicity of meanings. It serves to illustrate Melville's thesis about the pursuit of absolute truth and righteousness," etc., etc. Upon finishing the passage one has lost all sense of the reality of the incest motif in the novel. The all-pervading idealism of the critic's attitude deprives Melville's world of whatever real dimensions it possesses. But the critic has accomplished his purpose: the author of "Moby Dick" has at long last been brought over to the side of God and the orthodox tradition. PHILIP RAHV

What of the Peace?

WE ARE TOLD by James Warburg that "Foreign Policy Begins at Home" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50). It should: it seldom does. His Most Christian Majesty Francis I was the ally of the Grand Turk, Cardinal Richelieu supported the German Protestants, the Third Republic was the partner of czarist Russia, Stalin and Hitler vowed peace and amity. So if we appease Franco and are the friends of Vargas, we are in the grand tradition. Deceit *ad maiorem patriae gloriam* is ancient; and muddleheadedness is more venerable still.

Warburg is among the few "realists" who believe in clear and honest thinking. We are not waging a "war of survival": we are waging war against fascism, and we are in danger of forgetting it. Even before the downfall of Germany in 1918, our chief purpose was to avert revolution—that is, to bolster privilege—not to make the world safe for democracy:

General Pershing, no radical, noted it at the time. The same trend exists today, and so long as it exists, there can be no genuine accord among the Big Three.

Yet the Big Three policy is all we have. It is emphatically not what we hoped for, but most of us are adopting a defeatist attitude: it may be the best we can get. Warburg pleads for self-confidence. We have the right principles, and we have undeniable power. Nothing but confusion of thought prevents us from placing our power at the service of our principles. Friends of genuine peace have lost several major battles—Teheran, Dumbarton Oaks; they have not yet lost the war.

A clear, vigorous, courageous book. Warburg strikes an unconventional path—not a compromise—between dogmatic socialism and dogmatic laissez faire. The task ahead is "harnessing runaway capitalism [a good phrase] to economic democracy at home." If this were clear in our minds, our foreign policy would be less puzzling. Perhaps Warburg tries a little too hard to link his ideas with Lippmann's; he has left Lippmann a long way behind. Perhaps also he attempted too much in presenting at the same time a thesis and a complete epitome of world affairs. Because of excessive brevity some of his statements are slightly distorted: his summary of Versailles is a caricature. He repeats the old legend that Finland alone was paying its war debt: Finland, not our ally, never had a "war debt."

With his incisive mind and his generous spirit Warburg must have had difficult moments at the OWI. "Moronic little kings" all over the world had staunch friends among our Very Best People. ALBERT GUERARD

Confederate Commando

ROBERT SELPH HENRY established his reputation as a historian with two excellent volumes: "The Story of the Confederacy" and "The Story of Reconstruction." Students of American history, as well as lovers of a good story, will rejoice that Mr. Henry has now turned to biography and has chosen one of our greatest cavalry leaders—colorful, contradictory General Forrest—as his subject (" 'First with the Most' Forrest." Bobbs-Merrill, $4).

Nathan Bedford Forrest, son of a pioneer blacksmith, was left fatherless at sixteen. He attended school no more than six months; yet his aggressiveness and keenness of mind brought him success in a variety of enterprises and a fortune of over a million dollars. At forty he enlisted in the Confederate forces as a private; at the end of the war he was a lieutenant general. Distrusted by many of his superiors because he lacked military training and had been a slave trader, he was never given a large command until the last months of the war; yet for years his campaigns have been studied in staff colleges all over the world. Generals Grant and Sherman recognized his great ability sooner than the Confederates; a British officer has suggested that Forrest's troops were the forerunner of today's Commandos and Rangers. Bold yet cautious, impetuous yet careful, profane but deeply religious, callous and sympathetic, "Old Bedford" was a legend while he yet lived. He lives and rides again in this fascinating military biography, which is as scholarly and as well written as it is interesting. RALPH ADAMS BROWN

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"It is dedicated also to all those civilian men and women of America who wish to make these desires come true—for all Americans—and who are deeply concerned in helping to bring about those conditions at home and abroad which hold out the best hope of lasting peace."—*James Warburg,* in his foreword to FOREIGN POLICY BEGINS AT HOME. *$2.50*

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Empire View

BEVERLEY NICHOLS was disillusioned, after going out to India "with high hopes and ideals." And so, in "Verdict on India" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50), he has written what might best be characterized as a magnified and more vitriolic "Mother India." Its theses are exactly what might be expected. As to minor points, windows usually stick and bugs are omnipresent. As to major points, the Congress Party is "the only 100 per cent, full-blooded, uncompromising example of undiluted fascism in the modern world"; Gandhi was anxious to turn India over to the Japanese; *Pakistan* will save the helpless Moslems from Hindu domination; for Britain to "tear up" the treaties with the princes would be "an act of perfidy"; when Britain "quits" India, the country will "be left almost completely defenseless." The volume deserves careful reading, if only to learn how an intellectual proceeds to rationalize the position of a ruling power that fears its days may be numbered. T. A. B.

Sense About Leonardo

R. LANGTON DOUGLAS'S "Leonardo da Vinci: His Life and His Pictures" (University of Chicago Press, $4) is devoted mainly to fact-finding; yet in the course of his investigations the author manages to say more sensible things about Leonardo and his art than I have yet seen elsewhere. To be sensible about Leonardo is to debunk him a bit. Universal genius he was—but also inconstant, easily bored, careless, and lacking in tenacity and thoroughness: a master of promises, not of fulfilment. His very range of interests was produced in part by his incapacity to sustain his own interest in any one project. Thus he left behind only a small number of finished paintings, and of these only two or three have resisted time, weather, and natural chemical action as they should have. Mr. Douglas ventures to say that "Leonardo, whilst he was one of the greatest of men, was not one of the greatest of painters." However, "he was an innovator, a pioneer, who helped blaze the trail that other leaders of art movements were destined to follow." The first statement is absolutely necessary to the health of art criticism. C. G.

CONTRIBUTORS

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RALPH ADAMS BROWN is now an instructor in the Coast Guard Academy Preparatory School.

FICTION IN REVIEW

I OFTEN wonder why book criticism, of all forms of criticism, seems to be most wary of the popular and most worried lest it be thought insufficiently discriminating. I refer, of course, to "serious" book criticism. The lines of class are much more firmly established in serious book reviewing than, say, in serious theater criticism. Whereas the drama critic is allowed to write with as much interest of a "Voice of the Turtle" as of a new production of "Hamlet," a similar catholicity on the part of the book critic would soon put him in danger of losing caste. One result is that the serious reviewer of books, especially of fiction, constantly concerns himself with work that calls itself important but is often only pretentious, sacrificing to it the modest efforts that have their own validity. A further result is that the pretentious writer comes to feel that he has only to pamper his stylistic or thematic solemnities to achieve literary stature, while the more modest writer, rejected out of hand by the intellectual world, is encouraged to out-and-out commercialism.

This snobbery affects me too, I know; readers of this department may recall that, in one instance, the fact that a very interesting book was a Literary Guild selection kept me from reading it for three months. But nevertheless, glancing over my reviews, I find that I am much more apt to respond with warmth to novels of no very marked ambition than to novels which deal inadequately with large or demanding materials. This is not because I have any prejudice in favor of the consciously modest; obviously, I would much prefer the grand experience of the truly big to the minor satisfactions of the small job well done. But it must be *truly* big, and I find no necessary correlation between the desire to create an impressive literary work and anything approaching accomplishment. Indeed, quite the contrary: in current fiction there seems to be a frequent correlation between big ideas and muddleheadedness, and between modesty and a certain satisfactoriness.

Among the books I read this week, for instance, there was a novel, "Behold Trouble," by Granville Hicks (Macmillan, $2.75), a writer of defined intellectual position, and a novel called "Where Helen Lies," by Margaret Lane (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $2.50), of whom I never heard before. The theme of Mr. Hicks's novel is the psychology of a conscientious objector; the theme of Miss Lane's book is a not very important marriage crisis—and I suppose, then, that I ought properly to recommend Mr. Hicks's more significant effort to your notice before Miss Lane's simple domestic narrative. But the truth is that Miss Lane's book not only more successfully accomplished what it set out to do but gave me much more pleasure. Nor is my point especially invidious to Mr. Hicks: I admit a similar preference as between Miss Lane's book and the volume of stories "Crab Apple Jelly," by Frank O'Connor (Knopf, $2.50), described as the Irish Chekhov, or again as between Miss Lane's book and the collection of short pieces "Dear Baby," by William Saroyan (Harcourt, Brace, $2.).

I was very much confused by Mr. Hicks's "Behold Trouble"; perhaps the reason will be suggested by a quick synopsis. It is the story of a conscientious objector whose draft board has decided he must go to a work camp. But almost at the same moment that Mr. Hicks's Pierre Mason learns of this decision, the rumor reaches him that an FBI man is in his rural neighborhood. Sure that this is a sign that the government agents are after him, Pierre goes haywire, notifies the local paper that they can come and get him, arms himself, and prepares to shoot it out. After firing, in his panic, on an innocent girl of the district, Pierre takes to the woods, where eventually, and after involving—with some disaster—the whole community, he is himself killed. The story is patently strange, I think, and I am bewildered to know what Mr. Hicks was meaning to say with it. Except as a study in insanity, Pierre is incomprehensible; yet there is reason to doubt that Mr. Hicks considers him entirely insane; and certainly he is not saying that all conscientious objectors are insane. On the other hand, if—as one gathers—the purpose of "Behold Trouble" is to suggest that human impulses are compounded of many conflicting elements and that pacifism hides its own unconscious aggression, Mr. Hicks has scarcely done artistic, psychological, or political justice to this valid observation. Several of the minor characters of "Behold Trouble" are cogent and attractive, and altogether the novel has a high degree of rural versimilitude. But these achievements do not compensate for a basic fuzziness of intention.

The Gaelic idiom works its magic on all of us. There is an Irish lilt to the dialogue and an Irish color to the scenery of Frank O'Connor's stories, even at their most melancholy, which, because it gives them a dimension of the strange, also acts to give them literary dimension. But emptied of local color, the stories in "Crab Apple Jelly" don't at all carry, for me, the weight that others have felt in them. I find them sweetly sad, sadly suggestive, or even a touch frightening at moments, but never more than in the way of the skilfully rendered pastiche.

One of the pieces in William Saroyan's "Dear Baby," The Hummingbird that Lived Through Winter, contains the following sentence: "The mature hummingbird itself is so small that the egg must be magnificent, probably one of the most smiling little things in the world." Just as the first half of this sentence illustrates the best of Saroyan, a truly poetical simplicity of spirit, so the second half seems to me to illustrate the worst of him, the self-conscious goodness which must be so much of his success. For these are frightening and pious days, in which the more we recognize evil the more we wish to be assured that virtue is at least as original as sin. And Saroyan goes the step farther than the simple reminiscers of childhood: he arrests the mature world at the child level—a comforting act of fantasy but a debilitating one.

I guess that Margaret Lane is an Englishwoman, not only because of the English-Irish setting of her "Where Helen Lies," but because in my reading the English seem to have a corner on these simple, civilized little books that, while they may never provoke to thought, never insult the intelligence. Miss Lane's novel is the account of a seemingly happily married man who suddenly decides to return to an earlier love; its story is clearly slight. But the idea that started Miss Lane's book is rather beside the point of a novel whose merit is a matter of quiet literacy and of a retiring but never-failing good sense.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"SADIE THOMPSON" (Alvin Theater) is a "musical play" made from the play which was made from the story by Somerset Maugham. There was also, I believe, a movie version somewhere along the line; so by now there should be few people not familiar with the tale of the Reverend Davidson and his unsuccessful struggle with sin in Pago Pago. Once more—this time to music—he meets the girl in the red dress, temporarily saves her soul, and then, so he fears, loses his own. In this latest version irony is sacrificed to the happy end, for Sadie is going off to Australia with a virtuous marine, but otherwise both the story and its moral are much the same as they were.

A good deal of time has passed since "Rain" first made theatrical history, and a good deal has happened since then. For one thing, the legend of the island paradise has been debunked by one school of writers and so monotonously exploited by another that loin cloths and beachcombers have become comic clichés even in Hollywood. For another, the story of the good bad girl and the bad good man have become so completely the stereotype it was already beginning to be when Maugham first wrote his version that only a very courageous man would today dare write either a novel or a play in which any prostitute who happened to be around was not, as every member of his audience would expect her to be, morally superior to any clergyman who found himself on the same stage with her. An epigram, so an acquaintance of mine once remarked, is a platitude in the making, and that goes for all paradoxes, whether they be phrases or dramatic situations.

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Yet despite all this, the interesting fact remains that Sadie's story is still a good story and that as told in an operatic version it still holds the attention, still arouses the simple emotions it was intended to arouse. The essence of drama, they say, is conflict. The most dramatic of all conflicts is, they say further, a moral conflict. And no moral conflict, I suppose, is sharper or stronger than that between the call of the flesh and the puritan sense of sin. The fact that the morality of "Rain" is, or was, unorthodox does not change the fact that it is essentially a fable for moralists—which is the reason why it is so much stronger than Anatole France's version of the same story in "Thaïs."

When one has said that much, one has, I am afraid, said the most favorable thing to be said about "Sadie Thompson." It is lavish and colorful and full of movement. There is a large *corps de ballet*, which does symbolic dances in what has recently become the fashion in shows of this kind. June Havoc—who hasn't much voice—acts Sadie with conviction, and Lansing Hatfield does very well by the Reverend Davidson, both vocally and dramatically. Moreover, Rouben Mamoulian has staged the whole thing in a characteristically bustling manner, even though he is not at his most inventive. But somehow the thing refuses to become an integrated whole, to achieve any very consistent style; and what one gets, for the most part, is a play more or less pleasantly interrupted from time to time by songs or dances. Sadie, to be sure, undergoes her conversion off stage while the dancers dance it out, and the Reverend Davidson is tempted by a similar allegorical ballet. Indeed, these two episodes are probably the most effective things now in the musical version. But for the most part little seems to be added by songs which are very much what you might expect from such titles as "When You Live on an Island" and "Life's a Funny Present." One trouble is, no doubt, that neither the music nor the lyrics have much character. Nevertheless, I suspect that they would have to be not only a good deal better than they are but also a good deal better than anything which most contemporary lyricists or composers are capable of turning out if they could be expected to add much to the effectiveness of a play that stands as sturdily on its own feet as this one does. Anything short of a real musical interpretation is bound to seem little more than an irrelevance, and that, I think, is what the music usually seems here. It is not often that one has occasion to complain that the book of a musical show is too good, but this one is. "Sadie Thompson" is not a bad evening in the theater. It will probably enjoy considerable success. But the book carries it.

Films

JAMES AGEE

"NONE BUT THE LONELY HEART," a story about the education of a young man in London's pre-war slums, is an unusually sincere, almost-good film and was made under unusually unexpected auspices. Its star, Cary Grant, asked that it be made, and plays its far from Cary Grantish hero so attentively and sympathetically that I all but overlooked the fact that he is not well constituted for the role. Its most notable player, Ethel Barrymore, seemed miscast too, but I was so soft as to be far more than satisfied by her beauty and authority. Its director, Clifford Odets, who also turned Richard Llewellyn's novel into the screen play, is still liable to write—or preserve from the book—excessive lines like "dreaming the better man"; he suggests his stage background as well as his talent by packaging his bits too neatly; and his feeling for light, shade, sound, perspective, and business is too luscious for my taste. But I believe that even if he doesn't get rid of such faults he will become a good director. I base my confidence in him chiefly on the genuine things about his faith in and love for people, which are as urgent and evident here as his sentimentalities; on two very pretty moments in the film, one of two drunken men playing with their echoes under an arch, the other of two little girls all but suffocated by their shy adoration of the hero; and on the curiously rich, pitiful, fascinating person, blended of Cockney and the Bronx, whom he makes of a London girl, with the sensitive help of June Duprez. I suppose I should be equally impressed by the fact that the picture all but comes right out and says that it is a bad world which can permit poor people to be poor; but I was impressed rather because Odets was more interested in filling his people with life and grace than in explaining them, arguing over them, or using them as boxing-gloves.

While big-timers with big money were creditably risking it on "None but the Lonely Heart," small-timers with small money, in the same studio, were squeezing it into "Mademoiselle Fifi," which is quite skilfully combined with "Boule de Suif." I could not wish Producer Val Lewton and Director Robert Wise and their associates much more money to work with, because it seems to me that a small budget has on the whole sharpened their resourcefulness and the general quality of all the films Lewton supervises. But I certainly could wish them more money in terms of more time to get things done as they want them.

Too much of "Fifi" is clearly just the best that could be half-translated from a well-edged script in a pathetic race against schedule; and now and then its poverty results in makeshift of a rather stagy, or even musty, sort rather than in bringing out the bones in its face. It seems possible, too, that some of the picture's inadequacies are inadequacies of depth and keenness of talent rather than of time and money; none of its characters, from the script on out, ever fully identify themselves as characters on a screen rather than in print or on a stage. Yet it has many good and near-good moments, as pure movie; and I don't know of any American film which has tried to say as much, as pointedly, about the performance of the middle class in war. There is a gallant, fervent quality about the whole picture, faults and all, which gives it a peculiar kind of life and likableness, and which signifies that there is one group of men working in Hollywood who have neither lost nor taken care to conceal the purity of their hope and intention.

"30 Seconds over Tokyo" is in some respects the pleasantest of current surprises: a big-studio, big-scale film, free of artistic pretension, it is transformed by its not very imaginative but very dogged sincerity into something forceful, simple, and thoroughly sympathetic in spite of all its big-studio, big-scale habits. Its characters are hardest to take when they are most intimately in character, though even then they are played with a straightforwardness you don't normally expect of marquee names. The flying sequences, especially one long fluid stretch of low flight from the carrier's deck to Tokyo, backgrounded as in Dovschenko's great "Frontier" only by the calmly sublime roar of engines, are really well made, powerful, and exciting. The Chinese, nearly all of them amateur, are the best thing in the picture and the best Chinese in any American picture: I can only hope they make a great many people in Hollywood aware of the tremendous advantages of using non-actors in films, which are quite as great as those of "getting outdoors," even for interiors, as against the careful reconstruction of all outdoors inside a studio. There are also some shots facing, even emphasizing, the ugliness, humiliation, and pity of losing a leg, which are precisely the honest sort one had learned never to expect in American war films.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

ALEXANDER SCHNEIDER, whose playing when he was second violinist of the Budapest Quartet commanded attention and admiration whenever it could be heard, is now giving public performances of sonatas of Bach and Mozart with the harpsichordist Ralph Kirkpatrick, and trios with the pianist Erich-Itar Kahn and the cellist Benar Heifetz as the Albeneri Trio. For the ears of some musicians I respect the violin and piano do not go well together; for me they go together fine, and it is the smooth, sustained tone of the violin and the brittle, percussive sound of the harpsichord that are incompatible. Or perhaps it is only the sound of the violin and the harsh clatter produced by Kirkpatrick; and perhaps the Menuhin-Landowska concert will affect me differently. Moreover, the two sounds may be correctly balanced in a room; but in a concert hall—even as small a hall as the Y. M. H. A. auditorium, where I heard the second of the Schneider-Kirkpatrick series—the violin in legato passages blanketed the harpsichord, as I don't think it would have done the piano. Schneider's playing of Bach—particularly his sustained inflection of the long phrases of the slow movements—was superb; his playing of Mozart lacked the finesse and grace the music calls for even when it is not marked with the direction *Allegretto grazioso* that Schneider did not obey.

Those qualities were, however, present in the Albeneri Trio's performance of Ravel's Trio in A minor, together with everything that makes superlative ensemble playing. The pianist's tone, even in fortissimo, was pallid; and I hope this represented an adaptation to Ravel's music, rather than a French style of piano-playing that will produce the same tone in Beethoven. The strings were perfection; and Schneider's own playing delighted one with its rhythmic liveness and subtlety and its distinction of style. He is an outstanding violinist and musician who chooses to devote his talents to chamber music, and who has created a first-rate group in his trio. It seems inevitable that he should eventually go on to create a quartet; and if he does the likelihood is that we will have at last what we have long needed—another quartet of the caliber of the Budapest.

I heard the trio at a concert of the New Friends of Music. In dealing with German music, until now, this organization has devoted each of its series to an exhaustive presentation of the chamber music of one or two or three composers. Its way of dealing with French music, for the first time this season, is not to do the same complete job with Debussy, or with Debussy and Fauré,

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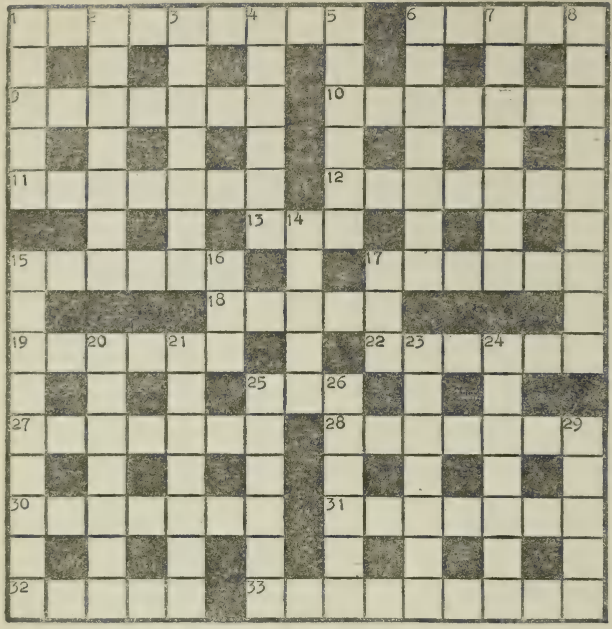

ACROSS

1 For him it is not the race that counts, but the country
6 China's resounding fall
9 Suitable surname for a pedler
10 Cave wherein dwelt the exiled David
11 Might produce a U. S. purge
12 Its midnight consumption was a burning question in grandfather's day (two words, 4 and 3)
13 Puts an end to healthy and wealthy alike
15 Effect of the music on people in musical chairs is to - - - - - -
17 Catch a parent
18 Dane of the Charlemagne period who evidently had an eye for the girls
19 Usually preferred to "death," where a distinguished person is concerned
22 Might be a horse, but not a sea-horse
25 Letter which most male creatures lack
27 Living in a fox-hole is no hardship for him!
28 Bar
30 Mark Twain said it was a waste of time shooting a man in the lungs in this state: they healed up in no time
31 Put a hundred on a cert and you'll get harmony!
32 Do women do this to please themselves, or to annoy other women?
33 If he's entering the bank he's all right for today; if he's leaving it he's all right for tomorrow

DOWN

1 Wrapped up in a terrific hustle
2 Goes by
3 Cambrai as formerly part of Great Britain
4 You will spot this old dance in a minute
5 What Clancy named his goat, because it was all butt
6 Member of the Savage?
7 Number of aces Mr. Blackwood feels a bridge-player should hold to bid "Five No-trumps" (two words, 3 and 4)
8 Even cook could hardly be proud of it (two words, 6 and 3)
14 Far off ones are always green
15 Deceitful in the concealment of small matters, perhaps
16 A small member
17 End of an opera seen in camera
20 The gay part of life, though it starts a bit doubtfully
21 English poem, by Thomson, much read by foreigners. Interested in the weather, no doubt
23 If you ever fight a duel, you'll need two—one to get ready in, and the other to carry you out!
24 Well blessed with this world's goods
25 One of several English kings with a drawback
26 Correct nautical headgear in Shakespeare's day (hyphen, 3-3)
29 Competitors have to

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 91

ACROSS:—1 VIRGINIA; 5 FIDDLE; 10 RAPALLO; 11 MUFFLER; 12 OCEAN'S; 14 STARLIKE; 16 TWICERS; 17 DELHI; 18 EDIT; 20 EMERSON; 22 ARIA; 24 ROBIN; 26 HEARTEN; 29 SEA-BIRDS; 30 RESIDE; 32 ARIADNE; 33 OVERACT; 34 FUSING; 35 SLATTERN.

DOWN:—1 VERNON; 2 REPLETE; 3 IOLANTHE; 4 IRON; 6 INFERS; 7 DALLIED; 8 EARNESTS; 9 SMOTE; 13 SWIMMER; 14 SCORERS; 15 ARMORER; 19 FALSTAFF; 21 NON-ELECT; 23 ITALICS; 25 IMITATE; 26 HIDDEN; 27 ADLER; 28 BEETON; 31 SOUL.

---

as with Mozart, but to offer "a comprehensive survey of the chamber and vocal works of the great French composers, from Rameau to Ravel," which will "make evident both their musical diversity and their cultural unity." For the equivalent imagine a "comprehensive survey" of German chamber music which offered a smattering of works by Bach, Handel, Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, and Brahms to demonstrate "their musical diversity and their cultural unity," and in which Beethoven's entire output from Opus 18 to Opus 135 was represented by one of the Opus 59 quartets. Having decided to include a large number of composers the New Friends could not give adequate representation to any of them; and it made this even worse by choosing the works with its usual lack of judgment. Fauré, who lived to the age of 79, wrote music that extended even beyond his Piano Trio Opus 120; and it is in the later period of his creative activity that he developed the characteristics which gave him his influence on modern French composers; yet his entire output of chamber music is represented on the New Friends programs by only one work, and this one not a late work like that Trio or the Piano Quintet Opus 89, but the early Piano Quartet Opus 45. All three of Debussy's late Sonatas are included, but only one of the song cycles—"Fêtes galantes"; it would be better to omit the frequently played String Quartet (to say nothing of the boring Rameau cantata) and include "Proses lyriques" and "Chansons de Bilitis"; and if unfamiliar late piano music is to be included then the Etudes have more significance than "En blanc et noir." Ravel's Quartet also is played so much that it might well be omitted in favor of the Duo for cello and piano.

Only one other recital remains to be reported on—Marian Anderson's. It is a pleasure to hear the results of the recently acquired ease with which she now produces her tones, in the beauty they now have throughout their range. In the delicate inflection of Schubert's songs she is handicapped by the single, distinctive, unchanging timbre of the voice; and her most impressive singing is done in music—dramatic arias, Negro spirituals—in which she can intensify the vocal line with emotion. But the Schubert songs offer the piano contexts that Franz Rupp creates around the vocal parts with his extraordinary musical intelligence and sensitive mastery of his instrument.

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

HOW POIGNANT WAS THE FAILURE IN CHICAGO may be judged by the words with which President Roosevelt opened the Civil Aviation Conference: "As we begin to write a new chapter in the fundamental law of the air, let us all remember that we are engaged in a great attempt to build enduring institutions of peace." The rock upon which efforts to draft an effective international air-transport convention finally foundered was the divergence of American and British viewpoints on the powers to be intrusted to the international organization. To Mr. Berle the American position has been from the first: "You solve no problem of peace merely by delegation of naked power." To Lord Swinton it was: "The difference between a board with authority and a board having no authority is an absolutely fundamental difference." Smaller countries learned that deep American suspicion of an effective regulatory organization still prevents American collaboration in world affairs despite the precedent of the United Nations war effort, and that Britain will not easily tolerate an invasion of commerce in spheres it once dominated. How narrowly the conference missed success remains its secret. The Canadian proposal to regulate escalation of operating capacity on international air lines at one stage seemed adequate to bridge differences. Many delegates shared the British view that a universal formula is impracticable, that an international council should apply regulation in the best public interest in each route or region. The enforcement device in which responsibility rests with individual states would appear to overcome objections to delegating sovereign power. But what was finally irreconcilable was the clash of economic interests, and though the door is open for agreement on air-transport principles in future years, the freedom of the air was lost on that issue.

*

THE NEW LEND-LEASE AGREEMENT BETWEEN the United States and Great Britain represents an encouraging step in constructive post-war planning. Its benefits are three-fold. The continuation of aid to Britain after the defeat of Germany assures the maximum possible military contribution on the part of Britain in the struggle against Japan. It protects American manufacturers and raw-material producers against a sudden termination of the demand for American supplies. And, even more important, it provides a means for restoring the world's economic equilibrium by giving Britain an opportunity to rehabilitate its export industries. During the war the great industries on which Britain's existence depends have been almost entirely converted to the production of munitions. Unable to maintain its exports, the nation has been forced to depend on lend-lease for essential food and raw materials. Under the new agreement this assistance will be curtailed, but the limitations on Britain's export industries will be relaxed at the same rate at which reconversion is permitted in this country. It is to be hoped that the Anglo-American agreement will be followed by similar arrangements with our other allies, permitting them to share in the benefits of sound planning for the difficult reconversion period.

*

THE STORY OF BRITAIN'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE war, as summarized in an official White Paper, deserves close study by every American. It is a record of service, deprivation, and achievement that can be matched by no other Allied country, save possibly the Soviet Union. The extent to which the war dominates all else may be seen by the fact that almost half of British women are in the armed services, full-time civil defense, or industry. A half-million are enrolled in the auxiliary services alone. The cost of the war in tangible living standards may be seen not only in the fact that one out of three houses has been destroyed or damaged by enemy action but in the cutting of imports of food and raw materials, as a result of the shortage of ships, to less than half of the pre-war levels. The reduction in the imports of feed has led to a sharp curtailment in the number of sheep, pigs, and poultry, while the fish catch has been cut to one-third. Yet in the face of the constant drain of men and women into the armed services, the losses incurred from air raids, and the reduction in imports, Britain more than doubled its aircraft production between 1940 and 1944, and increased the bomb-load capacity of its bomber output tenfold. Ship production was boosted by more than 50 per cent; the output of naval guns rose fifteen-fold. And with sharply reduced man-power in agriculture, the output of wheat, barley, and potatoes was more than doubled, thus making up in part for the decline in imports. Nor is there any indication that Britain is letting down. The number of men and women in the armed services and the output of munitions and vital war supplies continue to rise in the sixth year of the conflict.

*

A PROPOSAL THAT NAZI PRISONERS OF WAR be given an opportunity for education in the ideals of democracy has been rejected by Secretary Stimson on the ground that it would be met by "suspicion, hostility, and resistance" and thus defeat the purpose of the experiment. The objection would seem to be a valid one if compulsory indoctrination had been suggested. But the Harvard group which advanced the proposal had no such thought in mind. They suggested merely that lectures and discussions be made available to prisoners who wished to attend, and that books and other reading matter presenting the democratic point of view be placed within the prison camps. They also asked that German-speaking Americans specially trained to cope with the Nazi ideology be assigned to the camps. Mr. Stimson is undoubtedly speaking with a full knowledge of the facts when he insists that we do not have enough trained men to spare for such an undertaking. But it is only fair to ask why we have not made preparations for a voluntary reeducation of our half-million German prisoners. The opportunity for reaching such a large sector of the German population would seem too good to miss. Admittedly there are many Nazis who would resist such training no matter how it was presented. Yet most reports indicate that these are a small minority among the prisoners. Most of the others have been so indoctrinated with Nazi views that their reeducation presents difficulties. But with the future peace of the world at stake, we should not hesitate to throw the best educational resources of the country into the effort to counteract Herr Goebbels's poison.

*

THE MASS SEDITION TRIAL HAS SEEMINGLY COME to an end as the result of the death of Justice Edward Eicher. Although there is still a slight possibility that some way will be found to continue the trial with another judge, the chances of salvaging the case are slim. And if a mistrial is declared, there appears to be even less chance that the government will undertake a new trial. With the knowledge that the defense has gained of the government's strategy, at least a year would be required before the trial could again be brought to its present stage. Although the antics of the defendants had made the trial little more than a farce, its complete abandonment on a technicality would only play into the hands of our domestic fascists. But instead of attempting to convict twenty-six ill-assorted crackpots in one trial, and thus encouraging delaying tactics by the defendants, the government would do well to prosecute the most dangerous of the defendants individually and make sure that they at least are put where they can do no further harm.

*

STACY MAY AND HIS COLLEAGUES OF THE Committee on International Policy of the National Planning Association have performed a public service by their able and comprehensive report on America's New Opportunities in World Trade. Those opportunities can only be realized if both capital and labor in this country are prepared to recognize that we are now the world's leading creditor nation and must act accordingly. We must sell abroad more than ever before if we are to achieve full employment, and to sell abroad we must be prepared to buy abroad. Our tariff barriers are still among the world's highest and must be reduced if the volume of trade is to be increased. This means that certain high-cost, essentially artificial American industries will have to give up a protection that is economically indefensible. When we speak here of high costs we do not mean high wages. The committee makes it clear that high wages generally reflect a high productivity that makes for lower costs in the United States than in countries enjoying the supposed blessings of that old labor bogyman "cheap foreign labor."

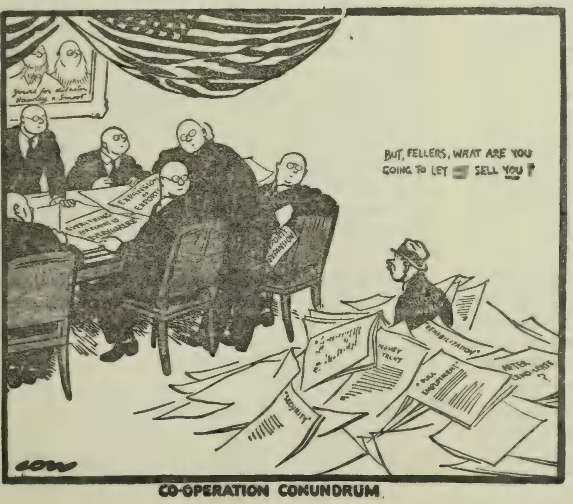
*

TARIFF REDUCTION IS THE LONG-RANGE PROBlem. The more immediate one is an increased export of American capital for reconstruction once the war is over. We need export markets for goods and capital; foreign countries need both the goods and loans with which to pay for them. "Unless the United States," the National Planning Association report says, "meets this need for capital, war damage will be restored at the cost of severely depressed living standards." And depressed living standards abroad mean shrunken markets for our goods. This, like the tariff problem, requires a more enlightened attitude on the part of the American public, a little more education in basic economics. This is what Stacy May and his colleagues have so admirably supplied. Of fundamental importance is an understanding of the fact that to industrialize other countries does not restrict our own markets but expands them. "As a country is industrialized," the report admits, "it produces a greater proportion of its own manufactured goods and imports a decreasing proportion; but at the same time it is likely to expand the absolute volume of its imports, including its imports of finished manufactures."

Millionaires' Club

THE NATION appreciates the political difficulties which confront the President in his effort to achieve a stable peace. It understands that the peace cannot be cut to fit the pattern of any faction. It realizes that a coalition with certain forces on the right is essential if the peace is to command the necessary two-thirds' vote in the Senate. In this spirit, *The Nation* had hoped that Mr. Hull might continue to serve as Secretary of State until a permanent United Nations organization had been established. And in this spirit, it was prepared to accept the nomination of Mr. Stettinius as his successor. But *The Nation* is not prepared to look on silently while the State Department is turned into a millionaires' club.

Mr. Hull was a cantankerous old man of limited vision and undemocratic instincts who never had the courage to do anything in time about the Axis dangers he later claimed to have foreseen. But he did carry weight in the Senate. He was the idol of the Southern conservatives. He had the Republicans securely committed to him. And his sincere desire for a stable peace could not be denied. We were prepared to swallow much for the sake of his cooperation in the framing of the peace. His successor, Mr. Stettinius, is a more agreeable figure, but he counts for less politically. He inherited wealth and position in the world of wealth but must rate as mediocre in knowledge and ability. His record is undistinguished, and his principal characteristic, under a pleasant and affable manner, is a susceptibility to the ideas of whatever men surround him. At the Defense Commission, in one environment, he was a standard-type dollar-a-year man. In the Lend-Lease Administration, whence he was finally kicked upstairs, he found himself in a different environment; many youthful idealists and New Dealers served under him, and he took on some of their color. As a concession to the right, he is palatable, for he is a man of good-will. But as the head of a State Department in which the top positions are all to go to the right, Mr. Stettinius is a good deal more than we bargained for.



CO-OPERATION CONUNDRUM

Under cover of Mr. Hull's retirement and a supposed reorganization of the State Department for the sake of efficiency, an extraordinary plot—it is hard to apply a more moderate term—is taking shape in Washington. The State Department is planning to take over the work of the Foreign Economic Administration, the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and the commercial services so long performed abroad by the Department of Commerce. The purpose is a twofold one—to strengthen the Department of State's power and to weaken that of the Department of Commerce. The latter end is desired because Jesse Jones is at last reported ready to retire and Vice-President Wallace has been offered the Secretaryship of Commerce. A combination of the Baruch-Byrnes rightists and certain anti-Wallace White House liberals seems to have been formed to make the Commerce post unattractive to Wallace by shearing it of much of its potentialities.

The plan is to place the activities of the Foreign Economic Administration in the State Department and under Jesse Jones's associate, Will Clayton, as Assistant Secretary. The activities of the Coordinator of Inter-American affairs are also to be placed in the State Department under Nelson A. Rockefeller as Assistant Secretary in charge of Latin American affairs; like Stettinius, Rockefeller may be expected to be much less liberal within the confines of State than he was when operating on his own. Leon Fraser, a leading Wall Street figure, now president of First National Bank, formerly president of that Axis favorite the Bank for International Settlements, is slated for the post of Assistant Secretary in charge of international finance. Jimmy Dunn, one of Franco's foremost friends in the Department, is reported in line for another Assistant Secretaryship, in charge of European affairs; and Joseph Grew is said to be the choice for Under Secretary. If only some way could be found to make a place in this constellation for John Foster Dulles, Wall Street would have no cause to regret the failure to elect Dewey.

The Nation calls on labor and progressives generally to make their protests heard at the White House before this reactionary cabal in the field of foreign affairs can succeed.

Mr. Stettinius, with a few progressives around him, would give a good account of himself. Mr. Stettinius, amid the encircling band of Clayton, Fraser, and Dunn, would be a naive and unresisting tool of reaction. All three of these men—Clayton, Fraser, and Dunn—are far better suited to the world of appeasement and collaboration with the Axis, as their pre-war records indicate, than to a world that can achieve stability only through sincere cooperation between the democratic powers and the Soviet Union. A State Department of this kind would be a calamity, not a compromise.

Power Politics in Italy

BRITISH policy is fast turning this war for democracy into a war for reaction. One day we see it at work in Belgium, where the British have put their army at the disposal of the unpopular Pierlot government; the next day in Greece, where a dozen followers of the E. A. M. (National Liberation Front) lost their lives in a demonstration against the order issued by the British commander, Lieutenant General Ronald M. Scobie, disbanding Greek guerrilla forces. Six E. A. M. ministers had already quit the Papandreou Cabinet in protest.

And then the same policy emerges in Italy, where the behavior of the British, even had there been no precedent for it, would be enough to discredit the entire political program of the Allies. The statement of the British ambassador in Rome, vetoing Count Sforza for the post of Premier or Foreign Minister in a new Italian government, tells the whole story of British intentions in those parts of Europe under their influence. Nothing Mr. Eden said in the House of Commons in his attempt to justify British intervention has made that story more hopeful for the future of a democratic world.

Sir Noel Charles blackballed Count Sforza because he considered him politically "unreliable," and that word was defined to mean that Sforza had promised, when he received permission to return to Italy, to support the House of Savoy but had later shifted to an anti-monarchist position.

Let us consider the implications of Sir Noel's statement. First, it reveals, without any attempt at dissembling, that Great Britain has taken over political control in Italy. Discussing the veto of Sforza in the New York *Times*, Herbert L. Matthews argues that since under the terms of the armistice "the Allies have the right to pass on Italian governmental nominations," there is nothing the political parties or the Committee of National Liberation can do "but accept the British decision." But this is the first word Americans have had that the British and "the Allies" in Italy are identical. If a prospective Italian Prime Minister is vetoed by "the Allies," one would expect some official inter-Allied body to take the responsibility. But no. The United States is maintaining a "strictly hands-off policy," as an Associated Press dispatch put it. Not "the Allies," not the Advisory Council, not the Allied Commission, but the British ambassador alone decides who is and who is not to head the Italian government. Here is "sphere-of-influence" politics played without even a pretense of Allied cooperation.

A second point should be noted. Count Sforza lived in the United States, and arrangements for his return were made through the State Department. Although his record and opinions were well known—he had expressed them frequently in *The Nation* and in other publications here—he undoubtedly had to make certain promises to this government before receiving his passport. And since Britain and the United States are supposed to be jointly responsible for the fate of Italy, it might be assumed that the British had also to be convinced that Count Sforza would not make trouble when he arrived in Italy. But surely the State Department, on its own initiative, would hardly have exacted from Sforza a promise that he would support the Italian monarchy! That would be going a little too far for even a conservative agency of this republican government. We can only conclude that such a promise, if Sforza really made it, was demanded by the British and that the State Department, as so often in the past, yielded to their request.

A third point emerges. Suppose we grant that Count Sforza accepted the conditions laid down. Let us go farther and assume that he intended to support the House of Savoy. Certainly his actions when he arrived in Italy would favor such an assumption. Recognizing the disrepute into which the King and the Crown Prince had fallen through their long collaboration with Mussolini, Sforza made the proposal that a regency be established until the King's young grandson should come of age. Thus he tried to guarantee the principles of monarchy and "legitimacy" so dear to the British Tories and, at the same time, to open the way for the formation of a government free from fascist left-overs. It was ingenious, but a bit slick for a people which, for twenty years, had been suffering under a fascist regime blessed by the House of Savoy. Under the inexorable pressure of popular feeling Sforza abandoned his plan.

To accuse Count Sforza of political "unreliability" because he changed his position on this question is like criticizing a man for not maintaining his dignity and balance when he is swept off a rock by a cataract. What the British are really trying to do is to prevent the democratic groups from forming a strong government. We do not pretend that a strong government could be easily achieved. In a country only half liberated, suffering from hunger and the total disruption of its economic life, the reconstruction of a stable political order would be difficult in any case. But the task becomes impossible when the power of "liberating" nations is exercised against the will of the people.

In this dangerous situation the United States is playing an ambiguous role. American soldiers are dying in the mountains of Italy. Americans share with the British the responsibility for controlling the liberated areas. We have no right either to abandon the purposes for which we have pledged the lives of Americans or to surrender our share of authority in the conduct of affairs behind the lines. The Sforza incident is bad enough in itself. It is worse for what it reveals of both British and American policy.

Keeping China in the War

THE gravity of events in China, with Japan's armies menacing Kweiyang and gathering strength for an all-out assault against Chungking, caused *The Nation* to ask Maxwell Stewart and Kate Mitchell—both close students of present-day China—to set forth the main factors in a highly complex situation. Mr. Stewart's article was published on November 25; Miss Mitchell's appears in this issue.

From their objective study it is evident that the all too prevalent view that China had better be written off as a factor in the Far Eastern war must be rejected. The defeat of China would be tragic. It would delay our victory, make it extremely difficult to establish a mainland base against the well-organized and well-supplied enemy, and, in the end, add enormously to our expenditure of men. Beyond these considerations, it is hard to think of a stable peace in the Far East without a strong and united China.

Japan, perfectly aware of what it stands to gain, is pressing home its present advantage. Japan counts on two likely developments: the disintegration of the Chinese armies, and an increasing pressure for a compromise peace from the reactionary Chungking elements who are now exploiting the alleged desertion of China by the Allies. Japanese armies and puppet governments control an area far greater than Free China. Free China is torn by bitter dissension. Japan has therefore considerable ground for believing that the opportunity is ripe for a knockout blow.

What can be done to save China and defend an all-important sector in our Pacific war? In material terms, the problem is one of increasing Chinese production of war materials and getting war materials into China from outside. Donald Nelson and his colleagues are doing their best to meet the first of these problems. But they cannot work miracles. The industrial production of Free China is pitifully small. No matter how brilliantly successful Nelson is in stepping up Chinese production, it cannot begin to supply a Chinese army capable of matching Japan's mainland armies. Moreover, the task of building communications and transportation systems so that the supplies can be got to where they are needed is tremendous.

The prospects of help from outside are more promising. But here, to date, the supplies from over the Hump and the additional supplies that may be brought in from India over the new Ledo road are utterly inadequate for any large-scale offensive. It is clear that some ports must be opened to bring in supplies by sea. This will not be an easy undertaking, with increased Japanese control over the coastal railways. But the desperate nature of the present situation makes it imperative for the Allies to convince the Chinese that they are not abandoned.

It will take the fullest utilization of China's military resources to beat Japan. One of our mistakes, as Miss Mitchell points out, has been to consider that only the Kuomintang armies under General Chiang Kai-shek should receive supplies. When we open new ports we must see that arms get to all China's armies—government and guerrilla alike—so long as those arms are used against Japan.

This brings us to the critical question of Chinese unity. It is quite evident that Chiang Kai-shek is still China's key leader. He is a symbol of China's national life. He is universally respected, even by the Communists. It would be unrealistic to suggest that American support should be shifted from him to the Communist regime in the north. But to say that we consider Chiang important does not mean that we should allow the present intolerable situation to continue. We cannot permit the course of the war to be determined by the reactionary landlords and bankers and feudal war lords who today appear to hold Chiang captive. No important problem in China can be dealt with—be it industrial production, army mobilization, military training, or national solidarity—while the present reactionary clique in Chungking is in power. The blight which this clique is bringing on the whole of Chinese life is to be seen in the government's education policy, concerning which *The Nation* will shortly publish an article by an eminent Chinese scholar.

The recent Cabinet shift indicated that some improvements were being made. The appointment of General Chen Cheng as Minister of War has already greatly improved the cooperation between the Chinese and American military leaders. The replacement of H. H. Kung by his brother-in-law, Foreign Minister T. V. Soong, as vice-president of the Yuan brings to the Generalissimo's right hand one who is popular throughout China, is known to have moderate political views on the subject of cooperation with the Communists, and commands great respect in Washington. Support should be given to Chiang in eliminating the worst, reactionary elements that unfortunately still are strongly intrenched in his Cabinet and replacing them by some of the Communist leaders. A political rapprochement between Chungking and the Communists is absolutely essential. The Communists must be accorded control over the territory they now dominate. The reforms they have introduced must be allowed to stand. Moreover, some of the same land reforms should be applied throughout China. For the feudal and agriculturally backward character of Free China is an important factor in holding back the entire Chinese war effort.

The achievement of political and economic unity would make possible a united military effort under the direction of American and British advisers who have knowledge of China, command the trust of the Chinese, and know the use of modern weapons. Only through this sort of cooperation, rapidly achieved, can China be kept in the war and its future status as one of the major powers be secured.

IN A FORTHCOMING ISSUE OF *THE NATION*

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Oscar Lange, "A Solution for Germany." A challenging article taking issue with The Nation's *position on the treatment of Germany after the war.*

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

FASHIONS in military thought—especially, popular military thought—change hardly at all between wars, but in wars they change fast and usually erratically. Before the last war, for instance, military thought was centered on the offense, which was conceived of as being sudden, decisive, and irresistible. But war-time experience demonstrated that the machine-gun increased defensive fire-power and thus the efficacy of the defense tenfold; so military thought after the war took a violent turn toward the defensive obsession. Of course this was most pronounced in the victorious nations, whose general staffs throughout history have ordinarily prepared for the next war by fighting the last war's battles over again. The general staffs of defeated nations have naturally been more anxious to discover why they were defeated and how to avoid defeat the next time; so they have usually produced the new doctrine which leads to another shift in fashionable military thinking.

The German General Staff, that inventive body, did so with a vengeance after 1918, and in this war the emphasis in military thought has again been on the offense. The offense achieved spectacular success from 1939 to 1942, when the defense caught up. The offensive idea failed the Germans at Stalingrad and Alamein not merely because they overreached themselves, or outran their supply lines, or arrayed too many troops against themselves, or alienated God—all of which they admittedly and most certainly did—but also because the Allied thinkers found defensive answers to the German offensive threat. The Red Army learned how to detach sizable forces and withdraw them in good order to new defensive positions, from which they exacted new tolls of the advancing enemy; the British Desert Army learned how to deploy large numbers of anti-tank guns and how to use them in connection with mine fields, artillery concentrations, and mutually supporting strong points having interlocking fields of fire. Both armies learned to let tanks through on certain occasions, with the infantry lying low and then popping up to repel the enemy's infantry following the tanks; both learned the tactical use of air power in the best tradition of defensive warfare—to defend by attacking the enemy and destroying or dispersing his strength.

The Allies then went over to the offensive, having learned much from the Germans, and the Germans went on the defensive, adding some new tricks to demonstrate their annoying skill at tactical improvisation. But the effective utilization of overmastering strength by the Allies was too potent to be met by even the most skilful tactical improvisation; the essential strategic bankruptcy of the German position could not be corrected except by general and costly retreat, and could then be corrected only temporarily; so the offense continued in the ascendancy. The tremendous summer advance of the Red Army, the successful landings in Normandy, and the sensational pursuit across France to the German border, all served to strengthen popular belief in the irresistible nature of the offense.

And then? Comes a halt, comes gloom. When the Russian offensive collided with an effective German defense, there rose murmurs of "politics" and "selling out the Poles." When the Anglo-American offensive collided with an effective German defense, there rose lengthy explanations of "over-extended supply lines" and "lack of deep-water ports." Fashionable military thinking was at one of its extremes.

Now—to come to the point of this sermon—this is nonsense. There is no such thing as an absolute in military affairs. The offense is always outstripping the defense, and the defense is always catching up, until the offense outstrips it again. It took three years of war for the Allied defense to catch up to the German offense, which exhausted itself strategically and was countered tactically at about the same time, by blessed coincidence. In the subsequent two years the Allied counter-offense has gained what is without question an eventually irresistible *strategic* momentum—that is, the question of who will win the European war is no longer in doubt; but the German counter-defense has gained a temporary *tactical* stabilization—that is, the question how long the European war will last is still in considerable doubt.

The Germans withdrew with much skill in east and west until they reached the point where they could no longer afford to withdraw, for strategic reasons: beyond the Vistula and the East Prussian defense belt, as beyond the Roer and the Westwall, lie absolutely vital areas of the Reich. At the same time German defensive capabilities and tactics were brought into balance with Allied offensive capabilities and tactics.

Such a temporary balance will often be reached, even in the best-run and most optimistic of wars. The Italian campaign is a glaring example, as Mr. Sevareid accurately demonstrates elsewhere in this issue: in this case I believe the supreme Anglo-American command, not the local commanders, played into the enemy's hands by pushing the campaign unnecessarily beyond Rome, whose liberation was a political victory the importance of which Mr. Sevareid perhaps underestimates. The recent balance on the western front is a more nearly average example, serving to emphasize the fact that continual experimentation and improvisation are fundamental to maintaining the pace of the offensive.

Even these steps will not necessarily produce a perpetual advance, especially after the enemy has had some years of practice in war. The tank can now be countered by the anti-tank gun; and a densely built-up area such as that between Aachen and the Rhine is a natural series of obstacles in which every village performs an anti-tank function. Mine fields, barbed-wire entanglements, concrete pillboxes, and field fortifications—trenches, earthworks, and fire points—must all be reduced by a most careful coordination of artillery, infantry, armor, and close air support. Add to this the enemy's exceptional skill in the use of defensive fire-power, from deceptively placed artillery batteries down to concentrated mortar and machine-gun groupings, his resourceful employment of numerically inferior but qualitatively superior tanks, and the tenacious resistance of his best front-line troops, and the result is a slow and costly advance for the attacker—until the temporary defensive advantage is submerged by the overriding strategic advantage of being on the offensive and holding the initiative. Then the shape of battle changes very quickly again.

Littell Versus Biddle

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 1

AT BEST, the information so far available in the Biddle-Littell feud makes the Attorney General seem small and petulant. At worst, it makes his ex-Assistant Attorney General seem arrogantly self-righteous. That Assistant Attorney General Norman Littell despised Attorney General Francis Biddle and that Attorney General Francis Biddle disliked Assistant Attorney General Norman Littell intensely was no secret. It could have been no surprise to Littell when Biddle asked for his resignation on November 18, and it was no surprise to those who knew Littell to learn that he had declined to resign. As an Assistant Attorney General he was removable only by the President, and the President has now regretfully removed him, telling Biddle that he thought he had handled the matter badly.

Incompatibility is obvious, but the Biddle-Littell affair cannot be dismissed as merely a clash of personalities. Assistant Attorney General Littell's courageous testimony before Congressional investigating committees in the past two years was primarily responsible for two major progressive victories. One was the cancelation of the contract between the Navy Department and Standard Oil of California for the exploitation of the Elk Hills naval petroleum reserve. The other was the complete revision and liberalization in the Senate of the original Clayton bill for the disposal of war surpluses. Littell's disclosures to the Truman committee last August 17 not only wrecked the Clayton bill, after it had passed the House, but played a large part recently in preventing the appointment of a Surplus Property Board dominated by underlings of Clayton and Jesse Jones.

Biddle's request for Littell's resignation came just when Jones and Clayton and Byrnes were smarting over the successful Senate revolt against their hand-picked Surplus Property Board. That revolt stemmed in part from Littell's testimony, and it looked as if Littell were being punished for his plain speaking. The Truman committee, before which Littell had testified, asked both officials for an explanation. This was the least the committee could do. But even this little seems to have been done only under pressure from Senators Kilgore and Ferguson, the former acting from a sickbed. Not the least important aspect of this case is its effect on officials asked to testify before Congressional investigating committees. Whatever the truth of the matter, even the better than average official is likely to conclude from the Littell affair that investigating committees cannot be depended upon to protect witnesses who get in wrong with their superiors by testifying honestly.

The Attorney General owed it to himself and to the public to dispel that impression. His opportunity came when Senator Mead, Truman's successor as head of the "Truman committee," asked him to present a statement. Biddle simply denied that he had asked for Littell's resignation "in order to discipline him for testifying before your committee," and said he had never objected to Littell's testifying before any Congressional committee. The Attorney General said he thought it "inappropriate" for him to enter into the details which led him to ask for Mr. Littell's resignation except to say that for some time their "relationship had been such that [I] no longer reposed in him the kind of confidence that was essential for the best interests of the department." This is not adequate. Littell sent the committee a copy of memorandum he wrote last August 21 to Acting Attorney General Charles Fahy dealing with a "severe reprimand" administered Littell by Fahy on Biddle's instructions the morning after the surplus-property testimony. If Biddle did not object to the testimony, why was Littell reprimanded for giving it? Biddle's press representative said yesterday that the Attorney General "heartily concurred" with Littell's testimony but that there was a "mixup" about what Littell intended to tell the committee, that Biddle thought he was only going to testify about some amendment to the Surplus Property bill. The reprimand itself was not denied. If Biddle heartily concurred, why did he object to Littell's saying it?

In addition to submitting a copy of the memorandum to Fahy, Littell replied to Senator Mead's request with a twenty-six-page statement on the issues between himself and Biddle. After Senator Mead made both the Littell and Biddle communications public, the Attorney General issued a short press release saying that he did "not propose to discuss Mr. Littell's reckless and unfounded statement" and that he would not "tolerate such serious disloyalty or insubordination from any member of the department even if he thinks it is his public duty to remain in office after he has been asked to resign." This was as close as Biddle has yet come to a bill of particulars. These two statements and some explanations volunteered by his press representative yesterday are all we have on Biddle's side of the story. The rest is Littell's, and one would think Biddle would welcome a chance to answer it. Littell's circumstantial account does not picture Biddle as a wicked man, but it does portray him as weak, fuzzy-minded, and not disposed to stick his neck out on dangerous issues. Few informed observers will find this view of the Attorney General startling. In justice to Biddle, it must be added that Littell's epistle to the Truman committee also paints an involuntary picture of himself, and that Littell clearly is no model of modesty or tact.

It would take a Gogol to do justice to the wars of Biddle with Littell, and one suspects that occasionally trouble between them arose because it is difficult for two officials to occupy the same headline at the same time. Thus the Attorney General, according to Littell's account, was all ready to write "a blistering memorandum" on the Elk Hills contract until his assistant got to a witness stand on Capitol Hill ahead of him. But the story seems less funny when one begins to examine the implications of some of these incidents. Littell said his relations with Biddle began to deteriorate when the Attorney General asked him to agree to a settlement in the condemnation case of *United States* vs. *Savannah*

Shipyards, a subsidiary of Empire Ordnance, which was represented by Biddle's friend and political mentor, Tom Corcoran. If the detailed story given by Littell is correct, it supports the prevalent impression that Corcoran, now a private counsel often engaged in litigation with the government, enjoys a close intimacy with the Attorney General.

There are more admirable qualities than tact in public office. Had Littell been tactful, he would have taken the hint from Biddle at the beginning. Littell tells of a series of attempts to make him accept a settlement and says he finally told the Attorney General "very plainly that because of his intimate connection with Tommy Corcoran, a settlement by him at anything above the government's figure of $985,665 would break wide open into a public scandal." Littell declares that Biddle finally turned to his assistant, Jim Rowe, another Corcoran protégé, and "said that I was right, 'It would be another Sterling Products case.'" According to Littell, the owners originally asked $2,187,000. Their counsel talked of $1,900,000. On the eve of the trial they offered settlement at $1,085,000, and the trial ended with a jury verdict of $1,285,000. The only comment by Biddle's press man on this whole affair was that the jury verdict was "$200,000 more" than the settlement offered and this proved "Corcoran's people were not trying to rob the country blind." That is hardly the point.

Littell says that some time after the Savannah case Rowe sent the Attorney General a memorandum saying that Marquis Childs had reported to an SEC lawyer that Littell had said at a dinner party (the Attorney General's entourage seems to collect tittle-tattle of this kind) that when the SEC report on the Empire Ordnance Company "was turned over to the Department of Justice for criminal prosecution, it would be suppressed." Littell declares that Biddle worked himself into quite a lather over this, though Childs denied that he had ever said any such thing. Childs supported Littell's version of this affair when I checked it with him. Whatever was said, it would be instructive for a Congressional committee to find out just what did happen to this case. It was prepared by the SEC and handed over to the United States Attorney's office in New York for prosecution, where it seems to have fizzled out. Why?

I should think a Congressional committee would want the answers to many of the questions raised by Littell's account of the differences between him and Biddle. Why, for example, did the Attorney General give a copy of Littell's report on the Elk Hills contract to counsel for Standard Oil of California when he had forbidden Littell to give a copy to the House Public Lands Committee? Why did Biddle try to keep the Truman committee from getting a copy of Littell's report on the Breakers Hotel at Palm Beach? What is the extent of Corcoran's influence with Biddle, and what part did it play in the settlement of the Sterling Products case?

The Biddle-Littell dispute is more than a conflict of personalities. It involves the question of justice for an able and conspicuously independent public servant summarily removed from office. It raises the question of whether he was punished by the Attorney General for his outspoken testimony in the Elk Hills, Breakers Hotel, and surplus-property inquiries and the further question of whether Congressional investigating committees are prepared to protect public officials who testified before them. Answers to these questions would throw a good deal of light on the inner workings of the Department of Justice and its chief.

What to Do About China

BY KATE L. MITCHELL

OUR relations with China are in many respects one of the most important problems facing us in the immediate future and also in the post-war period. This is true not only because China will presumably be the decisive battleground in the war against Japan but also because American hopes for future peace and prosperity depend to a very great extent upon the emergence of a prosperous, stable, and independent China. It is natural, therefore, that the American people have felt deep concern over the continuing economic and political crisis in China—a concern that some have mistaken for an unwarranted interference in Chinese affairs. The recall of General Stilwell brought to a head the mounting bitterness and resentment of Chinese officials, and of certain groups in the United States, against what they consider attempts by Washington to "dictate" to the Chinese government. The champions of Chungking contend that the Chinese people have fought against Japan much longer than has any other country, that in the course of this devastating struggle China has inevitably been greatly weakened, and that today, when China is weak "through no fault of its own," the American government fails to remember its past sacrifices.

This interpretation of the history of the past eight years is erroneous. It is true that from 1937 to 1940 the United States, though friendly and sympathetic toward China, gave it only the most nominal aid and was furthermore responsible, in large measure, for enabling Japan to build up a powerful war machine. But during the years since Pearl Harbor the traditional friendship of the American people for China has unquestionably crystallized into a definite recognition not only that a strong and independent China would be the best guaranty of future peace in the Far East but also that China's ability to expand its economy and raise the living standards of its people has a direct bearing on our own ability to maintain and improve our people's standards of living. If American criticism of China has been severe, this has been due chiefly to our disappointment at Chungking's failure to halt a trend that is rapidly converting China from an asset to a liability, not only for the war but also for the crucial years to follow. The American people are justifiably disturbed that while everywhere else among the United Nations there is increasing unity, China shows the opposite tendency.

Those who resent all American criticism of the situation in China are not doing either China or the United States any good. In their unqualified championing of Chungking's cause they seem unable to recognize the far-reaching changes produced by the war years or the powerful new forces that have arisen. Preoccupation with China's achievements of yesterday is no substitute for action and progress today.

In *The Nation* of November 25 Maxwell Stewart posed the question of what policy the United States should pursue to establish a workable basis of cooperation with China. It is obvious that this problem has two phases. One is how we can win the war against Japan as quickly as possible and with the least loss of life; the other is how we can best help China to become a nation strong enough to take its place as one of the Big Four and not merely as an appendage to the Big Three. The two, of course, are closely connected, since the effectiveness of Chinese participation in the war will have a direct bearing on China's future unity and strength. If, for example, Japan is defeated chiefly by American military and naval power without the active aid of China's armed forces, there is grave danger that China will enter the period of peace-making too weak militarily to be a powerful political factor, and that this weakness will play into the hands of those who wish to restore the pre-war balance of power in the Far East. The case of France is a notable example of the close relation between military and political effectiveness. While the Vichy government under Pétain and Laval was collaborating with Nazi Germany, France was disregarded as a political power in Europe. But when the Allies landed in Normandy, the powerful French resistance movement, which gave invaluable aid to the invading armies, quickly won for France the position of a highly respected partner. The French armies are taking an important part in the final offensive against Germany, and there is no doubt that France will have an influential voice in the peace conferences.

China could learn a useful lesson from the experience of France, and it is clear that the United States is eager to help China to attain the unity and military strength that are essential if it is to play a leading political role in the Far East now and later. Unfortunately, however, the Central Government armies have deteriorated as a fighting force until they are almost valueless. Donald Nelson and General Hurley are doing everything they can to aid the reorganization of China's military and economic structure so that the Chinese armies can once again become the effective fighting force they were in 1938 and 1939. And although the recent Cabinet shifts in Chungking represented no radical change in the political structure of Kuomintang China, the appointment of the very able, popular, and liberal General Chen Cheng to the post of War Minister seems likely to lead to closer cooperation between Chinese and American military leaders. On the military front, therefore, we may see an important change for the better.

The fact remains, however, that when American troops land on the shores of China, the Chungking government will have no control of the coast and no force there to help them. In those areas the only Chinese troops will be the guerrilla or partisan units. The situation will be in an important sense comparable to that in Yugoslavia when the partisans under Marshal Tito were the only force capable of giving effective military support to the Allies against Nazi Germany. In Yugoslavia's case military requirements eventually superseded political considerations, and Tito's partisans were recognized as valuable fighting allies whose aid could shorten the war. Similarly if the American troops can count on effective support from the Chinese guerrillas, the offensive against Japan will be facilitated and many lives will be saved. Thus there seems to be no question that the United States should treat the guerrillas as fighting allies operating in areas of great strategic importance. This would mean delivering American supplies to the guerrillas as well as to the Central Government troops, stationing American liaison officers at the main guerrilla headquarters, establishing one or more American consulates in the guerrilla regions, and making full use of the enormous amount of information regarding Japanese tactics that has been obtained by the Eighth Route Army and its partisan auxiliaries. In China as in Yugoslavia political considerations should not be allowed to outweigh military necessities when the lives of American soldiers are at stake.

There is, however, one big difference between the situation in China and that in Yugoslavia. Whereas General Mihailovich made deals with both camps, the Chungking government has never wavered in its devotion to the Allied cause. It is not necessary to choose *between* the Chinese guerrillas and the regular government troops. Rather, every American can hope that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, General Chen Cheng, Donald Nelson, and General Hurley will find ways and means of bringing the central armies of China to sufficient fighting strength to play a leading role in the large-scale land offensive which General Wedemeyer only the other day declared was essential for Japan's defeat.

Mr. Nelson is working hard to increase the volume of military supplies flown into China from 20,000 to 30,000 tons a month, and that immediately. He has also been authorized by Chiang Kai-shek to establish a Chinese War Production Board with the primary aim of bringing about the efficient utilization of China's existing industrial plants, which have been producing at only from 30 to 70 per cent of their capacity. Unquestionably, Mr. Nelson will encounter serious difficulties in his efforts to build up an efficient industrial organization in China; he has himself criticized the prevalent nepotism, bureaucratic corruption, and lack of interest in manufacturing induced by the far greater profits to be made from speculation in raw materials. He will of necessity have to work with Chinese officials who have been responsible for the very conditions that he is trying to eradicate. Much can be accomplished, however, if the American government is firmly insistent that Mr. Nelson be given real aid in eliminating the economic abuses that have so disastrously undermined China's fighting strength. If the volume of military supplies reaching China from India can be stepped up, if the available equipment is used exclusively to fight the Japanese, and if, in addition, China begins to make full use of its own industrial resources, there is no military reason why it cannot put into the field a sizable and adequately equipped army.

Thus, so far as American policy toward China is concerned, it is not a question of aiding the Chinese guerrillas against the Kuomintang or of helping the Kuomintang armies to become strong enough to wipe out the guerrillas. Our primary aim is to win the war as quickly as possible, and to this end we should obviously seek to strengthen all sections of China's fighting forces and increase the general effectiveness of Chinese participation in the war. In that process we could do much to restore the remarkable unity that existed in China in the early years of the war. Furthermore, if Mr. Nelson and his colleagues are able to reorganize and expand Chinese industrial production, their success will contribute to a recovery of political power by the industrial and banking class, which Mr. Stewart described as "by and large progressive in the sense that it had a world view and wished to see China develop along the lines of the Western economic pattern"—an attitude in sharp contrast to the reactionary outlook of the landlord-moneylender group now dominant, which is chiefly concerned with preserving China's outmoded and oppressive agrarian system.

Any expansion of Chinese industry will inevitably help break the stranglehold of this landed-gentry class and thus enable China to achieve at least the beginnings of a better-balanced and potentially more prosperous economic structure. Such a development would also be of tremendous importance in lessening the tension between the Chungking bureaucracy and the guerrilla governments in the border regions, and between the Kuomintang and Communist parties, since it is the landed-gentry class that is most fearful of the agrarian reforms instituted in the guerrilla regions, and most determined to prevent them from spreading to Kuomintang China, even at the cost of civil war.

To return to the parallel of Yugoslavia: the final recognition of Marshal Tito's forces as a military partner of the Allies resulted not in revolution but in the establishment of a broadly representative government under King Peter and Premier Subasich. In China the prospects for a similar outcome are even better because Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is accepted as the supreme leader of China by every group from the Communists to the "old-style" war lords. Not one important movement to overthrow him is known to exist. The most radical demand made of him has been that he set up a representative coalition government under his leadership.

Recognition by Chiang Kai-shek that only through political unity can he remain the head of a strong and influential nation would go a long way toward ending the present political impasse in China and insuring effective cooperation between China and the United States. His alternative is to remain the leader of a China weakened by internal dissension. If Chiang chooses to retain a government composed of men preferring civil war to the relinquishment of their undemocratically acquired monopoly of power, it will be impossible for China to use its energies for reconstruction and economic progress.

The United States can make a great contribution to China, to itself, and to all the United Nations by giving all possible military aid to those forces in China that can be of most immediate help to us—namely, the Eighth Route Army and all the other guerrilla forces—while at the same time doing everything possible to encourage the rebirth of the central Chinese armies as an effective fighting force. Even though the formation of a representative coalition government does not appear to be an immediate possibility, the kind of military and economic cooperation involved in such a policy has within it the seeds of greater Chinese unity and would hasten the emergence of that strong, united, and independent China that all friends of the Chinese people so earnestly desire.

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

JAPAN, IN ITS DEALINGS with China, continues to profess an unctuous altruism worthy of a Western power. . . . The Chinese people, meantime, appear somewhat unappreciative of Japanese solicitude for their welfare. Japan is widely believed to have spent a good deal of money in corrupting officials of the Chinese government, but it has succeeded in winning little more than hatred and suspicion from the Chinese population.—*December 6, 1919.*

MOST OF THE NEWSPAPERS that covered their front pages last summer with accounts of the raid on the Rand School in New York, and the proposal of the Lusk Committee to close the place and cancel the charter because of seditious activities, found no room to chronicle the collapse of the suit last week.—*December 6, 1919.*

NEITHER THE WICKEDNESS of Carranza nor the depravity of the Mexican nation but the policy of Wilson is the key to the Mexican situation. It is a policy, not of non-intervention, but of intervention. . . . I plead for the right of the Mexican government, undoubtedly supported in its policies by a majority of Mexicans, struggling toward democracy, honestly seeking to serve the Mexican people, to make such disposition as it sees fit of Mexican oil, regardless of the results to Wall Street.—JOHN KENNETH TURNER, *December 13, 1919.*

MR. FRANK L. POLK, the head of the American peace delegation at Paris, persists in taking a hopeful view of the world situation. "The laborious edifice of world peace," he is reported to have said in a public statement just before leaving for home, "is on the eve of achievement." We heartily wish that we could agree with him. . . . What makes such grandiloquent announcements as that of Mr. Polk the more distasteful is the fact that everybody now knows how great and dreadful the failure has been, and the reasons for it.—*December 20, 1919.*

AT FIRST SIGHT OR SOUND the Einstein controversy looks like an Irish quarrel: much din and fury but not necessarily much cause. Nor have most newspaper explanations thrown anything but shadows across the matter. What they agree in is that the new theory is too difficult to explain, if not too difficult to understand. . . . Actually, what has happened is that a certain margin of error in physics—a margin long known by physicists, mathematicians, psychologists, and metaphysicians to be in existence—has been apparently narrowed by Professor Einstein's discovery of a new and highly complex formula.—*December 27, 1919.*

Will It Be Peace?*

BY STUART CHASE

THE veterans will be coming back to Main Street to enjoy the peace. In fever-laden jungles and in the frozen North, at sea and in foxholes and in the thin high air, the men have dreamed of this return. They have dreamed of peace in pre-war images, and in images of a fantastic Utopia. What will they find?

Main Street will not look so different to them from its pre-war self, though their eyes will be sharp for changes. There is Ed's garage, and the First National Bank, and the Palace Theater, and a fine new coat of paint on the Methodist church. Terry's meat market has gone out of business, but there is a new grocery store by the traffic light. The union hall is filled with new members and confidence; the Grange has been painted up too and seems to be coming to life. The Chamber of Commerce is staging a big drive to keep the new war plant from closing down.

The town folks will go wild when the young men come back. They will put on a parade and a carnival, and fire off the Civil War cannon in Prospect Park, the way they did in 1918. Senator Williamson will make a speech about peace.

But will it be peace? Or will the war abroad give place to a decade of conflict at home? Will Main Street be the victim of a dangerous and bitter battle between warring pressure groups? Will Big Business, Big Labor, and Big Agriculture take up where the Germans and the Japanese left off?

Running Wild

Sometimes it almost seems so. It seemed so to Raymond Clapper just before he left on his fatal trip to the Pacific, when he wrote in his column:

> It is a sickening thing to see happening in war time, this greedy raid all around. American men are dying all over the world, and Washington is engulfed in an obscene grab for the almighty dollar. These pressure groups are running wild. Washington is being terrorized, and every politician is fleeing for his life to fall in with the demand to break up price control.

The Big Three—labor, farm, business—were the chief offenders on the price-control issue. Certain labor groups were trying to crack open the Little Steel formula and thus raise wages. Farm groups were trying to kill government subsidies and thus raise food prices. Business groups were trying to kill the tax bill, which was specially drawn to hold down inflation.

All this happened while the country was under fire. When victory is achieved and military patriotism is not a force—what then? That doubt was what made Raymond Clapper so bitter.

Why Nations Fall

Up to the time these words are written, in the autumn of 1944, it is significant to see which of the belligerent nations have held together under the pressure of war, and which have disintegrated. France and Italy crumbled early. Britain, Russia, Germany, and Japan have taken great punishment but maintained their morale.

What is the reason? Among the varying characteristics of these nations can we find a common factor of strength or weakness? It is not, I think, a question of nationality. Human beings are not so different the world around. All the men have twenty-eight chromosomes and all the women twenty-nine. The French are not less valorous than the Russians.

The ability to take it or to crack is tied up, I believe, with the way individuals feel about their country. Some folks are willing to make heavy sacrifices for their homeland, and others, just as courageous individually, are not. When the willing ones are in the majority, as in Britain or Russia, we find a nation extremely difficult to overthrow. When the willing ones are in the minority, the nation caves in.

France was cruelly split into many factions. Its government machinery was out of gear, with cabinets falling every other week. Communists, socialists, liberals, royalists, fascists, labor parties, big business, peasant blocs, rentiers, the "200 families," centrists, pro-Spanish Loyalists, were all at each other's throats. André Mesnard writes in the *New Republic:* "Perhaps the most shocking thing brought to light by the defeat of 1940 was the bankruptcy of the élite whose task it was to unite the nation morally. When the crisis came, it was discovered that Frenchmen, in key positions, thought not as citizens of France but as members of groups."

We do not know so much about pre-war opposition groups in Italy, but they are blossoming now, in many colors, in Naples and Rome. Did Poland and Yugoslavia fail to put up a strong fight because they were torn by racial minorities?

On the Home Front

Now let us swing the pointer inward. Will the people of the United States stand firm when the test comes? The test here will spring from the aftermath of war, not from the war itself. We shall not be tried in the fires of invasion and mass bombing but in the fires of demobilization and unemployment. We shall be tested for our ability to forge a durable peace.

We are a people with many freedoms, and we glory in them. Are we so free that we lack the cement which holds a nation together in crisis? To hear us talk one would think that we could stand up to anything. The French used to talk like that too. How much of a country are we anyway? How strong is the Main Street pattern? We are going to find out before long. The furnace is being prepared and the temperature will be high. We cannot hire smart publicity men to fake our way through it. We shall have to march through it.

Taking and Giving

For three hundred years Americans have been taking from their land and natural resources without giving an equivalent back. Now almost half our arable land has been damaged or destroyed by erosion. Too many of us have thought of our country as something to be mined and exploited, not something to be loved and maintained. The people who now go to black markets with a knowing wink are carrying on the same tradition. Not only individuals but powerful groups have been operating on what might be called the Me First principle. Their eyes have not been seeing America as a whole. When they have had to choose between behaving like Americans or behaving like, say, coal miners or steel men, they have behaved like coal miners or steel men.

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* This is a chapter from Mr. Chase's forthcoming book, "Democracy Under Pressure," which is being published as a report to the Twentieth Century Fund. Two other chapters will appear in early issues.

Time and again the majority of Congress has lost all track of the interest of the whole community to favor the farm bloc, the Legion, the business bloc, or the labor bloc. Congressmen, pressure-group leaders, Administration men, the "loyal opposition" have repeatedly forsaken the clear path of what is best for the country, to follow the path of what they think is best for themselves.

For a few stirring months after Pearl Harbor we really had national unity. We buried our differences in an almost universal desire to serve the nation. Many were ready to sit up all night spotting planes, to work all day for nothing at menial jobs in hospitals, to give unlimited time as air-raid wardens and shore patrols. We were Americans all, in a dangerous world. But as the shock wore off, the unity wore off.

By the early summer of 1943 there were days when it seemed as if the country were falling apart in a welter of strikes, crack-downs, threats, seizures, black-market operations, name-calling, bad blood, double-crossing. It was perfectly clear that those who were making the most noise were thinking about their hurt feelings, or their itch for power, or their pocket-books, or their "competitive position."

Of course, you say; good old human nature. Then where was our human nature right after Pearl Harbor? Where do the Russians, the British, the Japanese get their devotion? Human nature is not something that goes on and off like a faucet. Again, it may be objected that pressure-group politics is a good old American custom. No one can gainsay it. So was marching off to war with a squirrel rifle an old American custom. Customs change.

The Great Society

The need for developing a sense of the whole community does not arise alone from the war. We cannot operate a high-energy economy without it. As the power age advances, every man jack of us becomes more dependent on the community. Yet the community is so large that we are seldom aware of this dependence. Only when the electric power goes off in a blizzard, or the milk train breaks down, do we realize for a few minutes how the community bears us in its arms. From San Diego to Aroostook County, we are our brothers' keepers. All the Main Streets merge into one great society.

The pressure groups seem to be largely led by men who are ignorant of the fact that we are our brothers' keepers. They think such talk is Sunday School stuff. They are wrong. It is the first law of modern technology.

The self-sufficiency of the individual farmer or the small local group, which was characteristic of the handicraft age, has been sacrificed to the superior output of quantity production. Each worker, manager, establishment, now performs a single small operation in a vast national assembly line. Every citizen is dependent for his food and shelter on millions of other citizens. Nobody can go it alone any more. Your great-grandfather could get three square meals a day from his own farm, if a little salt were thrown in. Can you? Figure out where the items for a simple breakfast come from, and how many people are involved, directly and indirectly, in producing and delivering them.

The men who run pressure groups seem to assume that their crowd can get along. They act largely on the principle of Me First and the public be damned. If their special interest and the public interest happen to coincide, it is probable they did not plan it that way. If the public is at war, why so much the worse for the public. They talk tough and act tough. I am not here arguing about their morals. My point is more serious. I am looking back at France in 1940, and ahead to Demobilization Day in 1946—or whenever it comes. I am arguing that such behavior can tear the whole economy to shreds, engulfing the tough babies with the rest of us.

Dominoes in a Row

The depression should have provided proof enough that Americans are tied together in a single organism. No group was immune as the blight spread. Even the lordly Telephone Company had to draw on its surplus account to pay dividends. Everyone went to hell in a hack—trade-unionists, unorganized workers, bankers, share-croppers, white-collar employees, architects, railroad men, teachers, writers, government employees, "widows and orphans," farmers, brokers, fishermen, artists, miners, engineers—everybody. Do you remember the empty, flyblown store windows along Main Street in 1933?

We went over like dominoes in a row without knowing what had hit us. We ought to know by this time. A high-energy society is not only inordinately productive, as Veblen used to say; it is extremely vulnerable. If the idea is every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, the devil in no time at all works right up to the front of the line.

The pressure boys, most of them, act as though they had never heard of this state of affairs. They apparently think they can still obtain three squares a day off the old farm. They think they can kick and scratch their way through the delicate veins, nerves, tendons of an interdependent community, and get theirs. Right now they hope, most of them, if they bite hard enough in the clinches and knock over enough Congressmen, that they can claw their way up to a nice little shelf, safe from the ravages of the post-war depression.

If this spirited free-for-all actually persists after Demobilization Day, nobody will get anything, especially the rest of us. There will be no safe little shelf for anybody. With interdependence increased by $20 billion of new mass-production facilities, the dominoes ought to go down even more rapidly. There will be no peace on Main Street.

It looks as if the pressure groups must either face the kind of world they are living in today, made more tenuous by the technical complexities of total war, or keep on cutting the community's life lines until somebody comes riding in on a white horse. At which point Congress becomes a memory, and pressure groups go underground for an indefinite stay. They have been underground for twenty-seven years in Russia and for eleven years in Germany.

I am clinging to the hope that a democracy can discipline itself. Look at Britain. . . . Yes, but look at France in 1940.

The Price We Pay in Italy

BY ERIC SEVAREID

London, November 7

GENERAL SIR HAROLD L. G. ALEXANDER, Allied commander-in-chief in Italy,* has just had his first press conference in some nine months with the war correspondents there. He defended the Italian campaign as a whole and explained that the Eighth and Fifth armies cannot reasonably be expected to drive the Germans from the Po valley unless the enemy makes some mistake which can be exploited. This most important statement was generally overlooked by the press.

Here in London one senses that the British public has never been much taken with the Italian campaign as a vital contribution to Germany's defeat. Have we, in fact, had a victory in Italy? A clear-cut victory speaks for itself, and the very fact that General Alexander felt compelled to state his claims indicates that public opinion is justified in feeling doubt about the whole thing and wishing to reserve judgment until all the facts are in. I spent five spring and summer months in Italy as war correspondent and while men were dying in their great effort felt constrained from publicly questioning their mission—indeed, the Allied censorship in Italy, actually run by the British, was always quick to blue-pencil even implied criticisms. Members of Alexander's staff even made a habit of telling correspondents not only what they should not write but what they should. Since the Commander-in-chief has now spoken about the past, perhaps a reporter may also take the occasion to look back and issue some reminders.

I for one—and many of my colleagues from that front are of like mind—am impressed by the major miscalculations made in high places. There is not the slightest doubt that the original decision to invade Italy proper was based on a belief that the Germans would not give battle in southern Italy, and that if they did they could not possibly maintain more than three or four divisions there because of their very long supply lines and our own mastery of the sky. The Germans surprised us, and the fight was very hard. It was just the first of many surprises. They held us on the Cassino line, where we lost thousands of men, particularly in the tragic winter attempt by the American Thirty-sixth Division to cross the Rapido River, an attempt which the divisional commander pleaded against with tears. We landed at Anzio in January under the illusion that the Germans, in their alarm, would pull back from the southern front to Rome or beyond. While Churchill was announcing that we would soon have Rome and Alexander was scolding the Anzio reporters for being "alarmists," our cooks and truck drivers were being thrown into the line to stem the German counter-attacks which threatened to drive us into the sea. We recovered our safety, but we lost a strategic, mountainous 10 per cent of the original beachhead and never regained it until the break-out began on May 23. By that date 3,000 Americans lay in the Anzio cemetery; the total of British dead I do not know. We had taken some 4,000 German prisoners, and they had captured "rather more" of our men, as a G-2 colonel put it. After the break-out in May, General Clark's Fifth Army headquarters issued a statement which broadly implied that Anzio was now fully justified—a statement many reporters refused to send to their papers.

We tried to smash the German resistance at Cassino in mid-March with a much-publicized obliteration bombing, followed by an attack by Indians and New Zealanders. It failed completely, and the front went static until the grand offensive opened on May 11 from Cassino to the Tyrrhenian Sea. On that day Alexander issued an order defining his objective as the *destruction of the German armies in Italy.* His troops were told, "You will be supported by overwhelming air forces, and in guns and tanks we are far superior." Nothing was then said about Rome, although of course we expected to take it. Rome was regarded by the generals as purely a political objective, of no military value whatever—actually a liability, since we would have to divert transport and men to feed it. Reporters were told that this offensive was directly connected with the coming invasion of Europe: that we were to oblige the Germans to divert large forces to Italy, that we could accomplish this only by destroying the formations already there, and that if we merely compelled a slow German retreat we would have failed in the primary mission.

Now, in his November 1 statement—I am going by the account in the London *Times*—Alexander says that he aimed to destroy "as much as possible of the enemy forces" and to produce a first-class victory before the second front opened in France, and that "Rome was that victory." He says we inflicted 194,000 casualties on the Germans—though casualty figures for the enemy can never be more than an approximation—at a cost of 116,000 of our own. At the same time he says that only five German divisions were sent into Italy from other fronts after May 11, a reinforcement or replacement of only one-fifth, since twenty-five German divisions were in Italy on that date. Did we, then, give important aid to the second front?

The General, in defending his record, declared further that at no time had he had more than a slight numerical superiority over the Germans. But at various crucial moments of contact we certainly had more than a "slight" superiority. On the southern front, on May 11, we opposed fourteen Allied divisions to the Germans' five. When the battle on the Anzio front opened on May 23, we had seven plus against their five. The Germans, of course, were later reinforced, but it should also be pointed out that the German divisions were nearly always much smaller than ours, running from one-half to two-thirds of our divisional strength. With only a few exceptions, such as the First Parachute and the Hermann Göring divisions, these were hand-me-down enemy divisions, containing troops too old or too young, interspersed with reluctant Russians and other undependable odd lots. The Germans had far fewer guns and tanks, almost no planes at all, and only a fraction of the Allied transport. In May it was estimated we had on the beachhead alone as many vehicles as they had in the whole of Italy.

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* On November 26 General Alexander was made Supreme Commander in the Mediterranean theater and General Mark Clark became Commander-in-chief of the Allied forces in Italy.

After Rome, the Allied objective was to capture the Po valley, which we have not done yet. Today General Alexander says he was left with too little strength, because the invasion of southern France took a number of his divisions. It did take several excellent divisions, including all the French and some American. But his statement makes strange reading to any correspondent who was in Rome in early August. When high officers then described their plans for getting the valley, and, indeed, for driving on into South Germany, they had full knowledge—as did the correspondents—of the total diversion for southern France.

We have been fighting in Italy now for fourteen months. We have killed and captured many Germans and wrecked a great deal of their equipment. We knocked the remaining Italian Fascists out of the war. We got bases in the south from which to do important strategic bombing of France, Austria, Hungary, and Rumania and from which we sent considerable aid to Marshal Tito. And, if you find satisfaction in it, we helped to lay waste and impoverish for many years the major part of Italy.

It was the kind of warfare in which wide, sweeping movements are impossible, in which troops have no alternative to orthodox, steam-roller advance, crushing towns and villages in their path, laying waste the countryside. As Churchill said, we have drawn a hot rake up the length of Italy. The consequence is that Italy has become such an economic ruin that the Allies must pour in money and materials for years to come, or be prepared to help millions of Italians to emigrate. I am informed that of the total productive capacity of that part of Italy which has been liberated, approximately one-sixth remains. Destruction of industrial power alone between Rome and Naples is so complete that a year will probably be required to bring it back to 15 per cent of its pre-war level. One can hardly begin to speak of the erasure of ancient Roman towns and monuments, which belonged not to the Italians but to all civilized peoples.

The Italian campaign is not all debit, by any means. But some day people will want to know whether the returns balance the enormous investment of Allied lives, ships, transport, and planes. They will ask if we could not have achieved almost as much by stopping in southern Italy at the Volturno line, securing our ports and our bases and using the bulk of our forces in more fruitful encounters elsewhere. They will ask, "Did not the Italian ground fighting really become a war of attrition and nothing more?"

To this observer at least, it seems very late for commanders to continue to place blame for failure on weather and insufficient forces. Why should we not be frank about Italy and admit that Kesselring, on a very small budget, has done a masterful job in making a primary Allied force pay bitterly for every dubious mile of a secondary battlefield; that no matter what heroism our superb fighters showed, the monstrously difficult terrain of the peninsula, with its few roads winding through precipitous mountains, made encirclement and destruction of a retreating enemy impossible at any stage; that the terrain was not an unknown quantity when the original plans were made?

The Allied peoples—and history—may well ask whether the bloody Italian campaign has been a "victory," whether, indeed, it has accomplished anything of a decisive nature.

In the Wind

CIVICS LESSON: The Nebraska Bankers' Association at its annual convention, at Omaha, November 11, voted down a proposal by a small-town banker, E. W. Rossiter of Hartington, that the association's officers be elected by mail. Many country bankers, Rossiter said, find it impossible to attend conventions, and thus the association tends to be dominated by big-town bankers, who are a minority. "Opponents of the vote-by-mail proposal," the Lincoln *State Journal* reports, "said that it was too much like the direct primary."

PATRIOTISM: Private Raymond Matsuda is an American soldier. He is of Japanese descent. He fought overseas for two years with the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, won seven decorations, and on July 22 was shot in the left knee on the Italian front. On November 9, walking with the aid of a crutch, he entered a barber shop in Poston, Arizona, for a haircut. The barber, a Texan named Andrew Hale, threw him out.

HEALTH AND HYGIENE: Dr. Irving S. Cutter's column, How to Keep Well, in the Chicago *Tribune* of November 26, explains the drug habit thus: "Most of these sufferers became opium users because they wanted to escape from the stress and strain of ordinary life; to wander in Elysian Fields where everything is beautiful and serene. They did not choose to make the effort required by a competitive society. If we carry our national social schemes far enough, we will all become dreamers because no one will have the slightest incentive to employ either originality or constructive ingenuity."

CREATIVE WRITING: A soldier writes in the December 8 issue of *Yank*, the army magazine: "It is time that someone told our patriotic writers that some of us G. I.'s don't like the army. The radio serials, the movies, and the newspaper and magazine stories would have the reading public believe that every young man is just crazy about army life. . . . The stories could be a little more realistic. Just once in a while let's have a veteran who is tickled pink when he gets his honorable discharge."

ECONOMICS: An advertisement in the New York *Times* of November 25 offers a gold compact, 2¾ inches in diameter, for $540.

FESTUNG EUROPA: A Nazi newspaper, *Deutsche Stimmen*, published in Bratislava, complains that many people in the Sudetenland are now discovering that they were registered as Germans by mistake in the last census.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Salazar of Portugal: Forgotten Fascist

BY J. R. MIGUEIS

ONLY occasionally does the American press refer to what is going on in Portugal, and then, almost always, it is to praise the "paternal," "benevolent" administration of Premier Oliveira Salazar. The fact of the matter is that Salazar's political structure is fascism, in its purest form.

Salazar is the father of the New State, which was established in 1926 by the suppression of all democratic institutions and guaranties, from free elections to freedom of press and association, and is based on one-party rule. Salazar's political police have indiscriminately arrested, deported, tortured, and assassinated the opposition; the best Portuguese writers and intellectuals have been silenced or live in exile. The corporative monopoly has divided the nation into two groups: a few who become ever richer and the millions who sink into deeper and deeper poverty. Salazar has set up elaborate machinery for propaganda and constructed numerous public buildings to impress the tourist. But work of true importance—education, public health, irrigation, housing—has been utterly neglected. The death rate is increasing at an alarming rate; illiteracy is high.

The British alliance has dictated Portugal's international outlook ever since it was negotiated in the fourteenth century, and friendship for Britain is traditional among the people. Although Salazar has striven to keep the alliance as the main prop of his foreign policy, in order to preserve the Portuguese colonial empire, he has always been frankly sympathetic to the Axis. His relations with the Japanese are still "correct" although they have occupied Portuguese Macao in China and the Portuguese half of Timor. Salazar's protests to them were not nearly so strong as his earlier assault upon the British when, in the spirit of the alliance, they tried to extend their protection to those threatened territories.

During the Spanish war Salazar, with the support of the British appeasers and the Vatican, of which he recently called himself a "vassal," rendered Franco invaluable service by supplying "volunteers," material, and arms. He has entered into a pact with Franco creating a so-called Iberian bloc, and the two *caudillos* have met at frequent intervals to exchange points of view—and political prisoners. Salazar rejoiced over Munich, erected a monument to "peacemaker Chamberlain," and has seldom missed an opportunity to reproach Britain for its subsequent more aggressive policies.

With the outbreak of the World War, Portugal became a nest of Nazi spies and a clearing-house for shady interests. It did business with both belligerent camps. Salazar was adamant in refusing to impose any restrictions on exports to Germany—of tungsten, cork, wines, tinned fish, and so on—even while Great Britain and the United States were purchasing far more Portuguese goods than they needed just to secure the good-will of the dictator.

Salazar's dream was to see a totalitarian world united in a "Christian" anti-Soviet crusade. (Portugal has never recognized the Soviet Union and even objected to its admission to the League of Nations.) The developments of the war, however, changed his dream into a nightmare. The tide turned, and Salazar turned with it. He restrained his anti-British outbursts and open manifestations of sympathy for the Axis. He abolished the fascist salute and the parades of the semi-military Portuguese Legion and Portuguese Youth. He applauded the entrance into the war of Brazil, which had fashioned its *Estado Novo* after his own, and intensified the lucrative commercial dealings between Portugal and the great democracies. But he did all this without in any way altering his domestic policy of totalitarian repression. And Portugal continued to offer opportunities for pro-fascist peace feelers, Nazi spies, and German business. It was only after considerable Allied pressure that Salazar promised a few weeks ago not to harbor war criminals.

After six months of "laborious negotiations" the new orientation of the Portuguese government culminated in the ceding of the Azores bases to the Allies in October, 1943. Britain paid royally for the concession. Very soon numerous shiploads of war material arrived in Lisbon. The people, who whole-heartedly indorse the Allied cause, thought that at last they were going to enter the war. But Salazar hastened to announce that the armaments would "also" be used "to fight the enemies within the country." At about the same time he suddenly recalled his ambassador in London, Professor Armindo Monteiro, who, Salazar was informed, was "conspiring" to assume power on the basis of closer relations with Great Britain and recognition of the Soviet Union.

Conditions within Portugal are desperate. Strikes are multiplying; the people go hungry. Speculation is unbridled, as the Under Secretary of War recently admitted, but only the small merchants are prosecuted. There is a scarcity of essential foodstuffs. Salaries are kept at pre-war subsistence levels, while the cost of living has more than trebled. Last year more than 50,000 workmen of the industrial section of Lisbon went on strike, out of hunger. The government took steps to deport 10,000 of the strikers to Africa in labor battalions, but the shortage of skilled workmen, in conjunction with strong popular protest and the hue and cry raised by British liberals, prevented the plan from being carried out.

Most of the decorative figures of the *Estado Novo* have disappeared from the scene. The Cabinet crisis of some weeks ago has resulted in the formation of a government composed of leaders of the fascist Legion and headed by Gestapo-trained Major Botelho Moniz. Salazar retains the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. The reorganization was obviously effected as an emergency measure, to aid in suppressing the approaching democratic upsurge.

Recently the formation of a National Council for Anti-Fascist Unity was announced, and it apparently comprises all elements opposed to Salazar. The council's program for the future "provisional government" declares that this government will, among other things, destroy the fascist order and reestablish democracy, better the living conditions of the Portuguese people, restore freedom of religion, protect and develop education and culture, and, finally, place Portugal on the side of the United Nations. The council wants the Portuguese people to be united when the hour of victory arrives and accounts are finally settled. It feels that while even one focus of fascism remains in the world, the threat endures of a recurrence of the evil; and that this war will not have been won until democracy prevails everywhere.

Developments in France and Spain are eagerly followed in Portugal. France has always been a great spiritual influence. On the other hand, Spain and Portugal have always pursued a parallel course. United now under the yoke of fascism, they will undoubtedly meet liberation together. Franco's fall will mark the doom of Salazar.

Japan's Underground

BY PACIFICUS

AN IMPORTANT by-product of the recent trek to Yenan of American army officers, State Department and OWI officials, and representatives of the press has been the information obtained about the program and prospects of the anti-fascist movement in Japan. The Eighth Route Army controls territory within twelve miles of Peking, where tens of thousands of Japanese are living, and it has been possible to send couriers back and forth. Moreover, the Communist-controlled Emancipation League has a base in Yenan, and the Americans met its English-speaking leader, Susumu Okano.

Of course no intelligent peace terms for Japan can be written unless we know how great are the possibilities for the emergence of a democratic Japan. Most State Department thinking on post-war Japan assumes that the only alternative to the present military-fascist dictatorship is a "liberal" Japan controlled by the *Zaibatsu* (giant combines) and court circles. It is difficult, however, to criticize the State Department poobahs for ignoring the existence of anti-fascists when such a well-informed liberal as Max Lerner could state flatly in *PM* (February 1, 1944), "There are no groups in Japan, as there are still in Germany, on whose potential democratic strength we can build. . . . Even the doughtiest partisan of the Vansittart thesis agrees that a generation of occupation and reeducation may bring the German people back into the full stream of Western thought and feeling. I have not heard of anyone who would go even that far on Japan."

Mr. Lerner to the contrary, many competent Far Eastern observers in Washington now lean to the belief that there is more hope for democracy in Japan than in Germany. This belief is based on new evidence about the strength of the opposition to the present regime. Broadly speaking, this opposition has three sources, two of which offer authentic resistance.

THE ZAIBATSU

There is, first, the opposition approved by the State Department—that of the giant combines, with which the court is closely connected, the Imperial family itself being one of the largest holders of banking and industrial shares in the country. This "liberal" faction has frequently disagreed with the militarists on strategy but never on the major objective—Japanese domination of East Asia. It has disputed the division of the spoils of war and the control of the government; when General Tojo was unseated last June, he was replaced as head of the Munitions Ministry, which he had devised as an instrument to control the Japanese economy, by Ginjiro Fujiwara, a Mitsui man.

Although the *Zaibatsu*, and more particularly the Mitsuis, who have long enjoyed close relations with the army, has increased its representation in the Koiso Cabinet and is accelerating its war production, important elements in it are also making plans for the eventuality of a Japanese defeat. They hope to obtain a negotiated peace and thus to avoid the destruction of their factories, the participation of Russia in the Pacific war, and the social disorganization that would attend a last-ditch struggle. To this end they plan to establish a constitutional monarchy as a façade behind which they will retain control by manipulating the Emperor, buying out the political parties, and ruthlessly suppressing democratic and left-wing movements.

This group maintains an extensive intelligence and propaganda service. They are able to monitor foreign broadcasts with the radio sets which they use for communication with the ships they operate. They also keep in contact with the world through persons in the diplomatic corps who are sympathetic with their outlook. One of the most important of their connections has been the Japanese diplomatic mission to the Vatican, established in 1942. Vatican officials are reliably reported to have discussed with these Japanese officials the possibilities of a negotiated peace as a means of preventing Soviet participation in the Pacific war and consequent Soviet influence on the peace.

THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION

A second opposition group consists largely of middle-class democrats who believe in Western parliamentary government on the American or British pattern. Thousands of such democrats are still to be found among the professional men, the educated technicians, and the owners of small or medium businesses in Tokyo, Kobe, and Osaka. These people are unorganized and primarily concerned with keeping themselves out of the hands of the police. But we have had two significant indications that they are still faithful to their opinions.

At the beginning of last summer the Japanese announced the suspension of the magazines *Kaizo* and *Chuo Koron*, intellectual publications analogous to *Harper's* and the *Atlantic Monthly* in this country. The decision to suspend them, according to the news agency Domei, followed an investigation which disclosed that they had "editorial policies which, from the standpoint of leading public thinking in war time, were difficult to tolerate." There must have been a fairly deep-rooted resistance to militarism in these intellectual circles if the government could not clear up the situation by jailing a few men but had to make public admission that the staffs of two leading magazines were lukewarm in their support of the war.

Even more significant, however, was the almost simultaneous announcement that Yukio Ozaki, Japan's greatest liberal statesman, had been acquitted by the army-dominated Supreme Court of a charge of lèse majesté. Ozaki is not only an outstanding anti-militarist but the most important living link with the liberal movement of the Meiji period. Active in Japanese politics for over sixty years, he has been the most popular, courageous, and skilful of the small handful of democratic leaders that Japan has produced.

The Japanese Supreme Court reversed a decision by a lower court under which Ozaki was convicted and sentenced to eight months' imprisonment for "a statement made during the course of a political campaign speech in April, 1942," just after the fall of Singapore. The *Zaibatsu* "moderates," who had been hesitant about the tactics of the militarists, were deeply impressed by the amazing successes of the Japanese forces and were hastily climbing on the bandwagon. Ozaki was running for reelection to his seat in the Diet, to which he had been reelected at every election since the Diet was first formed in 1890, a record unparalleled in Japan. The newly formed Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society, whose chief function was to defeat such "anti-national" candidates, concentrated its heaviest fire upon him, but despite this official intimidation and the fact that he faced a charge of lèse majesté, he was reelected. In view of Ozaki's past record as a fearless critic of militarism and dictatorship, it is not surprising that the Tojo government attempted to silence him with a jail sentence. What *is* remarkable is the fact that his great popularity among the people made it advisable for the government to free him.

The existence of a group of unorganized democrats is important not so much for the present as for the post-war period, when they can provide much of the political leadership for the new forces which will be released by Japan's military defeat. It is among these democrats rather than among the phony *Zaibatsu* "moderates" or "liberals" that we should look for administrators during the military occupation of Japan.

THE PEOPLE'S EMANCIPATION LEAGUE

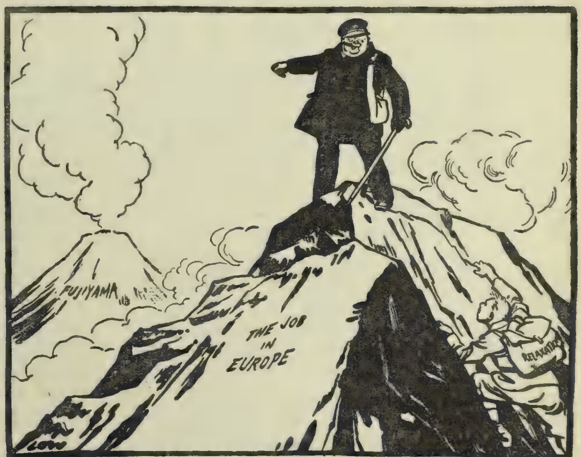
The best-organized and most effective of the resistance movements is the Communist-led Japanese People's Emancipation League. Having been forced underground in 1928, the Communists have had long experience in illegal activity. The extensive industrialization of Japan during the past decade has enlarged their opportunities, particularly since, owing to Japan's critical shipping shortage, Japanese conquests, unlike Nazi conquests, have not raised the people's living standards.

The effectiveness of the Emancipation League is attested to by the stringency of Japanese police regulations. Captured Germans who have recently returned from Japan report that they could travel in Japan with more freedom than Japanese industrial workers. During the Diet session in the spring of 1943 government officials warned that the Communists were making headway among the workers. Later General Onishi said in a speech, "We know there are workers in our country who think only of their own interests and seek a return to conditions of free labor. Such people deserve death." It is estimated that there are from eight to ten thousand Communists in Japan.

The head of the Emancipation League, Susumu Okano, a former Comintern leader, arrived at Yenan from Moscow in the spring of 1943. He has some 400 Japanese working with him in the border region; most of them are doing front-line propaganda work, but about a hundred are teaching in Yenan or studying at the Workers' and Peasants' School. Of Okano's forces a minority are old-line Communists who made their way to Yenan; the majority are converted prisoners, or soldiers whom the league's propaganda induced to come over.

The fundamental post-war objective of the league is the completion of what Okano describes as the "bourgeois democratic revolution" in Japan. This includes the elimination of feudal conditions on the land and of the oligarchical control of the government and the establishment of government control over the *Zaibatsu.* The Emperor is not attacked in the league's propaganda, since it is believed that the people of Japan are not prepared to discard him as an institution. Okano hopes to obtain the retirement of the present emperor and the scrapping of the institution as soon as raising the issue will not play into the hands of the military fascists.

The propaganda of the league is effective because it emphasizes the economic problems of the common Japanese soldier. OWI officials have been so impressed with its force and with the moderation of the league's program that they have suggested coordinating our own psychological warfare with the league's. State Department officials have turned thumbs down on this proposal, explaining that we might antagonize the Japanese "liberals" if we worked with the Communists. Perhaps we had better call off the B-29 raids as well, since the bombs are destroying the aircraft factories and naval shipyards of the "liberal" Mitsubishis!



NOT HERE —THERE'S THE SPOT FOR THE PICNIC

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

I WENT TO THE COUNTRY for the first time in many weeks and as usual wondered why I had stayed away so long. I think it is partly because, aside from objective reasons, "going to the country" can be so much of a social issue among city dwellers that one can easily come to regard it as just another form of compulsion, not to say snobbery. The reality of nature fades out, and the idea of it becomes a counter in a tense competitive game. For instance, I shall probably boast, am already boasting, about the two four-mile walks I took and exclaim possessively over the heat of the sun in late November, as if they were feathers in my cap.

I happened to have a happy week-end. Everything, particularly my own mood, conspired to make it so. I "connected" with nature and experienced the actual rather than the theoretical pleasure of putting one foot before the other for miles, tracing the fine rising lines of elm trees uncluttered by leaves, noting the unlikely "impressionistic" facts of green grass and purple air, getting tired, sitting on a stone and watching squirrels and chipmunks whisking about with the sun in their tails.

But it is not always so. To go to the country it is not enough simply to go to the country. Sometimes the transition from the pace and preoccupations of a huge city to those of the country—and back again—is in itself so wearing that a week-end, brief as it must be, can seem just another routine of chores, of which taking a walk is quite as unrewarding as catching trains. And I have known professional country goers who seemed to me to be caught in a kind of slavery of rushing back and forth which had nothing to do with nature as reality but only with "the country" as a convention, fashionable or other, or as a duty to one's health.

On this particular Monday, however, I can say that I have really been to the country and that nature, when you do get to it, is wonderful.

A FRIEND HAS PASSED ON a letter from an army photographer who got to Paris while the street fighting was still going on.

> I drove in through the Porte d'Orléans. The people were so thick in the streets it was dangerous for them. There was a temporary tie-up in the traffic, and instantly there were 300 people around our vehicle. *"Nous sommes très contents," "Nous sommes très heureux."* In the background were wrecked German artillery pieces and tanks. Near the Café de la Paix I stopped and checked in at the Hotel ——. Then I filmed the Café de la Paix with Yanks and French girls drinking. Above all the commotion one could hear shots not far away. The fighting was still going on. As the procession was going through the Place de la Concorde, some Germans and militia (*Milice*) men opened up from the surrounding roof tops. Then a battle royal started. We got there while it was still going on. An angry bunch of F. F. I. surged up to the top of a building and captured several militia men and a German. They let them loose in the crowd, which engulfed them and *literally* tore them to pieces. This happened I don't know how many times. . . .
>
> I saw Picasso. I was the first American press person, or for that matter any American, he'd seen in four years. He's quite well off and wasn't starving. . . . He has a young daughter with whom he's very much enraptured. Also a son, but I didn't see him. . . . During the fighting, so he told me, he just went on sketching portraits of his daughter. He was in a state of great jubilation, as was the rest of Paris. When I asked him about the Germans bothering him, he replied that the Gestapo had visited him four or five times and searched his house but hadn't taken anything. Whenever the Gestapo raided anybody else who was wealthy and less well known, they'd walk out with all the valuables. . . .
>
> He has painted quite a lot during the past four and a half years. At the time he was working on a small water color based on a painting by Poussin but of course changed all around. It was a mélange of arms and legs and teeth and horns. Reminded me of a battlefield I'd left only a few days previous.
>
> Picasso asked about DuChamp, Breton, Tanguy, Dali ("le clune," he said), Léger, Matta, Mesens, and others. He also said that Bracque was quite fine, as were most of the others.

I THUMBED THROUGH a dissertation on "Criticism in American Periodicals of the Works of Henry James from 1866 to 1916" by Richard Nicholas Foley (Catholic University of America Press). It is not a "reading book," as a child once remarked of something quite different, but it contains very interesting material.

The *Independent* said that there was no heart in "The Portrait of a Lady." Such a statement seems almost ludicrous, for if ever a character was drawn with love that character is Isabel Archer. It was James's "impartial" and inexorable unfolding of her fate, I suppose, which in the age of Dickens made him appear heartless. As *The Nation* said at that time:

> Robust people, doubtful of the depth of an emotion that does not shriek, incredulous of intellectual tragedy, unsusceptible to comedy not grinning or roaring, can hardly find [Mr. James's stories] worthy even of august disapproval . . . the facts of incident or event are really of the slightest importance in passing judgment on Mr. James's work. He stands or falls by the truth . . . of his interpretation of the thought, motive, caprice of the people whom he confronts with any problem of existence . . . making no concessions to popular conceptions of what is nice and proper, or even probable, according to sentimental or provincial notions.

In general James's new-fangled psychological analysis of his characters and his objective treatment of them—both a part of today's convention—puzzled the critics. Mr. Foley's dissertation also records fully the annoyance at James's handling of the American character. And here again the judgment of yesterday seems strange, considering the purity

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and strength, in the moral sense, with which he endows the Isabel Archers, the Milly Theales, the Madame de Mauves. What rankled, among other things, no doubt was that James's Americans, especially his American heroines, while they might win the moral war, lost the social battles with Europe—the circumstance which gave such ironic edge to his conception of "the heiress of all the ages."

Good and Evil, Here and Now

THE CHILDREN OF LIGHT AND THE CHILDREN OF DARKNESS: A VINDICATION OF DEMOCRACY, AND A CRITIQUE OF ITS TRADITIONAL DEFENCE. By Reinhold Niebuhr. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.

THOSE who believe that self-interest should be brought under the discipline of a higher law are the children of light. The cynics who know no law beyond their will and interest are the children of this world or children of darkness." As a Christian, as a philosopher, as a citizen, Niebuhr takes his stand with the children of light. But he wishes that his fellow-angels were not so deplorably naive. His tone is that of Clemenceau ironically admiring the "holy simplicity" of President Wilson; it is almost that of the "realists" who sneered at Henry Wallace as a "do-gooder."

The weakness of the democratic position, according to Niebuhr, is that it assumes the essential goodness of human nature. Remove unnatural obstacles—this or that institution, monarchy, nationalism, armaments, property, drinks—and the words of the Prophet will come true:

> The loathsome mask has fallen, the man remains
> Scepterless, free, uncircumscribed, but man
> Equal, unclassed, tribeless and nationless,
> Exempt from awe, worship, degree, the King
> Over himself. . . .

Now Niebuhr was, I surmise, properly "brought up on total depravity." He believes that there is evil in man's heart and that there is evil in nature; he should believe that there is evil in the Ruler of the Universe, or that there are two rulers, eternally at war.

Niebuhr easily raises the problem to ethical heights. But he does not lose sight of its immediate, down-to-earth implications. Pacifism—the moral backbone of isolationism—the Kellogg Pact, the agitation for disarmament without commitments were manifestations of naive "naturism." Man is good as he comes out of his Creator's hands; it is those horrid guns that make him wicked.

Unthinking optimism will be shattered against hard facts and leave a free field for cynicism. The light is true, and we must follow the light. But it does not fully reveal the Holy City in a sudden flash. It leads us through crags, pitfalls, and quagmires. The children of light must be wise in their generation. They must fight, and not simply deny, the forces of evil. They need *humility:* they must keep in mind that although their faith is eternal truth, their preconceptions, their interests, their methods, and even their beliefs alter with the constant and complex growth of history. It is not enough to outlaw sin; we have to plot our cautious way through inevitable confusions and contradictions. Will and good-will, yes, but also a critical spirit, tolerance, pluralism, the sense that "democracy" is no abracadabra but "a method of finding proximate solutions for insoluble problems."

Niebuhr's main thesis I indorse with enthusiasm. I differ only about some of the illustrations. His cautious method would lead us to realize that there may be "children of light" among the Nazis, if they sacrifice their personal interests for what they deem to be a higher good: "children of light" may be led astray. There may be "children of darkness" among the defenders of liberty, if by liberty they mean unlimited license to grab. Niebuhr's children of light form a strange array. They comprise Rousseauistic democrats, romanticists, bourgeois liberals, utopian socialists, and Marxists—for Marx brings us back to Shelley. The difference evidently is not one of doctrine but of temperament. On every side there are men who uphold a cause for its remote ideal and others who "are in it for what they can get right now." On every side there are crude dogmatists and critical thinkers, optimists and pessimists. Among orthodox Christians some are quietists and trust unduly in the infinite goodness and power of God—Fénelon was the forerunner of Rousseau; others think in terms of a fight with the devil, Prince of this World. Reaction is not invariably based on pessimism. Pétain's ideology was an idyllic retrospective Utopia: destroy that thing of evil, the democratic republic, and France will *naturally* return to innocence and happiness: sturdy frugal peasants under their squire and their parish priest, with the National Grandfather smiling benignly upon them all. The liberal bourgeois tradition has a Voltairean tinge: a realistic fight against definite abuses, privileges, and superstitions. The Voltairean bourgeois is no Pangloss. American democracy is thoroughly pessimistic: no man is good enough to rule others, every man in authority must be watched and checked, for he is presumed to be a radical. Laissez faire has its optimistic face—Adam Smith and the guiding hand—and its pessimistic aspect: Malthusian and Darwinian, the scramble for life, and devil-take-the-hindmost. Marxism is light and darkness.

The extreme difficulty of honest thinking is well illustrated in the last chapter—The World Community. Niebuhr is right in maintaining that it would not suffice to proclaim the world state, with a perfect constitution and a Bill of Rights. There must be a slow, confused, historical growth before the United States, for instance, will be ready to accept democratic world law and bow before the decision of an alien majority. But he is of two minds about our present method of ap-

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proach. He knows that the big-power idea is power politics pure and simple, and leads to war. Yet he feels that he has to be "realistic"—that is, cynical—and accept evil provisionally. Realism consists in recognizing evil *in order to fight it*. Light does not ignore darkness, but does not capitulate to darkness. As a student of history I can safely prophesy that the Big Three fallacy will not work. It represents a moment in the development of mankind, not a permanent condition; defeated powers will come back, and others will grow. United on the basis of force, the Big Three will soon jockey for position—as Marshal Smuts already advises—and ultimately they will fight. The unity of the Big Three, if it is not based on something deeper than their bigness, can be preserved only through an alliance; an alliance means, "My ally, right or wrong!" and you will never get the American people to accept such a commitment. A "proximate solution for the insoluble problem" must be found. But the proximate solution must be pointing the right way: toward justice, not selfish power; toward the light, not toward darkness.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

BRIEFER COMMENT

Señor Aguirre Tells His Story

THE STUDENT of the Spanish civil war will find his principal interest in the first part of "Escape Via Berlin," a dignified and uncommonly well-written book by José Antonio de Aguirre, the president of the Basque Republic (Macmillan, $3). The matters of greatest importance, perhaps, are the proposal of patronage and separate peace with the Basques put forward by Mussolini in 1937 and the offer of mediation with Franco made by the Papacy in May of that year. The first attempt at corruption was rebuffed by the Basque leader and the second, one believes, would have been, though the Basque Cabinet was given no opportunity of falling for the Vatican's pro-fascist maneuver. Cardinal Pacelli's cable was addressed to Valencia, where the Republican government prevented its transmission to Bilbao. Not without justification, the author considers this suppression reprehensible, though Valencia's point of view is understandable. There are many other matters of interest in this first part, including the best account yet given of the Basque surrender, which was made to the Italian conquerors of Euzkadi, not to Franco. The war as a whole is not subjected to sustained or penetrating analysis on any level. The spirit of the book is one of human decency approaching nobility, religious devotion, and fervent love for the *patria chica*. The political doctrine is a sincerely believed conservative democracy. Part II is of equal interest and is even exciting. It recounts Señor Aguirre's extraordinary escape from Dunkirk, not to London, but to Berlin, and thence at last to Sweden, Brazil, and the United States. The remainder of the book is chiefly taken up with somewhat trite political disquisitions on the war which the present writer has too often read elsewhere. They add nothing to one's understanding, though from the standpoint of orthodox democracy they are sound and ably made. This is not an important book, but it is a good and valuable one.

RALPH BATES

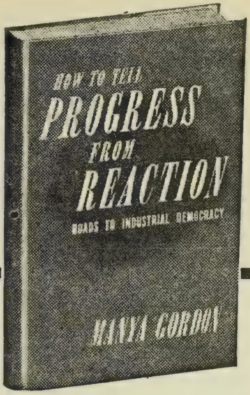
Two Commanders

THE MILITARY HISTORY of the Civil War period has been augmented by the recently published biographies of two of the more colorful but less important leaders. Walter H. Hebert has analyzed the military career of General Hooker ("Fighting Joe Hooker," Bobbs-Merrill, $3.50), the West Point graduate who was a vigorous division leader and a fairly successful corps commander, but who failed miserably and needlessly in his only battle at the head of an entire army—at Chancellorsville—and having aroused the strong animosity of Grant and Sherman, was eventually relieved from all active command. Virgil Carrington Jones has described the career of John Singleton Mosby ("Ranger Mosby," The University of North Carolina Press, $3.50), the colorful colonel of partisan Rangers who for more than two years operated in the rear of the federal lines in that area of Virginia which lies east of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Mr. Hebert's book is scholarly, competently written, supplied with excellent maps. It suffers only from its subject's lack of stature. Mr. Jones, a newspaperman, has written brilliantly of one of the most picturesque of cavalry leaders. His book lacks the scholarship and critical analysis of the other, but it is a fascinating book to read. RALPH ADAMS BROWN

Exit Franz Werfel

FRANZ WERFEL HAS FORESTALLED my review of his "Between Heaven and Earth" (Philosophical Library, $3) by writing, "There is no more consuming, more insolent, more sneering, more diabolical arrogance than that of the artistic advance guard and radical intellectuals," to whom Mr. Werfel declares he once belonged. "We were the insignificant stokers who preheated the hell in which mankind is now roasting." Proust—and Mr. Werfel—caused the fall of France. "Between Heaven and Hell" is a confessional account of the neo-Catholicism which underlies "Embezzled Heaven," "Song of Bernadette" ("the highest possible form of modern narrative writing consists of the mystic basic facts of the spiritual realm . . . depicted by the most artful and economical means of realism"), and other writings by which Mr. Werfel has presumably amassed a fortune in preaching the religion of poverty. "The real crux," we learn, is "not between right and left but between above and below." With the other angry anti-positivists of current fashion he hates secular liberalism above all things: "The liberal era has confused equality before putrefaction with equality before God." Pitifully ignorant of all non-religious philosophies except mid-nineteenth-century positivism, which he calls "naturalistic nihilism," Werfel develops his pious and petulant polemic through three lectures and 130 apothegms. Striking 133 noble attitudes in one book, Mr. Werfel shows himself a prince among uplifters.

Whatever one thinks of all the others who wish to repudiate secular liberalism and return to some earlier and "deeper" credo, one must grant that Franz Werfel deserves all Nietzsche's denunciations of the neo-religious intellectuals. "They are not even old," said Nietzsche, "only tired, mean, comfortable. Once they fluttered around light and freedom . . . a little older, a little colder, and already they are mysti-



AS DAVID DUBINSKY SAYS, "A BOOK NO ONE INTERESTED IN LABOR PROBLEMS CAN AFFORD TO MISS."

"Miss Gordon's book is a sincere and thought-provoking excursion into the outlines of the perfect society of the future. Its chief value, perhaps, is the author's insistance that no society can make its members truly happy unless it guarantees, besides a loaf of bread, the largest measure of freedom compatible with the disciplines of efficient, human organization. 'Dictatorship of the proletariat' can easily, almost inevitably, become dictatorship over the proletariat. Miss Gordon rejects socialism in terms of compulsion and over-all government ownership and controls. Partial socialization of industry and a far-flung program of social, economic and welfare measures benefiting the entire people and protected by a working political democracy is Miss Gordon's pattern for a 'road to progress.' It is a book no one interested in labor problems can afford to miss. ***It should be found in every trade union reading room and library."*** ***$3.00***

DAVID DUBINSKY,
President, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union

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author of Workers Before and After Lenin

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fiers and mumblers and stay-at-homes." Or, as Mr. Werfel himself writes of the new return to religion, "A snob can stand anything except being out of date. I foresee a panic, a mass rout through all the emergency exits into a new mysticism."

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

Some Excellent Reproductions

THE STANDARD OF COLOR REPRODUCTION at popular prices set for this country by several of the plates in Hyperion's recent "French Impressionists" is surpassed in "Masterpieces of Painting from the National Gallery of Art" (distributed by Random House, $6.50). The quality of the eighty-five color plates in this book—all of works in the National Gallery at Washington—is much more constant. Each reproduction is accompanied by a quotation from a famous writer—Ovid, Dante, Hegel, Henry James, Berenson, T. S. Eliot, and many others. The excerpts could not have been better chosen.

And there has just been republished in portfolio form a book of excellent reproductions of Paul Klee's line drawings, edited by Will Grohmann, which first appeared in 1934 in Germany, only to be confiscated as "degenerate art" (Curt Valentin, 32 East Fifty-seventh Street, $15). Grohmann's original and valuable introduction is given in English. These drawings exhibit the essence, the very nerve fibers, of Klee's art.

But perhaps it is necessary to remind the reader that reproductions are never completely satisfactory and that there is no substitute for a visit to the originals.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

For the Defense

IN "China Takes Her Place" (Harper, $2.75), a description of China's development under the republic, Carl Crow puts up the best defense possible of the Kuomintang, skilfully making all the necessary qualifications. The introductory chapters, covering the early post-revolutionary years, are a good reportorial job done in a lively and entertaining vein. Most of the later chapters, and the better part of the book, are devoted to an account of the progress China has been fortunate enough to achieve under the Kuomintang since 1927. Even the tax system, it would seem, has been handled in such ingenious fashion that the authorities have deprived the landlords of the profits accruing from increased land values. The generalization is conveyed rather than stated outright, but it still might leave an unwary reader feeling sorry for the landlords under this efficient and determined administration. Mr. Crow pays full tribute to the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang, noting that "a century from now they will be enshrined as gods, and millions as yet unborn will burn incense to the memories of the most famous married couple in the long and romantic history of China." His special enthusiasm, however, is left for the New Life movement, of which he observes, "No more ambitious social program was ever launched in any country, and none has ever been more successful." Carl Crow should have an interview with Brooks Atkinson, who brings back even later information from China.

T. A. B.

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"THE LATE GEORGE APLEY" (Lyceum Theater) makes a very pleasant evening indeed. According to the accurate description of the program, it is "based on" the novel by John P. Marquand, and if all our plays must be derived from novels or short stories, then I only hope that most of the people who make them will know their business as well as Mr. Marquand and George Kaufman—jointly credited with this dramatization—show that they know theirs.

I still think that the present vogue of adaptations from this and that is deplorable and that things have come to a pretty pass when the theater cannot find anyone to write original plays or when—if this is the case—theatrical producers are afraid to trust their judgment of any work which has not already proved its ability to attract an audience in some other form. But Mr. Marquand and Mr. Kaufman have at least not rested content with the mere presentation of certain scenes from a novel. They evidently began by dissolving the original work into its component elements, and they have constructed a play, with a play's shape and a play's movement, out of these same elements. Happily the result is something a good deal nearer to a dramatic equivalent of the novel than dramatizations usually are. If I were a member of the paying public I would, it seems to me, prefer something new to something which I had previously enjoyed in a different guise five or six years before—unless, of course, that paying public has by now completely adopted the shopgirl's attitude which someone (possibly Mr. Kaufman himself) ridiculed some years ago in a scene in which the young lady applicant at a lending library who found herself sixteenth on the waiting list for "Gone with the Wind" concluded philosophically that she would rather wait for the movie anyway. But, as I said above, if we must have adaptations, then we may at least be permitted to hope that they will be as good as this one.

Perhaps the very fact that the form of the original novel presented obvious difficulties is in part responsible for the happy result. It was told in the first person as the supposed autobiography of a man convinced that he was producing an impression very different from that which the reader was receiving or the actual author intending. By no expedient less desperate than some "expressionistic" technique can you present on the stage a man as he seems to himself rather than as he seems to the spectator, and so the whole ironic device on which the novel was based had to be scrapped and a play had to be written which would present in some different way the paradox of George Apley, that good Bostonian who went to the Monday Club on Mondays and the Tuesday Club on Tuesdays, not because so doing made him happy, but because he owed a duty to his forefathers who had sacrificed themselves on the same altar which someone had erected to the Expected Thing. Possibly the play is broadened a little. I do not, for example, remember in the novel any passage intended to produce quite the sort of laughter evoked when Mrs. Apley, hearing for the first time about Freud, wonders that he could find enough to say about sex to fill a whole volume. But for the most part the play, like the novel, is effectively subdued, the ironic conclusion is kept; and I am not sure but that anything lost in abandoning the indirect method of the original narrative is not more than compensated for by the increased force of direct presentation.

Neither the novel nor the play could, I suppose, be credited with any great originality so far as its satiric point is concerned. Mr. Marquand did not add much to the comic legend of Boston. When one comes right down to it, little is said that is not implied in such jokes as the one about the man who described the route taken in a drive to California by revealing that they "went through Dedham" or in that about the lady who begged pardon of the visitor from Iowa for warning her that in Boston the accepted pronunciation was "Ohio." But an infinite number of variations are played upon the theme and played subtly enough to make what I suppose is really a burlesque produce the effect of comedy. Moreover, the play manages also to recapture what was, after all, the best and most difficult effect of the novel by making George Apley more than merely a figure of fun. He is also, of course, pathetic. More than that, he has moments when he is almost noble in his slow-witted, Colonel Newcomish, way. Leo J. Carroll, as the hero, is quite perfect. For that matter the entire cast is excellent, and so is Sheldon Cheyney's stately drawing-room in which generations of Apleys have suffered their dignified and expensive boredom. I must say, however, that I was a bit distressed by the imposing growth of indoor ivy. An official nature lover like George Apley would have known that it needed a better lighted position.

Lawrence Stallings's new play, "The Streets Are Guarded" (Henry Miller's Theater), arrives almost precisely twenty years after his "What Price Glory?" and it is very different indeed, with its grave instead of ribald consideration of that phenomenon which is known as a soldier's courage. As a whole the play certainly cannot be called successful. In fact, I am forced to confess that often I did not know either what the author was driving at or even just what was going on down there in the Pacific, where the remnants of several dispersed groups of marines, sailors, and air-force men were still trying to do their duty on a tiny island. But there are moments of sincere eloquence, and though I do not usually have much patience with plays which fail to come off, I must add that I found this one frequently interesting and sometimes moving.

Films

JAMES AGEE

"THE Very Thought of You," a story about the wives of absent soldiers, entangles some sincerity and even insight, and some pretty good family quarrels, and some straight acting in so much wincing embarrassment of overstylized talk and of rubbing the audience's nose in emotions that it is hardly if at all worth seeing. "Dark Waters" is a thriller about a young woman, convalescent from shock, who suffers among cryptic surroundings and ambiguous people on a swampy Louisiana sugar plantation. It has many—perhaps too many is one trouble—of the elements of a good fright-picture, but most of the time they either get in each other's way or suggest their possibilities without achieving them. "Together Again" is a comedy about a small-town female mayor, too much on her dignity to be interested in love, and a big-town sculptor who changes her mind. There are flashes of wit in it, verbal, even psychological, and even visual, but nearly all of them, like the story itself, are suicidally professional and forced. "And Now Tomorrow" is about a deaf upper-class girl and an ex-proletarian doctor who, after some machine-turned comedy of sex antagonism, restores her hearing and, presumably, dissolves her snobbery. As John McManus of *PM* points out, it is rather cruel to quite a number of people in the audience to show a cure for the kind of deafness that results from meningitis without letting you know whether there is in fact any such cure.

"Lost in a Harem" is a flat Abbott and Costello comedy with a rather amusing use of a ham actor, his hallucinations, which remain invisible to the audience, the sound track which records them, and some pantomime which, scarcely developed as it is, is still as tantalizing and refreshing, against all the screen-paralyzing contemporary blabber, as a teaspoonful of water in the middle of a desert. Two current cartoon shorts, whose titles and author for some reason slip my mind, alternate heavy but sometimes funny facetiousness with bits of active imagination. Both star Warner Brothers' anarchic rabbit; one burlesques a South Sea travelogue, the other a Western. "V-1," an English short about robot bombs, is well edited, better written than average—it is wordy but at least some of the words count for something—and honestly narrated in an unaffected voice. It contains one Miltonic shot, made from a plane, in which a struck bomb, detonated in flight, reaches out an arm of explosion from perhaps a mile away, and as broad as a boulevard, which with a speed that pulls you out of your chair approaches and fills the screen.

JAMES AGEE

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

A CONDUCTOR, as I have observed before, usually does not put a concerto on a program as a piece of music worth doing for itself. It is, instead, something he has to do for a soloist engaged for his box-office drawing-power, and something the conductor has little interest in since its purpose is to show off the soloist, not himself. The concertos we hear are, therefore, the comparatively small group of works that pianists and violinists use contantly for the display of their technical and musical powers; and most of the performances we hear are the product of a single run-through rehearsal which barely suffices to gear the soloist's performance with the perfunctorily conducted orchestral performance in time. Under those conditions the orchestral part is reduced in significance to a mere accompaniment; and it is contended that whatever Barbirolli's other inadequacies he is an excellent accompanist—merely because he can manage to arrive at the same point as the soloist at the same time. A concerto performance in which the orchestral part has been carefully worked out is, then, rare; but even rarer is the kind of performance that we got from Schnabel and the New Friends of Music Orchestra under Stiedry and the National Orchestral Association under Barzin a few years ago—in which the solo and orchestral parts are beautifully integrated in every detail of style and phrasing.

Listening to a Beethoven or Mozart concerto conducted by Toscanini one hears not merely a carefully rehearsed orchestral part, but one in which familiar phrases acquire amazingly new contours and inflections and significance, and counterpoints and figurations previously unheard in the mass of sound emerge with startling clarity and impact from the newly transparent textures; and one hears all these things related in a continuous, rhythmically elastic progression which is built up into a coherent and powerful structure. It is an exciting experience; and it remains that even when the structure is built up around nothing—around, that is, the characterless flow of sounds produced by Ania Dorfman in Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 1. Or around something as alien in style as Artur Rubinstein's playing in the Concerto No. 3.

In the present Beethoven series only Serkin's playing in the Concerto No. 4 has fitted well into the Toscanini framework. It was often unimpressive in its mere fluency if one recalled Schnabel's sharply contoured or subtly inflected phrasing at the same point (the first-movement cadenza was one such point), but taken by itself it had the right overall character and sufficient vitality, and also sufficient tranquillity where this was called for—the nature of the work producing fewer than the usual number of occasions where one hears the shrilly percussive sound as one sees the tossed head and upflung arm that endear Serkin to the great musical public.

Someone—it must have been a second violinist—once remarked wryly that quartets had been formed around first violinists, around violists, and around cellists, but never around second violinists. Nevertheless the second violinist is not without his importance, as one can hear these days in the performances of the Budapest Quartet, in which Edgar Ortenberg has replaced Alexander Schneider. This has produced a change in the sound of the group: Ortenberg's tone and style are not robust like Schneider's but delicate like the first violinist Roisman's; so that whereas formerly the first and second violins were like soprano and mezzo-soprano now they are like two sopranos. And the process of absorbing Ortenberg is not yet completed: some performances—presumably of works that have been rehearsed and played more—have the unapproached Budapest Quartet perfection of blended sound and ensemble execution; others haven't it yet; and one may even hear things as unbelievable as momentary confusions and lapses from pitch.

Victor's set (973; $3.50) of Howard Hanson's Symphony No. 1 in E minor ("Nordic") straggled in late; and I am late in reporting that this early work of Hanson seems to be the original model of what Hollywood composers have been writing for the sound-tracks of films. The performance by the Eastman-Rochester Symphony under the direction of the composer is excellently recorded. Victor must have its reasons for this set; but for you and me it is sheer waste of precious materials and labor that might have made available to us some of the great things that are in the Victor catalogue but not in record stores.

CONTRIBUTORS

KATE L. MITCHELL is co-editor of *Amerasia* and author of "India Without Fable" and "Industrialization of the Western Pacific."

STUART CHASE needs no introduction to *Nation* readers. His latest book, "Democracy Under Pressure," will be published soon by the Twentieth Century Fund.

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Letters to the Editors

Two Noble Figures

Dear Sirs: Revelations are now being published by various newspapers about the plot to kill my son Carlo Rosselli, a plot of which my younger son, Nello, was also a victim.

The existence of the plot between Cagoulards and the Fascist regime in Italy was known in Paris in 1938, when the principal executors of the crime were discovered and arrested and a legal inquiry was made. But for political reasons the trial did not take place. When Paris fell to the Germans in 1940, the Cagoulards who had been arrested were set free. One of them, probably their leader, a certain André Tenaille who had fallen on the Russian front, was awarded the Légion d'Honneur by Pétain himself. Another of the murderers had taken refuge in Italy before the war, and Mussolini's government had refused to extradite him. During the legal inquiry an effort was made to steal the dossier of the inquiry from the judge in charge of it. The attempt failed, and the newspapers published the news of it.

It is strange that certain publications have recently tried to absolve Mussolini by putting all the guilt for the organization of the crime upon Ciano alone. One has to be quite ignorant of the methods of Mussolini's dictatorship to believe that Mussolini was kept in the dark about what was being plotted against Carlo Rosselli. The same methods were followed in the Matteotti murder to keep Mussolini out of the picture.

Carlo Rosselli was Mussolini's number-one enemy. He gave him no rest in his newspaper *Giustizia e Libertà*, published in Paris and circulated in Italy by underground channels and the movement called Guistizia e Libertà, which kept the Special Tribunal so busy condemning its members to the severest punishment. But Mussolini's rage reached a climax at the time of the Spanish civil war when Carlo Rosselli proclaimed that the moment had come for Italian anti-Fascists to fight fascism with arms in their hands. "Today in Spain, tomorrow in Italy" was his war cry. He organized the first group of Italian anti-Fascists and fought at their head in Spain for the Republicans.

Mussolini's personal hatred of my son reached full measure when Carlo revealed in his paper the disastrous defeat of the Italian Fascists at Guadalajara. He published photographs and names of Fascists made prisoner there and sent the mail of prisoners to their families in Italy with appropriate comments. Mussolini was doing everything possible to keep the Italians from hearing of the defeat. Gaetano Salvemini, in his book on Carlo and Nello Rosselli, published in 1937, of which a reprint will come out soon, affirms that Carlo Rosselli with the revelation of the truth about Guadalajara signed his own doom. When Mr. Matthews in one of his dispatches to the New York *Times* says he does not understand why Carlo Rosselli was chosen as a victim rather than others who were also leading anti-Fascists in Paris, he shows his ignorance of these facts. And this in spite of his mentioning, in other dispatches, some of Carlo's far-reaching anti-Fascist activities. Evidently Mr. Matthews knows nothing of the uninterrupted and tireless activity of this sworn enemy of Mussolini's regime.

By a cruel fate Nello, my other son, was with his brother at Bagnoles-de-l'Orne on the fateful day, making one of his rare visits. Nello had already endured prison and the concentration camp in Italy for his unshakable anti-fascism. He had wished to remain in Italy in order to give an example, such as many others gave, of firmness and dignity under the daily menace. Without taking such an active part in politics as his brother, he fulfilled his moral mission and Mussolini feared him. They were two noble figures and fate gave them the same end.

AMELIA ROSSELLI

Larchmont, N. Y., October 13

Germans and Nazis

Dear Sirs: Some weeks ago you expressed surprise that the German underground does not "equate" sentiment with physical resistance as the French *maquis* and the Slovaks have done, and you ask, as Argus did in the same issue, why the lower ranks of the army do not surrender as readily as their hopeless situation would prompt them to do. You and Argus are no doubt correct in assuming that the menace of the S.S. and the Gestapo is not a sufficient reason for the inactivity of the German underground and the continued fighting of the German soldiers. There is another reason, however, which you fail to see: the underground movements in the occupied countries have one great incentive for their activities, namely, the promise of a better future, while the anti-Nazis in Germany very likely lack this incentive. It is probable that they

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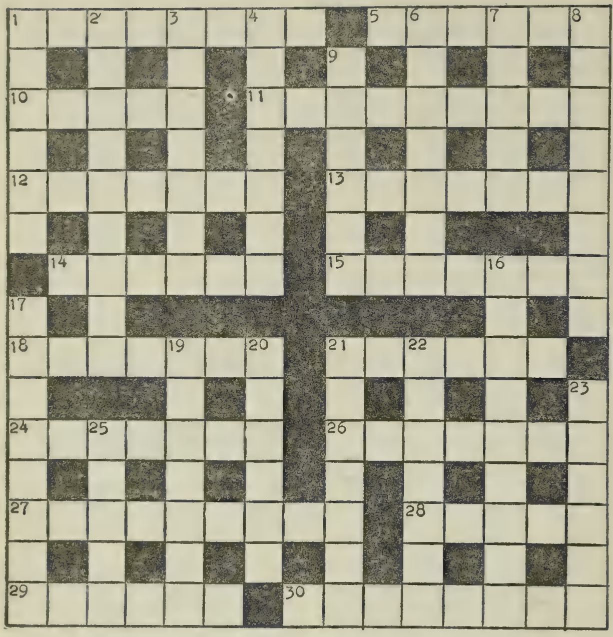
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 93

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Little ones have big ears
5 Where girls wear their stockings most (two words, 2 and 4)
10 Comparatively late
11 Buoyant but distasteful (two words, 4 and 5)
12 "Well of English undefiled"
13 Tips end in settled pay
14 Tithepayers' obligations
15 You can get her a net in an Iranian town
18 Anglo-Saxon poet from Macedon
21 "This cordial julep here, That flames and dances in his crystal - - - - - -" (Milton)
24 He is not serious, though his gun is in evidence
26 Signor Vespucci
27 The answer to 10 is your clue
28 Chickens and curses come home to this
29 Laugh at
80 Oh, poetry—as regards the pronunciation

DOWN

1 "Turn him to any cause of - - - - - -, The Gordian knot of it he will unloose" (*King Henry V*)
2 Of people who put their heads together (hyphen, 4-1-4)
3 Chariot (anag.)
4 Haunts where sorters may be found
6 Someone once said that they knew the price of everything and the value of nothing (two words, 3 and 4)
7 Between ourselves, this is - - - - - *nous*
8 Red tints are harsh
9 Small room, and very stuffy before tea
16 Light opera in which eight baronets are represented by their ghosts
17 The knuckle-end of England
19 Has this girl communistic tendencies?
20 "Kind hearts are more than coronets, And simple faith than - - - - - - blood" (Tennyson)
21 He prefers to eat in other people's houses
22 Dig up
23 Verse produced by an American writer with an effort
25 Bury in the heart of the interior

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. [illegible]

ACROSS:—I FRENCHMAN; [illegible] CRASH; 9 CHAPMAN; 10 ADULLAM; 11 UPSURGE; 12 LAMP OIL; 13 THY; 15 UNSEAT; 17 ENTRAP; 18 OGLER; 19 DEMISE; 22 ASHORE; 25 ESS; 27 REYNARD; 28 EXCLUDE; 30 ARIZONA; 31 CONCERT; 32 DRESS; 33 DEPOSITOR.

DOWN:—1 FICHU; 2 ELAPSES; [illegible] CAMBRIA; [illegible] MINUET; 5 NEARLY; 6 CLUBMAN; 7 ALL FOUR; 8 HUMBLE PIE; 14 HILLS; 15 UNDERHAND; 16 TOE; 17 ERA; 20 MAYTIME; 21 SEASONS; 23 SECONDS; 24 OPULENT; 25 EDWARD; 26 SEA-CAP; 29 ENTER.

are not only without hope for a better future but actually fear that their suffering will not come to an end with the arrival of the victors. If they hear of the recent decisions of the UNRRA, if they hear what our news commentators are saying, they may feel that their fears are not unfounded.

You regretfully note that the democratic German revolution will not take the form of a "refusal of the German people to commit mass suicide" by resisting the Nazis, by desertions and surrender. How can you be sure that surrender, your alternative to mass suicide, does not mean mass suicide to them? What have we done to assure a tolerable future to the potential revolutionaries in Germany and to those Germans who resisted the Nazis before we did and who suffered from the Nazis before their neighbors did? We are distorting history and disregarding obvious psychological facts in order to justify our intention of dealing with the German people as if they were all Nazis.

KARL F. MUENZINGER

Boulder, Colo., November 15

Letters of Van Loon

Dear Sirs: People are continually asking me, "When are you going to publish a collection of your husband's letters?" And then they frequently add, "I have one he wrote me in 19— which certainly should be included."

I intend to publish a collection of his letters as soon as I can get one together. And so I am making this appeal to all the many friends of Hendrik Willem van Loon who have received and kept letters from him to lend them to me for the purposes of this book.

Please send them or copies of them to me at my home, Nieuw Veere, Old Greenwich, Connecticut. I will take great care of them and return them all as soon as possible to the owners.

HELEN VAN LOON
(Mrs. Hendrick Willem van Loon)

Old Greenwich, Conn., November 15

One Man's Poll

Dear Sirs: Speaking of polls, my column, The World Goes On, in the Aberdeen, Mississippi, *Examiner*, predicted forty-seven states right, missing only Ohio. It has only missed two states in three elections. Of course, I read the right periodicals!

Aberdeen, Miss., November 24

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

GENERAL DE GAULLE'S ACHIEVEMENT IN MOSCOW has dispelled all doubts as to his talent for high politics. In the astonishingly rapid renaissance of France the gallant general of the resistance movement has become a statesman. On the one hand, he has been firm in his demands that Washington and London give his government full recognition and in refusing to be treated as a poor relation. And on the other hand, he was ready to go anywhere to find security and justice for his nation. The road led to Moscow. In sixteen days, a record for negotiations of this kind, a treaty between Russia and France was signed similar in many respects to that concluded by Great Britain and Russia in 1942. Similar, but politically much more important. It surpasses in significance the traditional alliance between France and Russia, of which the French-Soviet pact of 1934 was the most recent expression and which was inspired mainly by considerations of military security. The treaty concluded by Stalin and De Gaulle indicates that Russia, contrary to some belief, is definitely interested in developments in the west. And it suggests that France is veering away from Britain toward Moscow. British intervention against the peoples of Belgium, Italy, and Greece begins to show its disastrous inevitable results. Mr. Churchill said once that he did not intend "to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." But if he carries through his reactionary policy in Europe, the moral liquidation of the British Empire will have begun.

*

THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE *VOLKSSTURM* IN THE battle of Germany has been viewed differently by American and British military experts. To Americans, the idea of pitting against the best-equipped army in the world a force composed of men sixty years old, boys of fifteen, scientists who have never held a gun, chorus men from the Berlin Opera, and civil-service clerks is about as sensible as sending Frank Sinatra into the ring against Joe Louis. Every American cartoonist has given his sense of satire full play in caricaturing this latest contribution of the master race. The British are less inclined to laugh it off. In 1940, after the fall of France, when a German assault upon England seemed imminent, the British gathered together as many men as possible and organized the Home Guard. This was not a regular army either. But the British assumed that the Home Guard, given a high morale, could fend off an invasion attempt while a real British army was being formed. Of course the situation in Germany today is entirely different. Germany can raise no new armies of any size. And yet neutral sources have recently reported that the German General Staff expects to organize a kind of last "army of maneuver" between now and spring on the assumption that the German lines will not crack before then. The *Volkssturm* will prove its value if it can help assure Himmler and his generals the three months' respite they so desperately need. The question is whether or not the soldiers of the *Volkssturm* will hold. General Sir Douglas Brownrigg, a British military expert, is of the opinion that "as long as their morale lasts, or at least as long as there are enough S. S. men to keep them at their posts, they will suffice to man the Siegfried Line."

*

THE RECALL OF AMBASSADOR HAYES, SHOULD the rumor be confirmed, will be welcomed by all Americans who have resented his consistent pro-Franco stand. Whether or not it promises a reorientation in America's policy toward Spain is still to be seen. It was far from encouraging to learn that the United States had concluded a reciprocal aviation pact with Franco Spain, effective immediately, which grants Spanish air lines operating to this country the same privileges accorded the American companies. Three routes were agreed upon, and Spain is authorized to begin services, whenever it wishes, to points in the United States to be determined by future negotiations. All this would be very well if Franco were not, as almost everyone recognizes now, an agent of Hitler, and if aviation were not just that service over which the Germans have always tried to exercise the most direct control in Spain. Germany virtually ran the aviation industries in Spain until the proclamation of the Republic in 1931, and after Franco came to power the Germans again became the masters of the Spanish lines. Consequently, the Chicago agreement opens a wide door through which the Nazis can enter into the international aviation traffic of the future. Aside from that, the agreement can only strengthen Franco politically. The Spanish press has already interpreted the presence of fascist Spain in Chicago as a precedent for future participation in international parleys. On November 17 the Spanish fascist paper *Arriba* wrote, under the heading Neutrals in the Post-war Era: "In the formation of international bodies . . . the post-war world cannot renounce the advice and active presence of those countries which were not victims of passion, as were the belligerents. . . ." We suggest that in addition to recalling Mr. Hayes the United States should not allow the agreement to come into operation until a reliable Spanish regime has been established.

*

AS THE MILITARY SITUATION IN CHINA GROWS more critical, the prospects for political unity have brightened. There are reports, which are difficult to confirm, that troops have already been withdrawn from the northwest, where they have been blockading the Communist area for the past six years. At the same time dispatches from Chungking are more optimistic over the possibility of a Kuomintang-Communist agreement than they have been for several weeks. Chou En-lai, the Communist representative in Chungking, has returned to Yenan with specific proposals from the Kuomintang regime. While it would be unwise in view of previous disappointments to assume that an agreement will be reached soon, the recent military reverses suffered by China have forced Chungking to choose between an agreement and disaster. Although the recent Cabinet changes have made no fundamental difference in the character of the Chinese government, the selection of T. V. Soong as Acting Premier in place of H. H. Kung and the removal of Ho Ying-chin as War Minister have improved the possibility of Kuomingtang-Communist cooperation. An agreement which would permit American supplies to reach the Communist armies as well as the Kuomintang troops is particularly important to the United States because, as Brooks Atkinson points out in his long-delayed dispatch from Yenan, it would permit the guerrillas to provide effective support for an American landing in any one of numerous North China ports.

*

A PROGRAM FOR RESTORING TO THE JEWS OF Europe the property taken from them and otherwise compensating them for their sufferings at the hands of the Nazis has been prepared by the World Jewish Congress. As the task is an extraordinarily complex one, the program cannot be summarized in full here, but it involves the establishment of a special United Nations organization to assure the enactment of uniform rules in all the countries despoiled by the Axis. It calls for the restoration, where possible, of all property confiscated or otherwise seized from Jewish owners and full compensation where such restoration is impossible. It suggests that Axis currency reserves, commodities, and raw materials be pooled in a fund to be used to assist uprooted Jews to reestablish themselves in occupations and professions, or, if they so desire, to resettle elsewhere. Detailed rules and regulations are set down to cover the many special problems that are bound to arise during the period of resettlement. While the program may not be practicable in all of its details, simple justice requires an elaborate and special effort to see that the people who have been treated so inhumanly by the Nazis, Jews and non-Jews alike, are restored to their pre-war status. This should be regarded as one of the primary responsibilities of the United Nations and preliminary plans should be formulated at the earliest possible moment.

*

WHILE THE SURGE OF WRATH OVER NOEL Coward's boorish remark was still at its height, another insult was flung into the face of Brooklyn. On November 22 Bishop Thomas E. Molloy announced that Pope Pius had made Patrick F. Scanlan, managing editor of the Brooklyn *Tablet*, a Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, for "distinguished services to religion and charity." Now St. Gregory the Great was a social reformer. He might even be called a New Dealer. The order bearing his name, says the *Tablet*, was founded specifically to reward social virtue. The six other prominent Catholic laymen of the borough who received the honor at the same time are all highly conservative, not to say reactionary, but they all have impressive records of civic achievement. Scanlan's record, however, is that of a cautious Coughlin. Lacking the Detroit demagogue's gifts of oratory and showmanship, he has promoted the same doctrines more quietly and perhaps more effectively. His newspaper, a comparatively sophisticated version of the old

Social Justice, has given aid and comfort to the Christian Front, and he has associated himself publicly with such professed contemners of democracy as Merwin K. Hart, Joseph P. Kamp, and John Eoghan Kelly. All things considered, we can hardly believe His Holiness intended this particular bestowal of knighthood to be taken seriously. Humor is not inconsistent with the Papal office. St. Gregory himself is said to have made some pretty terrible Latin puns. But these are serious times, and Brooklyn has already had to bear too grievous a burden of amused contempt.

For Spain!

THE Nation Associates, together with leading political, civic, and labor groups, have called a mass meeting for Republican Spain on January 2 in Madison Square Garden in New York. We believe the time has come for the American people to register a mighty protest against our government's continued relations with the Spanish fascist dictatorship. No longer is there any military pretext for making deals with Franco to secure his "neutrality." Americans know that the Axis won its first European battle in Spain. If the democracies had not abandoned and betrayed the Spanish Republic, American boys would not be dying today in Holland and Belgium, in France and Italy. The Spanish people were the first to take up arms against fascism; the war will not be won until fascism is defeated in Spain.

This is not rhetoric. American writers and commentators of different political tendencies have lately described in detail the sinister role played by the Franco regime in the Nazi plan to keep fascism alive after military defeat. If, during the first four years of the war, Franco helped Hitler by sending his Blue Division to the eastern front, by putting Spanish ports at the disposal of German submarines, by shipping raw materials to Germany for its war industry, by carrying on an insolent and vicious campaign of propaganda in Latin America against the United Nations; now on the eve of Hitler's defeat he is helping him save as much of Nazism as can be saved and to transform Spain into a chief base of operations for the new post-war fascist conspiracy. Thousands and thousands of Germans are in Spain, and more are smuggled to Spain daily and from there to South America. Nazi money, needed in Latin America to continue the work of sabotage and penetration, is sent through Spanish banks to Argentina. Hitler had every reason two weeks ago to break his long silence in order to send an eloquent message of congratulation to Franco on his fifty-second birthday.

It is to show our feeling for the people of Spain, our moral allies during all these years, and against Franco, enemy of the United States and of every one of the United Nations, that we call the people of New York to come en masse to Madison Square Garden on January 2. We are asking for three things:

1. The severance of diplomatic relations with Franco Spain and the ending of all shipments of oil and other materials by our government;
2. Moral and financial assistance to democratic Spanish elements within Spain and outside its borders seeking to restore a Republican form of government in that country;
3. Freedom of movement and communication for Spanish Republicans in exile, especially for political leaders and representatives of the last Republican government.

The meeting will be a demonstration for the Spanish Republican forces as a whole, without distinction of party or faction. We want all Spaniards who are fighting for the liberation of their country to know that in the arduous task ahead of them they will have the moral and effective help of the people of America.

We call upon our readers to support the demonstration on January 2. Come to the meeting, bring your friends, encourage organizations to which you belong to buy tickets. Let us make this rally an impressive demonstration of the will of a free people to back a people eager to regain its freedom.

THE EDITORS OF THE NATION

The Bewildered Press

"*. . . it is equally fantastic that the British should now be left to struggle single-handed with Communist revolution in Greece without the active support of American and Russian policy.*"—New York *Herald Tribune,* editorial page, column 1, December 7, 1944.

"*Most friends of China will be delighted by the report that troops of the Chungking government are being withdrawn from the task of blockading the Communist areas in the northwest. . . .*"—New York *Herald Tribune,* editorial page, column 1, December 7, 1944.

Guns, Shells, Man-power

MOST Americans have been rudely shocked to learn that we are not turning out enough military supplies to meet the needs of our armed forces. We had become pretty complacent about war production. In fact, only a few months ago we were concerned lest we had produced more than would ever be required. But General Somervell has revealed that 40 per cent of the items we need for war are in short supply. The production of heavy shells is lagging 35 per cent behind needs; truck output is 31 per cent short; small-arms ammunition, 50 per cent.

These are crucial shortages. But contrary to some scare headlines, they have not yet cost American lives or hampered our current offensives. Shortages have, indeed, been experienced on the European front, but they have been due to inadequate port facilities on the Continent and the disintegration of the French railway system. The rationing of shells that has been reported has been necessitated by our inability to deliver the supplies that had been manufactured. With the opening of the port of Antwerp and the rebuilding of a number of key railway bridges in France, the deficiencies in our production have suddenly become apparent. Now that we can deliver all the shells and small-arms ammunition that are required, we suddenly find that we are not producing enough.

There are several reasons for this unexpected shortage.

One is an unavoidable military miscalculation regarding the length and character of the European war. This of necessity has affected our estimates of the kind and quantity of weapons needed. Although our military planners allowed a substantial margin for error, it now develops that in certain kinds of weapons the margin was not large enough to cope with the exceptionally stubborn Nazi resistance along the Westwall. On top of this the estimates of requirements for the war against Japan have had to be boosted by 25 per cent within the past ninety days. The shortages have been intensified by a serious bottleneck in the machine-tool industry. They have been further aggravated by the haste with which many business groups have sought to reconvert to civilian production regardless of the scarcity of raw materials and workers. But the primary factor in the existing crisis is the shortage of man-power. Despite increasing demands, there are a million fewer workers in our war industries today than a year ago. Most of this decrease has been caused by the draft of men for the armed services. But also, in anticipation of an early victory in Europe, tens of thousands of essential workers have deserted their war jobs in a frenzy to get into work that would hold over into the post-war period. Others, mostly women, have simply quit and gone back into their homes.

While it should be pointed out that these workers are deserters quite as much as if they left their posts on the front line under fire, it is obvious that they should not bear all the blame. Our highest military authorities were as responsible as anyone for the assumption that the European war was approaching its end. The failure of Congress to make provision for retraining war workers or returning them to their homes after the war and its refusal to provide unemployment insurance to federal war workers led workers to feel that they must make their own post-war arrangements as soon as possible. The War Manpower Commission has sought to meet the problem by tighter controls, but it frankly admits that it does not have sufficient power to enforce its regulations either on the individual worker or on the civilian employer who pirates labor that is badly needed in the war industries. A greater sense of responsibility on the home front is needed if these restrictions are to be made reasonably effective. To a certain extent this has been achieved by the recent high-pressure publicity campaign in which high military authorities, from General Eisenhower down, have participated. The latest reports indicate a distinct slowing down in the exodus from war plants. But the problem of finding 300,000 additional workers to meet the new production schedules remains largely unsolved. If patriotic appeals and a tightening in man-power regulations are insufficient, Congress will be left with no other choice but to introduce the compulsory controls which it has thus far avoided. No other country has found voluntary controls adequate for an all-out war effort, and we have yet to prove that they will suffice here.

NEXT WEEK IN *THE NATION*

Stuart Chase, "Are Monopolies Inevitable?" The second in a series of articles.

The British, Bearing Gifts

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

MOST Americans are disposed to give our new Secretary of State the benefit of every doubt. He spoke strongly last week for the right of peoples to choose their own government, and he dissociated the United States from Britain's arbitrary veto of Count Sforza. By taking this position he undoubtedly gave encouragement to Churchill's critics at home, even though some of them, the Manchester *Guardian,* for example, rather tartly suggested that our past record scarcely justified a self-righteous attitude toward Britain's present behavior. And he seemed to set a tone of clarity and vigor that rang pleasantly in ears too long accustomed to timorous evasions and cynical excuses.

But the doubt remains. Were Mr. Stettinius's words just words, or were they the introduction of a new policy? It is too early to tell. If they implied a new policy, they were sensational indeed. If they did not, then they will sink like pebbles in a well, radiating only a few brief ripples. And after the ripples flatten out, the effect will not merely have died; it will have left behind it emptiness, disillusion, resentment.

Mr. Churchill either does not believe a new American policy is being born or he does not care, and the second is hardly conceivable. His speech in Commons was less an explanation of Britain's acts than a defiance of its critics. He reiterated his attacks on the left-wing Greek forces and admitted that the British occupation of Greece was not for the purpose of chasing out Germans but was to bolster up his hand-picked, spoon-fed Papandreou government. He made no excuses. He was the unregenerate Tory, cocksure, arrogant, contemptuous of criticism. He knew he had the Labor members cornered. By deliberately forcing debate on a question which involved in effect a vote of confidence, he maneuvered the opposition into a place where it had to support him, abstain, or take the responsibility for bringing the government down. He got his vote of confidence.

But the opposition was not wholly insignificant. Mr. Churchill's last previous vote of confidence was 425 to 23. The vote on Thursday was 229 to 52 with 33 Labor members abstaining. Some 150 other members, including 133 Conservatives, also failed to vote, whether as a mark of disapproval or for other reasons. But the opposition was enough to add up to a severe rebuke to the government's position. And when one counts in the disapproving comment in the press, in papers as far apart politically as the *Times* and the Manchester *Guardian,* the total is impressive. British governments have a tradition of giving ground before this sort of opposition, and I think we may expect attempts to smooth matters over in Belgium and Greece; while in Italy the new Bonomi government, minus Sforza and the Socialists but including the Communist leader, Togliatti, will provide a temporary compromise to bridge an awkward impasse.

But a Tory concession is not a new policy, as we should have learned long ago—after the Hoare affair in 1935, for example. The Churchill government does not change its basic attitude because of a flurry in Parliament or because a new American Secretary of State inaugurates his term with a few bold remarks about democracy and the rights of man. It is fighting for the position of Britain and the survival of the empire after the war, and it will let neither scruples nor admonitions stand in the way of the policy it believes will best advance that purpose. Britain's control of the Mediterranian, Britain's desire to build up a bloc of satellite nations in Western Europe, Britain's need to restore and enlarge its foreign trade, these are the factors that determine policy, whether it is expressed with tanks in the streets of Athens and Belgium or in formulas of traffic control at the air conference in Chicago. The only effective answer to the real question before the House of Commons last Thursday would have been a demonstration that Britain can be safer and stronger as part of a Europe in which the people are permitted to create governments without the help of British troops.

Presumably the British Labor Party believes that. Evidently Mr. Stettinius believes it, too. But Mr. Churchill does not believe it, and Mr. Churchill still commands a majority in the House of Commons and will continue to do so at least as long as war rages in Western Europe. The question is: can Mr. Churchill's mind be changed, or, since this is almost inconceivable, can he be persuaded or forced to adopt a different policy?

I think the chief hope of influencing the Prime Minister lies in Washington. If our new Secretary of State means what he says or, rather, if Mr. Roosevelt means what Mr. Stettinius says, things could change. And not otherwise. So in the end we get back to the words spoken in Washington last week and to the doubt that must lurk in the mind of any liberal American who has watched our foreign policy at close range.

I share the *Guardian's* ironic view of pious attitudes on the part of a government which connived at the triumph of Franco and the appeasement of Mussolini; which supported Pétain and fought De Gaulle until he established his control in the very teeth of our opposition. I agree that we come with badly smeared hands to the defense of the democratic forces of Italy and Greece. Nor am I encouraged by the shift of personnel in the State Department to expect that change of heart which would presage a change of policy. But one thing has happened in America which offers a valid excuse for optimism—moderate and tentative optimism. The energy of the progressives in the last election and the determination of the C. I. O.-P. A. C. to continue as a cohesive political power have introduced a new weight in the balance of forces in Washington today. The left is no longer merely a loose body of opinion. It is votes and it is organization. Its voice is still raised rather cautiously in matters of foreign policy, but I feel sure it will be heard, both in Congress and in the State Department. And I can say with certainty that garment workers in New York and automobile workers in Detroit don't like it when the workers of Belgium and Greece are shot at by Allied troops and prevented by force from choosing their own governments. They know what is happening in Europe and when Winston Churchill tells them that Greek guerrilla fighters are gangsters and Communists their anger is directed not at the guerrillas but at Mr. Churchill.

Instead of, or in addition to, directing well-aimed sneers at America's dubious record in foreign policy, I would suggest that British Labor and such major organs of liberal opinion as the Manchester *Guardian* devote their efforts to effecting the closest possible alliance with progressive elements in this country. The British Trade Union Congress has made an excellent start by bringing the C. I. O. into the international labor conference in February. I have no doubt that Sidney Hillman, now in England, will be of immense service in drawing the labor movements of the two countries nearer to each other.

Mr. Stettinius is more likely to turn his brave words into acts if he knows he has an articulate, progressive opinion behind him. And Mr. Churchill is more likely to accept a democratic solution of Britain's European problems if he knows that the State Department means business. It is up to the democrats of both countries to force their leaders to come to an early agreement which will end once and for all the slaughter and coercion of the resistance forces in the liberated countries.

Day of the Heroes

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

Monologue by a Young Veteran of This War Delivered in Tim Costello's Bar at Midnight on Pearl Harbor Day, 1944.

WELL, this is the day all right. This is the day when we remember the heroes and make a special effort to buy war bonds. I see they turned over the whole ground floor of Lord and Taylor's to selling the things. It was a patriotic duty, no less. Nothing's too good for our boys. Sure, I'll make the supreme sacrifice, I'll plunk down seventy-five bucks and get a hundred back in ten years.

Don't get me wrong. I know you're a vet too—where was it you got it, Alamein? Yeah, I remember now. I don't blame any of this on you. You're not a PFC. A Poor Frightened Civilian, I mean. That's what we called them on The Canal. But I don't blame them. They've been a long way from the shooting, and I've been home long enough now to see what a difference that makes. The only good the sirens are here is to set your watch Saturday noon. That makes a lot of difference, you know? Sure, you know. So I don't blame you. You've made a good thing of it, with those columns in *The Nation*. Oh yeah, I read those every week. I'm a little drunk, and maybe off my trolley a little tonight with remembering the guys in the outfit, and I could be wrong, but if you'll take my advice tell your editors to wise up. I see today they warned us to write Mr. Big and denounce the "forthcoming appointments," I think they called it, in the State Department—Clayton, our boy Nelson, Dunn, and the others. Three days after the appointments were announced. Well, it may have helped wise up the Senate. And last week they got steamed up about Jimmie Byrnes—three days after Stettinius was appointed. They ought to know by now Mr. Big moves faster than the eye. They got to *anticipate* a little more.

Everything's changed, like that. I think I was more sure of what went on when I was on The Canal, almost. You know I was at Pearl on the Day. I stuck there awhile, and got a big boost out of the way the country pulled together. There was a real threat then, and everybody dropped his concern with Number One for awhile and went to work as an air-raid spotter. We were so nearly licked in those days. Everybody had a love affair with America all of a sudden. Then my outfit went in on The Canal. You know what it was, I guess—must have been pretty rugged about that time in the desert. But we were both hitting back, that was the thing, and I bet you felt the way I did—the country was behind us, with that fantastic job on production and everybody pulling for the war, and all the different countries forced to be friendly because they'd all sink if they weren't.

Those were rugged days, but now, I don't know. I think it's more rugged. Three years to a day, and we're just coming up against the hardest fighting, on both sides of the world. We're seeing the face of war and the face of death now; you know what I mean? I can get melodramatic about this, so stop me if I'm wrong.

Well, I've been reading the papers tonight. I don't usually, because they're pretty bad on the fighting. But tonight I thought, boy, we need iron in the soul like we never did before. Because why? Because victory is in sight, but we're going to have to pay a stiffer price for it now than we ever did. I memorized a figure: 522,018 United States casualties already, and that's only the beginning. Judge Patterson says more to come. You know that's true as far as Jerry's concerned; we're seeing now how he fights when he's licked and everybody knows it except him. With the Nip it's the same. Banzai charges. With Jerry it's that bloody, dogged resistance, and a long winter coming on. Let's be honest—you don't advance to within three and a half miles of Saarbrücken, like we did today, without bad casualties. They'll *fight* for that Saar, and they can pull almost anything out of the bag, like they did down in the Vosges when all the papers had them encircled and all of a sudden we and the French stopped advancing. Same in the east—the Russians get right up to Warsaw and Budapest and get a bloody nose, and everybody here forgets the Red Army never takes a city by frontal assault and says why are they stopping? But I bet they push into Austria before we get across the Cologne plain—which, as you say, is the key spot in the west—because we're closer to the heart there in the west than they are in the east.

The thing is more bitter now than it ever was, not only the fighting and the Jerry resistance but the way our jeeps feel. You know how it is in Italy—maybe they're cockeyed, but they think every death beyond Rome was no good. In the west they ration the ammunition—for once, through no fault of the papers or that "home front" we talk about; even General Marshall thought the war'd be over by now. So the army started cutting back heavy-shell estimates, the WPB talked about reconversion, and naturally the workers jumped out from under and looked for a good peace-time job. I don't see how they'll get them to go back, even if General Somervell made a fine speech before the N. A. M. All the trouble dates from the time we went chicken and turned down a national-service act—then's when the Pearl Harbor feeling left us, and it turned into every man for himself again.

But that doesn't look so good for the Nip war, does it? They're supposed to be on their heels, but on Pearl Harbor Day they raid Saipan and smash up some Superforts, land paratroops on Leyte, move in on Kweiyang, and are closer to knocking China out than they've ever been. Kunming is the next stop, and that's the end of the Fourteenth Air Force. Then maybe Chungking, or even Chengtu, and the end of B-29's bombing the factories in Manchuria. And their production of army planes is up—trouble when we move in toward the homeland.

I'll tell you a secret. The political thing is worse than the military thing. I suppose some of the guys from your regiment are in there shooting the E. L. A. S. in Greece. "Spitfires Strafe Leftists in Athens!" Christ! What kind of liberation *is* that? I don't know who's a Communist and who isn't, but if we're not in this thing for democratic reasons what *are* we in it for? And doesn't that mean the people can decide their own government? But *we've* been so backward that when Stettinius says it, everybody is startled and fears for United Nations unity. Can't you tell them Churchill and Eden don't stand for the British people on this thing? Can't you tell them our State Department didn't stand for us on the Darlan deal, or on this last deal with Franco about air lines?

You know this is important, because you know military affairs can't be separated from political affairs. And it's maybe even more important for the future than it is for now. Every little nest of fascism we leave now is going to mean trouble some day soon. R. A. F. bombers dropped two-ton blockbusters tonight on the Ruhr, it says here. What's that going to be in twenty-five years? It probably won't be anything, because the more important news is that today, even *today*, Jerry landed rocket bombs in England, with his bases so far away. It also says here that our boys have got the B-36 in experimentation, much bigger than the Superfort. But will we ever use those babies? Aren't we more likely to use the jet plane and the rocket plane, crossing the Atlantic in three hours, carrying either freight or bombs, passengers or air-borne troops?

You know the answer. We've *got* to get along. This war is already so tough we're sending the eighteen-year-olds overseas. But at Chicago they couldn't even agree on freedom of the air, and they never mentioned national security, though the airplane means the end of every old line of defense. We're going into Europe and Asia to restore a civilization at least partly destroyed, and we see the face of war; but how much have we learned from it? What radical—I mean deep-rooted in reality—ideas do we have about how tough the pull to victory will be, and how tough the pull to getting along with each other for peaceful ways?

I will tell you. We can handle it, us young guys, because we've been through the hell and boredom. Don't let the old men come out and take the victory from us; that's what we've got to guard against. We've got to build peace, jobs, and freedom at home and abroad, and we can do it because we've got the new idea. So many guys feel like you and I do, I know we can do it. But we've got to work together—and we've got a hell of a long row to hoe.

New Front, Old Firm

BY I. F. STONE

ON DECEMBER 6, for the second time within a month of his reelection, Mr. Roosevelt suffered a sharp and wholesome defeat at the hands of a Senate coalition spearheaded by his own progressive supporters. The spectacle was in many ways an extraordinary one. A complete reorganization of the State Department was announced on Monday and railroaded through the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Tuesday by its lordly chairman, Tom Connally. Though New Dealers here were appalled by the slate of nominees to fill the top offices of the department, only two newspapers, *PM* and the Philadelphia *Record,* expressed opposition, and Senate confirmation seemed a foregone conclusion. It is not often that the Senate overrules its powerful Foreign Relations Committee, and the Administration, mindful of its earlier post-election defeat on the proposed Jones-Clayton appointments to the Surplus Property Board, was moving quickly. The nominations were called up for Senate confirmation on Wednesday before the character of the new appointees could be adequately discussed or studied. But on Wednesday, while Connally raged angrily up and down the Senate floor, the Senate voted thirty-seven to twenty-seven to send them back to committee for hearings.

Not the strangest part of that strange debate Wednesday was the exchange of roles by the party leaders in the Senate. Lister Hill of Alabama, the acting Democratic floor leader, sat silent, unable to stomach the appointment of Will Clayton as Assistant Secretary of State. Hill felt impelled by his position as Administration whip to vote against recommittal but could not bring himself to defend the nominations. It was left to Senator Wallace White of Maine, the Republican floor leader, to assure reluctant New Deal Senators that "these nominees will not be the men who will determine the foreign policy of the United States. They will be subordinates who will carry out the policies determined by the President of the United States. They will speak for him. They will speak in behalf of the policies upon which he determines, and which he seeks to effectuate."

These assurances and their source appear less odd when one glances at the nominations. Joseph Clark Grew, named to the Under Secretaryship, last filled that post from 1924 to 1927 under Calvin Coolidge. Nelson Rockefeller, one of three new nominations to Assistant Secretaryships, is the son of a family which in 1944, as in past elections, was one of the largest contributors to the Republican campaign fund. Clayton, also named Assistant Secretary, was a contributor to both the Liberty League and its Dixie counterpart, the Southern Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government. His closest business associate, Lamar Fleming, Jr., executive head of Clayton's giant cotton firm, Anderson, Clayton and Company, was—with Jesse Jones's nephew, George Butler—one of the principal backers of the anti-New Deal Electoral College conspiracy in Texas. For the Republican floor leader to oppose such nominations would have been ingratitude, not partisanship. These three, with Mr. Roosevelt's new Secretary of State, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., were indeed what the Philadelphia *Record* called them, "four of a kind," and it was known at the time of the debate that two more of the same variety were coming. James Clement Dunn and Brigadier General Julius Holmes have since been nominated Assistant Secretaries of State, and they are, if anything, to the right of Clayton and Grew.

Brightly adorning this uniformly rightist dish, like a single maraschino cherry, was the nomination of one gifted, but I fear innocuous, liberal, Archibald MacLeish, also named Assistant Secretary of State. This, which was intended to make the reorganization palatable to progressives, proved a crucial mistake. It did not keep such New Dealers as Guffey, Kilgore, Mead, Murray, O'Mahoney, and Wagner from voting for recommittal, and it brought them the support of some isolationists and anti-New Dealers, many of whom objected only to MacLeish. The fourth element in the coalition which forced the appointments back to committee for hearings was made up of such cotton-state Senators as Bankhead, Bilbo, Maybank, and Russell, who regard Clayton, quite correctly, as an exploiter and enemy of the cotton farmer. These, with Taft, Holman, and "Happy" Chandler, made a strange set of bedfellows for liberals, but the Administration found itself as embarrassingly bedded down. It was supported by Tydings, Bailey, Vandenberg, McKellar, "Puddler Jim" Davis, and Pappy O'Daniel. And Byrd of Virginia, though unavoidably absent during the debate, issued a statement the next day strongly indorsing the new appointments.

The White House may well blush for the company in which it found itself, but progressives need make no apology for the coalition with which they succeeded in forcing hearings on these nominees. With the exception of Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson, they represent a complete change in the personnel at the top of the State Department. Legally, these appointments can only be made with the advice and consent of the Senate; a summary executive hearing and perfunctory vote hardly fulfil the spirit of this requirement. Actually, the people of this country have a right to know much more than they do about the opinions and connections of the men named to conduct their foreign affairs, and to consider these before the Senate votes on confirmation. It is only against such a background of public understanding and interest that a democratic foreign policy can be achieved. The fatuous few on the left who would take the President's intentions for granted and naively assume that the men he appoints, whatever their own views, will faithfully carry out a liberal foreign policy display remarkably short memories. They can usefully recall what happened during the Spanish civil war and again during the North African invasion. They cannot ask us to accept these appointments on faith and then at some future date complain of a new Darlanism.

That the peace can only be made by a coalition of internationalists of all varieties is true, and that is why there was so little opposition to the appointment of Stettinius. It was assumed that the reorganized State Department would represent all elements prepared to support Dumbarton Oaks—spokesmen for internationally-minded finance and business as well as representatives of the common folk of this country who made the President's reelection possible. But it is the blindest kind of wishful thinking to regard this new State Department slate as a coalition. The *Daily Worker* says the President has named "men representing a united front of varying political and economic opinions," and Samuel Grafton of the New York *Post* likewise finds that the President has appointed "men of varying shades of opinion." There are differences among them. Stettinius and Grew are linked by birth and marriage respectively with the firm of J. P. Morgan and Company, while Rockefeller's connection is with Chase National. Jimmy Dunn married into the meat-packing Armours, and Clayton is the world's most powerful cotton factor. But these differences hardly constitute them a united front, and the "varying shades" of their opinions and those of General Holmes are all at one end of the political spectrum and perceptible only, if at all, under minute examination. That they propose to let a solitary liberal, Archibald MacLeish, handle their cultural relations is magnanimous of them.

With the exception of Clayton this is a slate of gracious but dangerous nonentities. Rockefeller and Stettinius are affable young men, carefully brought up by wealthy families and still dependent on behind-the-scenes nursemaids. Rockefeller's principal Nannie, while he has been Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, has been the shrewd, smooth, hard-boiled Joe Rovensky of the Chase National Bank. Hands as skilled guide Stettinius's perambulator. His one talent is soft-soaping liberals, but the real outlook of those behind him is indicated by his reorganization of the State Department. With the exception of Grew, who was the President's choice, these men were all picked by Stettinius. There was one good Assistant Secretary, Dean Acheson, a corporation lawyer by trade but a well-informed and enlightened middle-of-the-roader. He was doing a good job in economic affairs but is to take over the task of "fronting" for the department in its relations with Congress, a post in which, if he keeps it, he will find himself apologizing for much with which he will disagree. Not one of the new men is faintly progressive except MacLeish, who like Acheson will have a job of explaining to do.

General Holmes, from all I can learn of him, is a political moron, an incredible mixture of career diplomat and brass hat. He has been chief of General Eisenhower's civil-affairs staff and before that was a foreign-service official, vice-president of the New York World's Fair, and president of General Mills of Brazil. People who knew him in North Africa say he was considerably to the right of Robert Murphy, and once at a dinner party solemnly opined that the United States had had a labor government for twelve years. Another government source I trust tells me that in July, 1943, Holmes was urged to get Italian anti-fascist prisoners off the penal islands and make heroes of them. Holmes thought it would be a good idea to smuggle them behind the lines to join the workers of Milan and Turin. After all, he said, now that Italy has surrendered we must persuade the workers of Europe that this war is anti-German, not anti-fascist. Goofy as it sounds, my informant swears that he heard Holmes say exactly this.

James C. Dunn's pro-Franco views are notorious. "I can't see how the Spanish war had any effect on the present European war," he told a *PM* interviewer in 1941. Former Ambassador Dodd seems to have thought him an ignoramus. Hull liked to play croquet on the lawn of the Dunn estate. As chief of the Protocol Division in Coolidge's day, Dunn was a sensation; Robert Bendiner in his "Riddle of the State Department" disclosed that it was Dunn who ruled that Dolly Gann took precedence over Mrs. Longworth. As political adviser on European affairs during the Hitler decade, Dunn was a flop. Grew is of the same social stratum and also an old-school-tie diplomat. He is a much abler and better-informed man than Dunn but proved a poor administrator the last time he was Under Secretary. Drew Pearson, who knows the State Department, says Grew "got Mr. Kellogg into more hot water in Mexico and Nicaragua than the State Department had seen in years." His principal contribution to current foreign policy is the notion that we must do nothing to offend Hirohito. Many people agree with him, but I find it difficult to understand just how they expect to use the emperor to bring into being a democratic and unwarlike Japan.

The real power in the department, if he gets the job, will be Clayton, a man of outstanding ability, supremely competent and ruthless. He is hated by the cotton growers of the South. His firm—Anderson, Clayton—is the largest purchaser of cotton, the dominant concern in the New York Cotton Exchange, and by far the largest ginner in the newer Arizona and California cotton fields, where it played a major part in organizing and financing the semi-fascist Associated Farmers. He helped the Nazis get cotton before the war, despite the boycott and Treasury anti-barter rulings, and also supplied the Japanese. More than half his company's $60,000,000 in assets are abroad—an interesting qualification for an Assistant Secretary of State in charge of foreign economic affairs. He has opposed virtually every New Deal measure, especially those designed to raise the price of cotton, and he is a free trader—opposed to any interference with supply and demand except his own, and that has been considerable, as attested by several Congressional investigations. As Jesse Jones's right-hand man, he was responsible for many of the delays in purchasing war materials of which Wallace complained in the BEW fight last year.

Unlike Hull, as the Senate revolt indicates, he is a political liability, above all in the South. I warn the wishful thinkers: men of his kind, now "internationalist," can turn anti-Soviet, anti-British, and imperialist overnight; and that applies to some at least of the other nominees. Any one or two of them, balanced by progressives, might give us a State Department suited politically to the needs of the moment. A State Department packed with them would be a catastrophe, not a coalition.

Dr. Gallup on the Mat

BY BENJAMIN GINZBURG

IT WAS announced last week that the House Campaign Expenditures Committee, headed by that wiry and stubborn New Dealer from New Mexico, Clinton Anderson, would go to Princeton to study the Gallup election polls. The story as it appeared in the press must have puzzled a great many newspaper readers. It quoted William A. Lydgate, editor of the Gallup polls, as saying that "the invitation to the House Campaign Investigating Committee to examine our ballots is the same as invitations extended to other governmental departments which have found our survey results useful in administrative work from time to time." The whole thing sounded as if the Gallup organization, having in a spirit of enlightened public service assisted the executive departments in the discharge of their activities, was now putting its vast store of knowledge at the disposal of a Congressional committee in order to assist it, too, in carrying out its functions.

Since the committee's course of study at the Gallup Institute may be protracted, I will relieve the readers' suspense by giving the facts behind its visit. In the first place, the committee is not undertaking an invited course of study *with* Dr. Gallup but an uninvited study *of* Dr. Gallup. In the second place, it is doing so to check on "numerous reports that the poll might have been used to influence" the outcome of the Presidential election. Let me say at once that the Anderson investigation is destined to be thorough, complete, and impartial. The technical staff includes such nationally known experts on election trends, on sampling, and on polling problems as Louis H. Bean, Rensis Likert, Philip Hauser, and Morris H. Hansen. If the investigation proceeds without obstruction and finds everything in order, it will render an immense service to Dr. Gallup—as well as to the general public—by dissipating once and for all the suspicion of political manipulation.

But why has it been necessary to start this long process of Congressional investigation in order to clear up something which could have been settled informally in very short order? Dr. Gallup has always advertised that "polls have no secrets," and that "their results are open to anyone who has a bona fide interest in examining the results." If this assurance had been lived up to, there would have been no need to conduct an investigation at the taxpayers' expense. The fact is that several informal attempts were made to check facts and figures with Dr. Gallup, and that all ended in failure.

I myself, in collaboration with an expert statistician, tried to clear up the puzzles of this year's Gallup reports. The central puzzle was why Gallup's national percentages for Roosevelt and Dewey remained frozen at 51-49 throughout the year—except in the final, day-before-election report, when they shifted to 51.5-48.5. The 51-49 figures were first announced in Gallup's report of February 20 as representing the breakdown of party preferences. They were reaffirmed on April 23 as the result of a trial heat which assumed Roosevelt and Dewey would be the candidates. Thus the national figures, indicating, as Gallup said, a practically even race, remained unchanged all the while it was widely believed that the electorate's apathy and the prospects of a low turn-out in November were dimming Democratic chances, and they were still unchanged after the heavy registration in the large industrial centers had raised Democratic hopes.

A secondary, but in many ways more intriguing, puzzle was the remarkable behavior of Gallup's state-by-state figures, the figures which reveal the candidate's standing in Electoral College votes. With the over-all national figures mysteriously frozen, the state-by-state figures showed Roosevelt's strength in the Electoral College first sagging slightly, and then going down sharply, while Dewey's strength grew. Thus in the August polls Roosevelt had 286 electoral votes and Dewey 245; in the September polls Roosevelt had 284 electoral votes, Dewey 208, and 39 votes were "on the line"; but in the polls released during the crucial month of October, Dewey was in the lead with 255 votes, the President trailed with 206, and 70 votes were "on the line."

During the weeks before election the crowds that stood before newspaper bulletin boards all over the country were entranced by illuminated maps showing Dewey's enormous lead over the President. The bulletin boards created the illusion that all Dewey needed for victory was to capture eleven of the seventy "on-the-line" votes, whereas the President needed sixty of the seventy. In a radio discussion on the night before the election Mr. Lydgate, Gallup's editor, revealed the truth about Dewey's prospects: he likened his chances for victory to the chances of "completing seventeen forward passes in a row!" But the crowds before the bulletin boards did not know that; they got the impression of an irresistible Dewey trend. I have since been informed that that is exactly what Gallup himself was telling the Republican high command. In an off-the-record speech at the University Club in New York, about a week before the election, he is reported to have told a group of prominent Republicans that while in past campaigns the Republican candidates started out with high electoral strength and petered out, in this campaign Dewey, starting with moderate electoral strength, had shown such gains as to assure his going over the top.

In his poll reports at the end of October Gallup publicly declared that his current figures took into account the Democratic gains from greater registration, but that "increased evidence of Dewey strength found during the last couple of weeks has offset any advantage which the Democrats have gained through increased registration in the large industrial centers of the nation." At that time I made my first attempt to clear up the puzzles posed by the Gallup figures. I wrote the Washington *Post*, which carries the Gallup polls in that city, that I had heard rumors that the Gallup sample polls had originally shown a 54-46 breakdown and that Gallup had adjusted the Roosevelt percentage downward to 51 on the basis of his theory of an abnormally low turnout in November. These rumors, I said, were consistent with his current statement; there was nothing illegitimate in his using adjustment factors on top of the raw figures, but the public was entitled to have both the raw figures and the adjustment factors, so that anybody who disagreed with the reasonableness of the adjustments could still use the scientifically compiled poll findings and come out with a different prediction as to the election.

In reply Dr. Gallup, under date of November 2, did not deny the rumors I referred to but declared that the Democratic gains from increased registration "have been almost exactly counterbalanced by two factors—results from nationwide tests with secret ballots which tend to bring a slightly higher Dewey figure and evidences of a Dewey trend." My polite request for precise information was dismissed in these words: "All of these facts should be recorded in detail in the scholarly journals for the benefit of technicians in this field. It is a question of how much of this information newspaper readers would like to have."

Three days after this categorical assertion of "evidences of a Dewey trend," Gallup released his final, day-before-election poll, which revealed, not a Dewey trend, but an increase in the Roosevelt national percentage to 51.5 and a rise in the Roosevelt electoral vote from 206 to 292. The headline—written by Gallup—read: "Final Gallup Report Gives Roosevelt Slight Vote Edge Over Dewey." It is perhaps worth noting that—as I have since learned through a written communication from Dr. Gallup—the figures for this final poll were complete and ready on the very day Dr. Gallup penned his statement to the *Post* affirming the evidences of a Dewey trend.

Without waiting for this final report, which many persons predicted would show Gallup hedging on his anti-Roosevelt predictions, I wrote him that as a serious student of polling techniques I should like to come to Princeton to look over his figures. After waiting a week for a reply, I decided to make the trip uninvited. I took with me a friend who is a recognized statistician and sampling expert so that there would be no chance of being refused access to the figures, for lack of scientific competence.

We talked to Dr. Gallup and to three members of his staff. But while we were regaled with all sorts of vague explanations, we got nary a glimpse of the work sheets or any of the actual figures. On my return to Washington I refused to confess myself beaten. I wrote Dr. Gallup that inasmuch as we had been discouraged from looking at the work sheets, I would ask him for a practical equivalent—I would like

to have him prepare a quantitative account of all the adjustments he had used, giving the polls in which they figured and the formulas and justifications for each of them. For this purpose I inclosed a detailed questionnaire. Two days later I talked with Dr. Gallup by telephone and was assured that the information would be forthcoming, that it would take time to prepare, and that I would be notified in a day or so how long a time would be required.

I am still waiting. Instead of this information, I received after a week a long letter from Dr. Gallup which began, "Although it is not possible to answer in the detail which your questions suggest, I think I can answer in this letter most of the important points which you bring up." From this preface one can judge the contents of the rest of the letter.

In the absence of precise answers from Dr. Gallup, I am compelled to sum up my convictions on the basis of incomplete evidence. I believe, however, they should be helpful in adducing the full facts. Unless the Anderson investigation is supported by an informed and aroused public opinion, it is likely to bog down.

1. There is some evidence of bad practice in the 1940 campaign. In that campaign Gallup admitted (New York *Times*, November 25, 1940) throwing away his final poll, which showed figures disputing the Willkie trend he had been predicting: "The final ballot which the Institute received on Saturday before the election from its interviewing staff, using regular and normal procedures, showed an upturn for Roosevelt to 53.9 per cent. In order to get a last-minute check on sentiment, we experimented with a nation-wide telegraphic poll, instructing our interviewers to do as much of their interviewing as possible early Sunday morning, and to file their reports by three o'clock Sunday afternoon. . . . The result of this telegraphic poll brought our national Roosevelt figure down to 52 per cent." It was this set of figures, and not the figures of his rejected regular poll, that Gallup published as his final results the day before election. After election he pleaded: "This experiment . . . should be charged to bad management and not research."

2. This year's record shows a pro-Dewey set in the Gallup polls. The set was established in the first instance by writing down the Roosevelt percentage on the basis of an expected low turn-out in November. There does not appear to have been any scientific basis for estimating either the national turn-out or the state-by-state turn-outs or for measuring the drop in the Roosevelt vote by states on the assumption of a low turn-out.

3. When it became evident that the turn-out would be large, new adjustments were made. Gallup used an adjustment for the secret ballot, saying that the results shown by this method were less favorable to Roosevelt—although, given the margin of error inherent in all sampling operations, he had no right to assume that the secret-ballot results were statistically more reliable than the results of the open ballot. He told the Washington *Post* that the secret ballot changed the Dewey vote "slightly," but he now states in a letter to me that it amounted to two percentage points—a major adjustment.

4. The adjustment for the "veracity" of the voters interviewed in the Gallup polls—another adjustment made during the closing weeks of the campaign—appears fantastic. Voters were asked to state how they voted in 1940, and on the basis of a discrepancy between the percentages thus compiled and the actual 1940 election figures, Gallup adjusted downward the Roosevelt percentage in his 1944 polls.

5. The final poll of November 6 was a synthetic product in a number of ways. Gallup insists that the national figures were obtained from an intensive or "pin-point" survey of forty areas in five "barometer" states, that these figures, which were more reliable than his previously published figures reached by other methods, were ready only on November 2, and thus could not have been used in his earlier reports. Unfortunately this poll carried only a national figure. Where did Gallup get the state-by-state figures which he published in his final report? The most intensive questioning has failed to elicit an answer.

There are a great many other questions that might be raised about the Gallup polls. But enough has been said to indicate that the Anderson committee has a real job on its hands.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON will probably not be led by Smedley Butler or by any of the gentlemen publicly mentioned in connection with the fascist plot which flared and died in last week's news. But General Butler's assertion that he has had forty-two offers to head a fascist coup is not as funny as it sounds. Nor is it accidental that the air is filled with rumors of such coups. The basic maladjustments from which fascism arises are growing sharper as the months go by.—*December 5, 1934.*

AMBASSADOR SAITO'S ANNOUNCEMENT that Japan will denounce the Washington Naval Treaty comes as a surprise to no one. Even before the recent conversations were started in London, it was generally recognized that the positions of Japan and the United States were irreconcilable.—*December 5, 1934.*

A YEAR OF LEGAL LIQUOR: The extraordinary thing about the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment is how little difference it has made. I know for a fact that the prohibition brethren looked for a gaudy saturnalia of boozing, very useful to their cause, and I suspect that many of the brewers, distillers, and vintners entertained the same beatific vision. But, as everyone knows, there has been nothing of the sort. —H. L. MENCKEN, *December 12, 1934.*

"I AM NEITHER Republican, Democrat, nor Socialist. I glory in the fact that I am a simple Catholic priest endeavoring to inject Christianity into the fabric of an economic system woven upon the loom of greed by the cunning fingers of those who manipulate the shuttles of human lives for their own selfish purposes." This is the crudely poetic language which has come through the millions of loud speakers and brought millions of responses. But in the sixteen planks there is no word of democratic government, and the right of free speech is not mentioned. The omission is not what his listeners asked, and they probably did not notice it. But it is a significant feature in the Coughlin program.—RAYMOND GRAM SWING, *December 26, 1934.*

Medicine Without Microscopes

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Lublin, November 24

"HOW can we run a university without books? Without miscroscopes? Without charts or laboratory equipment? Yet somehow we must begin. Poland cannot wait while the politicians settle their differences. More than half of our physicians and probably 70 per cent of our professors and scientists have either been murdered by the usual Nazi methods or have sickened and died from the conditions of war. We must begin immediately to train new physicians, new scientists, new intellectual leaders for our devastated land."

In these words Dr. Waclaw Rabe, former professor of zoology at Lvov University and now rector of the new "Curie University" just opened in Lublin, described the task before him. He sat in my room in this snowbound, overcrowded Polish city, capital of the liberated Polish areas, and talked about the new university's needs, hoping that through me he might reach some Americans who know him and could help him.

With him was Dr. Edward Grzegorzewski, a graduate of Johns Hopkins and former professor of public health in the Warsaw State School of Hygiene, who is now organizing the College of Medicine in Curie University. He showed me first his Johns Hopkins diploma and then with a wry smile presented a letter from the Rockefeller Foundation, dated 1941, stating that the funds granted him in 1939 for scientific travel in Europe had lapsed because, owing to "unfortunate conditions," he had been unable to make the contemplated trip. What a masterpiece of understatement! The "unfortunate conditions" preventing Doctor Grzegorzewski's scientific jaunt across Europe were caused by the most frightful war in history.

After occupying Poland, the Nazis murdered or jailed the Polish intellectuals and closed all the universities and secondary schools; a few trade schools were allowed to remain open to prepare skilled slave workers. When the Red Army entered Lublin three months ago the small Catholic University there immediately reopened with the assistance of the Polish Committee of Liberation. Since this university teaches only divinity, law, and the humanities, the Committee, which is the de facto government of liberated Poland, though it avoids the name, decided to open a state university with faculties of medicine, animal diseases, pharmacy, science, and agriculture. A three-story building with sixty rooms, a former *Gymnasium,* was put at Dr. Rabe's disposal. Several rooms in a hospital were also provided for a clinic. This was all the Committee could give him except good wishes and a multitude of students. Six hundred immediately applied.

"What is there in the building except bare walls?" I asked. "Plenty of fresh air," replied Dr. Grzegorzewski. Most of the windows are broken, and Poland has no glass factory.

The windows were mended or boarded over. Desks, tables, and benches were rapidly supplied. "Everything that can be made of wood we have already or are making," said Dr. Rabe. Local physicians patriotically contributed microscopes. Half a dozen others were unearthed in all of Lublin—the Germans had found the rest. Local physicians also donated two thermostats for cultures. "We need two hundred microscopes and fifteen thermostats," said Dr. Rabe. "Glassware for chemistry experiments is non-existent. There are no dyes to color slides, no raw materials of any description. Most of all, we want books, books, books. We must regain the contact with modern science that we have lost during these five years. We want books on anatomy, zoology, botany, medicine, on every subject, in either Polish or English. Our professors now must teach from memory, and they cannot always remember the formulas. Our memories have been broken by five years of living like hunted beasts."

I asked Dr. Rabe whether he had enough professors. He replied, "We have enough for this university but shall not have when all Poland has been liberated. We now have professors from Warsaw, Vilno, Lvov, Posnan." Many are well-known persons, including some who were once connected with the Rockefeller Foundation. I cannot give their names since their families are still in German-occupied territory. I asked whether the six hundred students applying had the proper preparation. Rabe replied that all had graduated from secondary schools before the war or from underground schools during the war. "However, we can't possibly take the whole six hundred. They need not only books and laboratory equipment but also shoes and clothing and even the simplest things, like aprons. We can take two or three hundred now and the remainder in January if help arrives."

No second- or third-year work will be done this year. But a fourth- and fifth-year course has been planned for a special group who have been practicing emergency surgery in the army but have not had full medical training. A month ago the new Polish army ordered all young people with any medical schooling whatever to report for duty. Now the army has decided to send all who have had three or more years of medical training to the university for a rapid finishing course. Eighty such students have already applied, and perhaps two hundred are expected.

Fifteen days ago Doctor Rabe attended the opening of another medical school in Praga, a Warsaw suburb lying between the opposing armies. In the recent battle for Warsaw the old Polish hospital named the Transfiguration of Christ was destroyed by German bombs. The doctors moved the patients out and reestablished the hospital in a school building. Several professors from Warsaw then opened advanced medical courses. They found a hundred students hungry to learn. This hospital is still under bombardment. Three professors, seven nurses, and fifteen patients were killed by one bomb. Students come to school under fire. But this does not trouble them greatly. Their worst trial is the complete lack of equipment. They are hampered also in their learning by the lack of shoes, clothing, and food.

Hundreds of students and dozens of professors from other faculties are besieging the Lublin government, demanding that other universities be opened. Because this small city is the only considerable town in fairly good condition—the Germans were driven out unexpectedly—it is terrifically overcrowded with every kind of activity. Despite the seeming impossibility, the government expects to open a polytechnic and a social-economic university sometime during the winter.

Thus far the only foreign relief of any kind reaching Poland has been flour and medical supplies sent by Stalin. Though gifts were collected in America, their whereabouts are unknown. Everyone anxiously awaits the arrival of authorized representatives from America to discuss the desperate situation of this longest-suffering of all the countries that have felt Hitler's might.

Funk—Father of the Vitamin

BY BENJAMIN HARROW

CASIMIR FUNK recently celebrated his sixtieth birthday. The event was of interest, for Funk is the "father" of the vitamin: he not only coined the name but did much of the scientific work which established its identity. Like many another discoverer, he has seen his find put to both good and evil use. It is doubtful whether more than a small fraction of the $250,000,000 which the American public spent on vitamin capsules and concentrates during the past year brought any therapeutic return. Indeed, the effective ballyhoo of the advertiser has thrust vitamins down the throat of the gullible public to the point where they have become a menace; people have been led to believe that they need give little attention to a scientifically planned diet if they gorge on vitamin pills. Another touch of irony is that while probably 90 per cent of those who buy vitamin pills do not need them, the very poor, who cannot afford to buy them, might improve their health by taking them as a supplement to their one-sided diet.

Of course many sick persons can benefit from increasing their vitamin intake. And there is a great lack of vitamins in the diet of the undernourished people of Europe and Asia. But the real need of these people is not so much for vitamins as for plain ordinary food yielding enough calories to nourish the body. It cannot be too strongly stressed that vitamins do not take the place of calories: an insufficient amount of fat, carbohydrate, and protein in the diet will cause starvation even if there is a superabundance of vitamins.

Funk was born in Warsaw, Poland, the son of a well-known dermatologist. At sixteen he was sent to Berne to study organic chemistry under Kostanecki, an authority on plant pigments. In due time Funk received his Ph.D., having submitted a thesis dealing with derivatives of stilbene. This was prophetic, for a closely allied stilbene compound is now in use as a substitute for the natural female hormone —Funk was to pioneer in hormones later.

Several years were spent at the Pasteur Institute in Paris, where Bertrand was the biochemist, and where Roux and Metchnikov reigned supreme; and at the University of Berlin, under the guidance of the great Emil Fischer, the master of protein chemistry. Next Funk went to the Lister Institute in London, on the promise that he could carry on independent work there. Despite unforeseen obstacles, he found here his great opportunity. Charles Martin, the director of the institute, had heard much about beriberi in India, China, and Japan, and had adopted the view that the disease was caused by a lack of protein in the polished rice eaten by the natives; in this he differed with the Dutch investigator, Eijkman, who had experimentally induced beriberi in birds and believed that the disease was the result of some toxin. Funk quickly established the fact that beriberi was caused neither by a deficient supply of protein nor by a toxin, but by the lack of a very definite substance present in rice polishings and absent from polished rice. While the substance—now known as thiamin—was not isolated till many years later, Funk's chemical work paved the way for this accomplishment. He also identified nicotinic acid in the concentrated substance—the ingredient whose lack is the causative factor in pellagra, as Elvehjem was to show some twenty-five years later.

Funk boldly proclaimed that the "deficiency" disease of beriberi was no isolated case and that rickets, pellagra, and scurvy were all due to the absence from the diet of minute quantities of certain essential compounds, to which he now gave the name "vitamins." There were, of course, others before Funk who had had ideas on this subject. There was Takaki, surgeon-general of the Japanese army, who in the eighties of the last century conducted experiments which led him to believe that the disease incapacitating so many Japanese soldiers was due to an insufficient supply of protein. This idea was picked up by Martin and conveyed to Funk in 1910. There was Eijkman, working in the East Indies around the turn of the century. There was Hopkins in England, who published accounts of the importance of "accessory food substances." Later McCollum, Mendel, Osborne, and others in this country did good work in preparation for the new discoveries.

But Funk deserves the major credit, first, because of the conclusive evidence he presented that a vitamin was a very definite chemical entity; and, second, because of his grand generalization that various vitamins—not just one—were necessary for normal health: the absence of any one of them from the diet would give rise to a characteristic "food-deficiency" disease. To realize how startling was this idea, it should be recalled that, with the exception of various metabolic disturbances, diseases were associated by physicians of the day with the virulent micro-organisms which the labors of Pasteur and others had so impressed on men's minds.

During the First World War, Funk, dissatisfied with his prospects, decided to come to America. The years that followed were filled with research for industry. He was the first to make adrenaline and salvarsan in this country—these products had hitherto been imported from Germany. He continued his vitamin investigations and published many papers in technical journals.

In 1923, at the instigation of a fellow-Pole, Dr. Rajchman, head of the health division of the League of Nations, Funk accepted the directorship of the biochemical department at the State Institute of Hygiene in his native city of Warsaw, a project supported by the Rockefeller Foundation. The unsettled political condition of the country made working difficult, but during his four years' stay in Warsaw Funk published dozens of papers with various collaborators. The crying need for carefully prepared extracts containing insulin gradually turned his thoughts to the general subject of hormones—a field in which his next important contribution was to be made.

In 1927 Funk settled near Paris. Here he announced his second great discovery, made in collaboration with Lejwa, a fellow-Pole, and the writer of this article—the preparation of an extract containing the male hormone derived from male urine.

Such men as Voronov, with their "glands" and their methods of "rejuvenation," had done much to discredit sex research. Physiologists, however, were giving serious attention to the possibility that the reproductive organs elaborate hormones in the same way that the thyroid elaborates thyroxine and the adrenals manufacture adrenaline. The key difficulty was the problem of devising a "test method"—that is, a reliable method of detecting the hormone. At this point a French biologist, Pézard, came to the rescue. He showed that when the testicles of a cock are removed, its comb and wattles wither. Since it was already known that hormones travel through the blood, the assumption was made that excess quantities might be discharged into the urine—much as urea and other products in the urine come from the blood. With this in mind, Funk and his associates prepared various urinary extracts and injected them into castrated cocks. The results were clear-cut: the injections caused a marked resumption of the growth of the comb and wattles of a castrated bird. Of course, male hormones—there are several of them, and they have since been chemically isolated—are not a rejuvenating factor; no progress has yet been made in this direction. But both male and female hormones have been used with some success to overcome sex disturbances.

The Second World War has brought Funk back again to America, his mind still teeming with fruitful ideas which he imparts to others freely. Many scientists in the colleges and in industry acknowledge the inspiration they have gained from contact with Casimir Funk. Funk never has been a plodder on the long road of scientific advance. He is usually ahead of the ideas warranted by established scientific work. Sometimes one feels that his imagination is more like that of a poet than a scientist. Certainly he is a man of amazing intuitions. If he has seldom received the public recognition that should be his, his name will eventually be recorded on the roster of the great.

In the Wind

A NEGRO SAILOR in the United States navy reports that on his last trip to England he and a friend went to an American Red Cross club in a port town and were turned away at the door with these words: "This isn't an English club; it's an American one."

FROM AN EDITORIAL in the Chicago *Tribune* of November 29: "The news from abroad makes it clear that Europeans generally have no real appreciation of the sacrifices that the war has imposed on America."

ALNICO, a highly magnetic aluminum alloy developed by Professor Tokushici Mishima of Tokyo Imperial University and introduced into this country shortly before the war, is now being used in American military radios and other equipment. In releasing this information to the press, E. F. McDonald, president of Zenith Radio Corporation, took occasion to say, "The little yellow Jap is being nicked daily with his own alnico."

YANK, the army magazine, doesn't think much of the postwar world the advertisements offer. "The homes that wait for us," it says in its issue of December 1, "will be a tidy combination of Hans Christian Andersen and Jules Verne. They will be inch-thick with glass and plastic, but they will have all the allure of the rose-covered cottage of honeymoon dreams. Television receivers, thinly disguised as tiger-skin rugs, will disgorge fried chicken from a hidden glove compartment. It will be a world like you've never seen this side of a Section VIII ward. It will be homey and new, and shiny and soft, and cheap and expensive, and thick and thin, and sharp and dull. It will be everything and nothing."

A HEADLINE in the financial section of the New York *Times* of December 6 said, "Stocks Go Through Highs for October." The story explained the boom thus: "Some brokers said that investment circles viewed favorably the shake-up in the State Department in Washington, and predicted that henceforth diplomacy and business would be tied closely together."

AN ARTICLE in the London *Daily Mail* discussing the Nazis' new rocket bomb concludes: "Transatlantic rocket shells of up to 100 tons must now be regarded as a distinct possibility within five years."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Danish underground publishers have printed more than a million copies of such books as Willkie's "One World," Rauschning's "Men Around Hitler," and Steinbeck's "The Moon Is Down." German officials sometimes find copies on their desks.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

We Save the King

BY MARIO BELLINI

THE struggle between monarchist and anti-monarchist forces in Italy, for a long time thinly concealed beneath a superficial political truce, has at last broken out into the open. On November 1 Prince Humbert, Lieutenant General of the Realm, told Herbert Matthews, correspondent of the New York *Times,* that he desired to have Italy choose its form of government by a plebiscite. The first act of the Bonomi government had been to decide that Italy's political future was to be settled by a Constituent Assembly, and the Lieutenant General had accepted this decision. Though he has now changed his mind, the government has not, and on November 7 it reaffirmed "its solemn pledge to decide the constitutional issue through the vote of a Constituent Assembly established by the law of the state."

In supporting the plebiscite the monarchists are trying to play the old game at which European reaction was so successful during the past century. No doubt they remember how beautifully plebiscites worked for Napoleon III, Mussolini, and Hitler, who obtained their majorities by corruption and terror, by exploiting both the emotionalism of the people and their poverty. The anti-monarchists insist on a Constituent Assembly, chosen by the people and charged with the responsibility of drafting a constitution. Only such a constitution, they believe, can determine Italy's political institutions, whether they shall be republican or monarchist. Americans should have a special respect for this procedure, for it was a constituent assembly which gave the United States its form of government. It was clear to the anti-monarchists that Prince Humbert's declaration was nothing more than a maneuver of the reactionary forces to gain power.

Since the monarchists cannot hope to win in a fair fight, some such maneuver was to be expected. But the last thing that liberals in Italy and other parts of the world could have foreseen was the Allies' open support of the monarchy. The Allies are the real masters of the situation in Italy. Italians cannot move a chair from one ministry to another without the prior consent of the Allied Commission. The word "control" has been deleted from the commission's title, but Italian affairs are just as much under its thumb as before. And the Allies, particularly the British, seem determined to build up for the monarchy such a strong machine that it can completely control Italian politics. To this end they are consistently weakening the democratic forces in Italy. The House of Savoy, of course, protects its supporters—the big industrialists and landowners, the generals, and the aristocrats, all of them haters of democracy. These in turn protect the petty Fascist bureaucrats who can still be found in all local and state administrations.

The Assistant High Commissioner for the Punishment of Fascist Crimes, Mauro Scoccimarro, in an interview carried by the Socialist paper *Avanti* of November 10, stated flatly: "All the Fascist and reactionary forces immediately mobilized to sabotage the purge. Unfortunately they were able to influence certain democrats and therefore the government itself, creating conditions detrimental to the government's purpose. I can report that as of October 31 out of 1,005 cases submitted only 345 were acted upon."

The Allies allow, even encourage, such sabotage of the attempt to purge Italy of fascism because a thorough purge would sweep out many monarchists. For example, two generals, del Tetto and Pettimalli, were arrested some time ago and charged with high treason. They were accused of having surrendered Naples to the Germans and of collaboration with the enemy. Their trial was first set for October 23, then postponed two weeks. It has never taken place. The reason is obvious. The two generals, in their own defense, would have to expose the King and Badoglio, who instead of organizing the defense of southern Italy fled to safety. Justice was flouted so that the position of the monarchy might not be weakened.

For the same reason a purge of the navy has been prohibited. The navy belongs to the King; it is his personal instrument of power, and he does not want anybody to interfere with it.

In order to show the world that a monarchy, over and above the political parties, is needed to unite the country, it is necessary to make people believe that Italy is disunited. There is in Sicily a separatist movement which can serve this purpose. It is supported by the big landowners, who fear the social reforms a democratic Italy would have to undergo, and who therefore wish to see Sicily separated from the motherland. The leader of the movement is a certain Finocchiaro Aprile, a trouble-maker whose arrest was ordered by the Bonomi government. The Allies opposed his arrest, and Aprile is still free and active. It is a known fact that many Fascists, after being arrested as collaborators, were freed by the Allies, and that others who were removed from public office were reinstated.

The most unsavory elements in Italian political life are found among the monarchists. But their loyalty to the House of Savoy is unquestioned, because their survival depends upon its continuance. In a democratic Italy there would be no place for Mussolini's generals, but the King may very well use them, not to fight against the Germans for Italy but against the Italian people for the monarchy. That is what happened in Palermo, where 18 people were killed and 105 injured by the army doing police duty. The main job left to the *carabinieri* (military police) is to fire on the peasants who want to farm the estates of the big landowners, to destroy anti-monarchist manifestos, and to loot the premises of anti-monarchist papers. The army must still swear allegiance to "the king and his royal successors for the indivisible good of king and country." It is indoctrinated to believe that to fight against the monarchy would be equivalent to fighting against Italy, but is trained to fight against the Italian people for the sake of "law and order."

The *prefetti,* provincial governors appointed directly by the central government, are another tool of the monarchy. Their powers are almost limitless. The *prefetto* appoints the mayor, the members of the council, and the commissioners for each city in the province; the police are answerable to him; he controls the entire economic life of the region; he names the commission for the punishment of Fascist crimes; he distributes all posts in the provincial and municipal administrations. Naturally the *prefetti* are chosen from among the most faithful monarchists. They are in a position to control the election of a Constituent Assembly—or to manipulate a plebiscite if the monarchists' wishes prevail; they can prevent people from voting, refuse to count all the votes, or count them incorrectly. And if disorders arise, the *prefetti* have at their disposal the police, and also the army if necessary, to enforce "law and order."

It is time Americans realized that the Allies, by continuing their present policy, will force the democratic elements in Italy to use revolutionary methods to accomplish what they cannot accomplish legally.

Colonel Rat

BY PAUL SERING

JULY 20 was the signal for the dissolution of the alliance on which the Third Reich was built—the alliance between the Nazi upstarts and their political machine on one side and the armament kings, landowners, and military professionals of traditional Germany on the other. In the hour of defeat the Nazi leaders behave as desperate outlaws, and the traditional ruling classes behave as rats. Göring was once designated as Hitler's successor because of all the Nazi leaders he was considered best suited for holding the alliance together; Himmler takes over because it is disintegrating anyhow. His Germany is Hitler's Germany minus the "rats."

The organization of the outlaws is Himmler's S. S. It has long been developed as the inner core of the Nazi movement. It has trained hundreds of thousands in fiendish cruelty and the ruthless sacrifice of lives. During the eleven years of Hitler's reign it has patiently, step by step, extended its hold over the administration and the armed forces.

Today Himmler's outlaw army is organizing Germany's "last-ditch" defense in true Gestapo style. Authentic reports from Germany outrun the wildest imagination of Allied propagandists. It is true that entire divisions of cripples were sent to the front even before the call-up of the *Volkssturm.* It is also true that it has become a regular part of German tactics to sacrifice these inferior troops in hopeless delaying actions in order to gain time to extricate the "élite," and that means now mostly S. S. formations. It is known that many of the inhabitants of Aachen were forced to leave their homes against their will; and there are now reliable reports from the Ruhr which state that, when things looked like an Allied break-through there a few weeks ago, the Nazis seriously planned to flood the mines, after first driving the "eastern workers" down into the pits. Naturally, there can be no "arming of the people" while this is going on; the fact is that a highly selective arming of reliable elements is accompanied by continuous political controls, mass arrests, and executions.

So much about the outlaws; what about the rats? They have no common organization, only a common social background and a common creed, the creed of all the Darlans. They profited from Nazism while it was successful; they helped it into the saddle and share responsibility for its major decisions. Now they are trying to join the Allied camp.

I am not talking of peace feelers. There are no more German peace feelers—partly because the people who would like to make them have no power, and partly because they realize that the Allies are not interested. I am talking of the unconditional surrender of German war profiteers and officers from the very best noble families. Ever since July 20 there has been a real epidemic of this.

They are ready to tell the Allies every military and industrial and diplomatic secret they know. They swear that they have never liked the Nazis and only profited from their war with a bleeding heart. Above all, they are not interested in politics. Politics, so they explain one and all, is what was the trouble with Germany. When the Allies occupy Germany they must above all abolish politics for a long, long time. No political movements—that would only lead to Bolshevism, and surely the Allies don't want disorder? Of course, Director General Rat and Colonel von Rat will be delighted to put their administrative and organizing experience at the disposal of an orderly Allied administration. And so on.

It is a disgusting business, but a serious one because it is so well calculated to play on reactionary prejudices within the Allied camp. And it is dangerous. I do not suggest that all these people are disguised Nazi agents—most of them are as sincere as a rat can be. But I do say that the Allies can give no greater help to the future Nazi "underground" than to follow this advice.

Himmler and his thugs are exaggerating their *maquis* preparations as much as their other secret weapons. But that there will be a secret terrorist organization of Nazi outlaws—that much is certain. They have lost much of their former popular support already; they will have lost much more by the time organized fighting is over. The question is: will they be able to regain this support later by exploiting the miserable state into which their acts have thrown the country?

Part of the answer depends, of course, on the general character of the Allied treatment of defeated Germany. But an essential part depends on the development of an effective, genuine, constructive political movement of anti-Nazi Germans. Police measures may be able to keep down the underground Nazi movement; only a political counter-movement can kill it. It is not a question of public order; it is a question of getting a positive hold on the masses who have lost faith in the Nazi gospel.

The elements of such a movement exist. They exist in the Socialist and Communist underground groups, now definitely on the increase in spite of increasing persecution; they exist in religious underground circles, and even in a considerable number of secret youth groups which are seeking to escape from official propaganda and uniformity and groping for truth with nobody to guide them. They exist in the many individuals who have managed to preserve their standards of intellectual criticism and ethical conduct, though they have never found the way to political action. It is these genuine anti-Nazis who will be willing and able not only to cooperate with the Allies, but also to give a new orientation to the great bulk of the German people—those who have supported the Nazi regime without taking an active part in its policy or its crimes. (From the *Tribune*, London.)

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

A NOTEWORTHY directive was issued to German labor offices on November 10 by Commissioner of Man-Power Fritz Sauckel. "The Führer," he announced in the *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, "has ordered a rejuvenation of the officers' corps. Therefore a considerable number of older officers are being released. I attach special importance to their speedy and complete employment."

Of course there could hardly be a less suitable moment than the present for the release of a "considerable number" of officers, even older officers. Not only have the casualties among officers been enormous, but the new *Volkssturm* must be supplied with a whole new officer corps; and since this "people's army" consists mainly of elderly men, older officers are especially needed. It can be assumed therefore that "rejuvenation" is a euphemistic expression for a new kind of purge—the last act of the political purge that was begun months ago. Defeatist or suspect officers in tens of thousands were first removed from their commands; now they are being formally dismissed from the army.

There would be little necessity to comment on their fate were it not for Herr Sauckel's insistence that the labor offices find jobs for them, speedily. "Older" officers, as the term is used in Germany, are at least majors or colonels. Formerly when individuals of these ranks left the army they retired on a pension. Occasionally they took an honorary post or some work whose dignity corresponded to their social position. But the labor bureaus do not concern themselves with honorary posts or with highly dignified employment. They supply the factories with men to work at lathes, die machines, conveyor belts. In other words, the Nazi authorities have ordered the employment of the released officers as ordinary workmen in industry. They attach "special importance" to the disappearance of these officers in the nameless masses, to the "speedy and complete" dissolution of their social group.

Another new step taken by the army is worth mentioning. On November 23 a "new law regulating the remuneration of the armed forces" was announced in German newspapers. The novelty consists in the introduction of a so-called "battle supplement." The German soldier has always received higher pay for front-line than for garrison service—as is the custom in most armies—and the difference is now to be augmented: "From now on a battle supplement will be paid for every day that the soldier directly confronts the enemy." The sum is fairly large—six marks a day, which at the current rate of exchange is $2.50. A soldier who is in the trenches for a whole month gets $75 extra.

"This battle supplement," the announcement states, "is paid to all ranks alike. It is the same for a private and a sergeant, a captain and a general." It serves therefore as another of the demonstrations of the "strictly socialist character of our Reich" which have been following on each other's heels since Himmler's ascent to supreme power. The chief purpose of the new measure is of course to make the soldier willing, even eager, to serve at the front. Herr Himmler must place hope in it, for it adds an immense sum to the budget of the war. From the normal financial point of view it seems an act of madness. But it will get some results—some extremely necessary results.

Nowhere is there more talk about the Hitler mystery than in Germany. All the hypotheses put forward abroad are thoroughly ventilated in the Reich. Public opinion seems to be gradually inclining—rightly or wrongly—toward the simplest and most radical conclusion. The Swiss *Basler Arbeiterzeitung* reported on November 21, "The opinion is growing throughout Germany that Hitler is dead." And the Stockholm *Aftonbladet* said on the same day, "According to private reports the average German has increasing doubts that Hitler is still alive."

Up to the time of writing the Nazi authorities have followed the line of denying everything. Dr. Ley travels up and down the country and delivers three or four speeches a day on Hitler's glowing health. An article of his in the *Angriff* of November 18 is almost naive: "The enemy," he says, "improvises, incites, lies. Hitler is said to be dead, to have escaped to Japan in a U-boat, to be mad, to be befuddled, to be feeding songbirds at Berchtesgaden. What goes on in the brains of the poor creatures who make such stupid attacks on our Führer?"

But while this was, and remains, the official line, one exception has been noted—and its effect on the German people was like that of a rocket bomb. The *Völkischer Beobachter* of November 14 carried a curiously abstract, pointless, and obscure article—containing no mention of Hitler—which under the circumstances was absolutely sensational. Entitled The Man of Genius, its thesis was this:

> It happens in world history that at climactic moments a phenomenon familiar in everyday life repeats itself on a colossal scale—namely, the personality of a "man of genius," with its inhibitions, faults, and weaknesses, separates itself from his creative achievements. Not always or forever does the genius completely fill the frame of his creation. Frequently it happens that the great work of a genius continues to develop, of its own vitality and according to its own laws, while the ego of its creator collapses and degenerates. In other words, the creation of the genius has become independent of himself and his earthly personality.

What was meant by this solemn chatter about the possibility that genius may collapse and degenerate while his work continues to flourish? The average reader could take it only as preparation for an admission that Hitler was finished. The article was so understood in Germany, and it must have been so intended. We do not know why the expected sequel did not appear. The *Völkischer Beobachter* must have decided at one time gradually to prepare the people for the fact that they would no longer see much of the Führer.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

ARITHMETIC HAS NEVER BEEN, for me, an exact science. I seldom get fewer than three different totals when I add up a column of figures, and long division, as I practice it, is long indeed. This failing used to bother me—I once hit a schoolmate over the head with my sewing bag because she always got A in arithmetic. I have adjusted myself since then. I don't really care what nine times six is, and my colleagues have adjusted themselves to my highly subjective estimates of lines and words. But a publicity release about a book called "New Numbers" does, I admit, stir the old frustrations. Practically the only thing I can do in figures with any degree of confidence is to count by tens. I have even derived a sort of joy out of counting by tens. And now I'm told that it's "a mistake." F. Emerson Andrews, author of "New Numbers," declares we should count by twelves. The old system, he says, obviously with a sneer, is based on nothing more logical than the fact that man has ten fingers. I find it, if not logical, at least comforting and sure—and more convenient for reference than, say, the fact that there are twelve unfastened eggs in a dozen. The release goes on, relentlessly, to imply that counting would be simpler if two new numbers were added. At this point the satisfaction with which I hit Marvel Burke over the head comes back to me. But I realize it's a losing battle. Mr. Andrews can count me out—and he can count to ten or twelve, just as he pleases.

WE HAVE HAD very little actual detailed information, so far, about the resistance movement inside Poland. In "Story of a Secret State" (Houghton, Mifflin, $3) Jan Karski gives a detailed account, in the form of a personal history, of the Polish underground, its organization and its amazing ramifications—the movement even carries on the education of the young, who receive degrees in code. Mr. Karski points out with pride that Poland has not thrown up a single quisling. Non-collaboration has been complete. And this fact, ironically, may well be one of the reasons—apart from the situation of Poland far inside occupied Europe—why we have heard so little, relatively, about the struggle there.

Mr. Karski, who was an officer in the Polish army when war broke out, became a prisoner of the Russians when they moved in. Because his birthplace was in a territory occupied by the Germans he managed to be included, once he had obtained a private's uniform, in a group of Poles who were exchanged for Ukrainians held by the Germans. He escaped from the Nazis and made his way to Warsaw, where he was drawn almost immediately into the underground movement. He also worked in Cracow and Lublin. In the course of duty he went on a mission to the Polish government in exile while it was still in France. When he was sent on a second mission he was caught by the Gestapo and put through its mill of torture. He finally escaped, recovered, and went back to work. On a third and last mission he arrived in London by way of Germany itself, France, and Spain to report to General Sikorski. He has since told the story of Poland's resistance to many important people in Britain and America, including Roosevelt.

Much of the material in his book is sensational; the pages in which he describes a visit to the ghetto and gives a first-hand account of the herding of Jews, already stripped of most of their clothing and half insane with exposure, mistreatment, and starvation, into freight cars lined with quicklime, where they died a slow death—these pages are almost unbearable to read, but the writing is restrained throughout. His testimony on the democratic nature of the underground state is very impressive. If he is to be believed, and I find his story convincing, this government is determined that post-war Poland shall be a genuine democracy based on individual freedom, the equitable division of land, and social control of the country's vital resources.

Karski speaks of Russia in what might be called a neutral and diplomatic tone. He takes pains to say that "the Russian soldiers who guarded us were, as usual, lenient enough within the limits of military discipline. I never saw a Russian guard strike or curse at a prisoner. . . ." He is bent, it would seem, on avoiding thorny issues. Toward the end of the book he quotes General Sikorski on his (Sikorski's) determination "as Prime Minister and as a Pole" to do everything possible to facilitate collaboration, "not because Russia is powerful, but because such collaboration will be advantageous to all Europe. I mean, of course, the collaboration of a free, independent Poland." And in a postscript Karski says:

> Poland's Underground State, to which I belonged, was under the authority of the Polish government in London. I know that besides this organization there were other elements carrying on their activities under the direction or the influence of Moscow. Because of my sincere intention to describe only my personal experiences, their activities could not properly be included in this book.

One feels, nevertheless, that the book was written in the shadow cast by the Russian bear and that Mr. Karski's careful documentation of the efficiency, authority, and scope of the Polish underground he belonged to is designed to bolster Poland's case for real independence and the support of Britain and America. On the evidence of his book, Poland has not only put up a magnificent fight against the Nazis; it has also purged itself of the fascist-feudal elements which made the defense of Poland so ironic a beginning for a war against fascism.

Whether Russia will allow such a development in Poland is a question—its role in the tragedy of Warsaw was not exactly reassuring. But the answer to that question depends partly on whether Britain and America will have the sense in time to scrap their plans for "restorations" and accept democratic and socialist solutions in Europe—again, Britain's role in Italy at the moment is not exactly reassuring. It seems

15 BORZOI BOOKS

*Included by The Nation in its list of significant books of 1944**

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to me as clear as crystal that democratic socialism in Europe offers the only hope of liquidating the German problem and preventing a new war. Certainly it is the only context in which a democratic Poland could exist.

I admit that the prospects of either British and American or Russian tolerance of democratic socialism in their respective spheres do not seem too bright—each seems more willing to tolerate it in the other fellow's sphere, and that may be something to work on. But perhaps the people of Europe will take matters into their own hands. They have paid for that privilege, in advance and with interest. Mr. Karski has given us one, only one, of the itemized accounts.

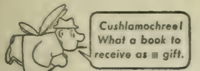
THE OTHER SATURDAY I walked down Third Avenue, which must be one of the saddest streets in the world. The warm sun had brought out all the bums, and it lit them up even more. What rosy faces! A few figures were folded into doorways, dead to the world. The rest were weaving, with weak-kneed, inconsequent carefulness. Avoiding them was like making one's way through slow-motion interference in some fantastic football game. I found myself chanting, "She fell away like fruit blown down with wind." But these were old autumn leaves loose from their stems and not fit to bring into the house because they're not even colorful. A sign in front of a movie house said, "Churchill Predicts Better World After Victory."

IN LAST WEEK'S *NATION* Albert Guérard was made to say, in his review of Reinhold Niebuhr's new book, that in America "every man in authority . . . is presumed to be a radical." What Mr. Guérard really said was rascal. Let "every man in authority" take what comfort he can from this emendation.

BRIEFER COMMENT

Dossier on Pétain

TRAITORS, LIKE FASCISTS and other criminals, do not take on their color overnight. Therefore it is scarcely surprising that a book entitled "C'est Pétain qu'il nous faut" should have appeared in France as early as 1935. Its author was Gustave Hervé, founder of the French National Socialist Party, whose books were likewise published in Berlin by the wealthy Batschari, himself one of the first financial backers of the German National Socialist movement. By an "adroit blending of lies and half-truths" and an assiduous waving of the red flag of communism in threat, Hervé began ten years ago the creation of "the myth of Pétain," following without deviation the accepted technique of fascist parties when preparing a nation for dictatorship. André Schwob makes all this clear in a brilliant volume, "L'Affaire Pétain, Faits et Documents" (Editions de la Maison Française, New York, $2), which no student of French contemporary history should be without. Beginning with Daladier's testimony at the Riom trials, he proceeds, in reverse chronological order, to Poincaré's diary of 1918 and Joffre's "Memoirs," and from these to an exposé of Hervé's insidious propaganda campaigns. His book presents more than sufficient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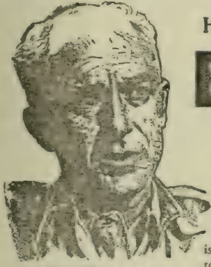

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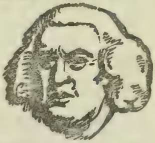

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evidence to convince even those most charitably inclined toward our policy of appeasement that we, through the offices of our State Department, were never at any time dealing with a well-intentioned if rather decrepit French military gentleman but with a traitor who had for many years premeditated, with other fascists, the overthrow of the Third French Republic.

It is perhaps not to be too deeply regretted that Mr. Schwob's book, which was compiled over a year ago, should not have been published until now, for surely never more than at the present moment was it necessary that we recognize the features of the betrayers of the democratic cause.

KAY BOYLE

Definitive

UNTIL THE APPEARANCE of "Argentine Riddle" by Felix J. Weil (John Day, $3.50) the best of the war-time crop of books on the Argentine was John W. White's, which was much more solidly based than Ray Josephs's informative but rather thoughtless report recently reviewed in *The Nation*. Mr. Weil's book is so completely satisfying that as far as this reviewer is concerned there can be no need, until the situation shall have greatly changed, for fresh books of the explanatory sort. The author is firmly grounded in Argentine history, which he has so absorbed into the system of his thought that his references to it are invariably apposite and naturally voiced. He is versed in Argentine politics and economics and has a sensitive understanding of the temper and traditions of his country—Mr. Weil is a citizen of Argentina. He appears to be a completely balanced critic, liberal and progressive in mind but not rendered injudicious by war-time "necessities." Though Mr. Weil firmly believes in the Allied cause, his dignified book is far from being a piece of agitational literature or a mere "internationalist" attack on his own country. He sees the interior political situation of his country as more or less the inevitable consequence of Argentina's barely achieved emergence from a colonial economy. The great landowners are struggling to keep their hold, not only against the more or less liberal middle and urban classes, but against the rising industrialists also. The proletariat, ill-organized and unprepared, is not yet a major factor, though the majority of the popular classes have a democratic outlook. The army officers are natural allies of the landowners, and the church of course prefers the vanishing, hitherto static agrarian order.

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RALPH BATES

Calhoun

"TO THE END of a long and tempestuous life Andrew Jackson regretted that he had not hanged John C. Calhoun." Anathema to the industrial North, to the South he was the wisest of statesmen. Now, a century later, scholars rate him one of the three great Congressional leaders of his time; yet he is almost unknown to most Americans. While Clay and Webster have been the subjects of excellent biographies, the less likable Calhoun has been neglected. Charles Wiltse is remedying this with what will probably be a three-volume life, of which the first volume is now published under the title "John C. Calhoun, Nationalist, 1782-1828" (Bobbs-Merrill, $3.75).

His book provides a satisfactory picture of the family and environment from which Calhoun emerged to become a central figure on the nation's political stage. Calhoun the Congressman, Cabinet member, and Vice-President moves through its pages. In all capacities he was competent; in some of them he was magnificent. This volume is primarily the story of Calhoun the nationalist, desiring a strong and effective central government. As it closes we find him anticipating the increasing struggle between an industrial North and an agricultural South, and undergoing the change in philosophy which was to make him, for the rest of his life, the champion of sectionalism.

This is a scholarly and interesting book. It presents an important statesman to a generation which has nearly forgotten his name and is well written in an undramatic and pleasing style.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

Masters or Slaves?

WHATEVER THE MERITS or demerits of Vansittartism, it reveals less emotional nationalism than its adversaries do. Ferdinand A. Hermens, for instance, has no business charging in "The Tyrants' War and the People's Peace" (University of Chicago, $2.75) that Vansittart has "more or less adopted the Nazi racial theory" because in Vansittart's as in American terminology "race" is frequently used as an equivalent to "nation." It is unfair to hold Vansittartism responsible for the idiotic suggestion that all Germans should be castrated. That World War I could have been avoided if the German Reichstag had been in session when the Serbian answer to the Austrian ultimatum arrived is as dubious as the statement that Germany was the country to which Central European Jews "looked for a chance." It is, indeed, common knowledge that *racial* anti-Semitism is one of the few German inventions.

The author states that "the real cause for the rise of tyranny is the weakness of democracy." Why, then, does he think it would be most unfortunate if the Allies did not permit "the democratic parties" to set up a government as soon as a substantial part of Germany has been occupied? This is all the more surprising since the author himself refers to "the test of experience" and admits that the men who were leading the republican parties in 1932 were unable to lead a fight for democracy. Mr. Hermens questions whether the Nazis use the term *Herrenvolk* because he never heard it in campaign meetings he attended. Of greater moment, however, is the fact that they behave as if they were a master race, whereas the bulk of the German people was turned into a race of slaves rather than a race of masters by means of their unswerving faith in and respect for authority. This accounts for the failures of German democracy, for democracy in Germany or anywhere else is inconceivable without the sense of freedom and liberty. Whoever has read Ludwig Börne's immortal Letters from Paris may doubt whether the Germans, left alone, will be able to free themselves from their traditional servitude. Apologists for German nationalism who deny German militarism and attempt to put the blame for Nazism exclusively on Versailles, Hitler, and his paladins are contributing as little to a solution of the German problem as those who oversimplify it by advocating either a "tough" or a "soft" peace.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

FICTION IN REVIEW

Milton at This Hour

HAVING, with "I, Claudius," made a popular thing of the Roman Empire, Robert Graves has turned his attention to the English seventeenth century and given us "Wife to Mr. Milton" (Creative Age Press, $2.75), a fictional study of the Cromwellian wars and of the domestic life of John Milton. Mr. Graves's new novel is an interesting, very readable book but a highly disconcerting one. For it is not, in the usual fashion, a neutral exercise of the historical imagination. Erudite and a great respecter of historical exactness in matters of language, social behavior, and the like, Mr. Graves is no respecter of historical persons. He has not only a political ax to grind but a personal ax to wield. "Wife to Mr. Milton" is in large portion a hatchet-job on the memory of Milton. By the time King Charles has lost his head, one of England's greatest poets has also lost as much prestige as Mr. Graves can possibly deprive him of.

The Milton of Mr. Graves's novel is vain, tyrannical, pompous, priggish, ambitious, repressed, repressive, and

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absurd; by some accident he manages to retain a gift of sonorous verse and prose to serve his opportunism. It is perhaps an excess of zeal that the blurb writer for "Wife to Mr. Milton" calls the poet "Cromwell's Dr. Goebbels"; Mr. Graves himself, in the foreword to his novel, says no more than that the post-war Cromwellian method was what we would now call "undisguised fascism" and that lovers of democracy should be warned against Wordsworth's "Milton, thou should'st be living at this hour." But of course this is Mr. Graves's privilege—to state his interpretations of history in as unmodulated terms as he pleases. I can object only to the unfairness of the circular argument by which Mr. Graves supports a political conclusion with a highly conjectural personal picture and then confirms his personal conjectures by means of his political conclusions. Written in the first person—the narrator is Mary Powell, wife of the poet—"Wife to Mr. Milton" is a detailed, elaborate reconstruction of Milton's first marriage, and Mr. Graves creates so chicly sympathetic a portrait of Mary and so unremittingly hateful a portrait of Milton that the reader would have to be unusually resistant to suggestion not to believe that here is a narrative compounded solely of authenticated facts and not to be convinced that there was no other possible interpretation of the Milton-Powell relationship. Then, obviously, the next step is to conclude that where there was so much private smoke, there must have been a very malodorous public fire—and that anyone of such unsavory politics as John Milton could scarcely have been a desirable husband.

Mr. Graves's novel, in other words, is an ungenerous personal enterprise and also, since no good political end is served by unattractive personal emotions, an unworthy political enterprise. But it bothers me for still another reason. Like Oscar Levant on "Information, Please," I, too, tend to confuse Mary, Queen of Scots, with Katherine Hepburn, and Christina of Sweden with Greta Garbo, and years from now, when I am asked why the first Mrs. Milton ran home to mother, in all likelihood I will revert, with all the authority of an original scholar, to Mr. Graves's bridal scene out of "What Every Young Husband Should Know." To people like myself, long on such fanciful memories and lamentably short on true learning, historical movies and novels should recognize, I think, their special responsibility.

Vera Brittain's "Account Rendered" (Macmillan, $3) is a novel against war and in favor of psychiatry. Not particularly the stuff of fiction, it is still a serious effort to point the lesson in the tragic career of a shellshocked soldier. Miss Brittain's faith in psychotherapy is a bit simple and on the mechanical side, and her anti-war convictions veer to the politically unrealistic. Nevertheless, it is as much of a relief, these days, to come across a book in which psychiatry is the hero instead of the villain as it is to come across a war novel which says that war is only evil.

Since I was able to read but 200 of the 500 pages of Leonid Leonov's "Road to the Ocean" (Fischer, $3), and these only with the greatest self-discipline and sentence-to-sentence confusion, I consider myself unable to offer more than this hint on the modern Soviet author whom Gorki has placed in the tradition of Pushkin, Turgenev, Dostoevski, and Tolstoy.

DIANA TRILLING

Films

JAMES AGEE

"FAREWELL, MY LOVELY," as Raymond Chandler wrote it, combined about equal parts of poetic talent, arrested-adolescent prurience, and the sort of self-pity which, rejoicing in all that is hardest-boiled, turns the two former faculties toward melodramatic, pretentiously unpretentious examination of big cities and their inhabitants. The picture preserves most of the faults and virtues of the book. I suppose a lot that I like about it is not really good except by comparison with the deadly norm, from the astuteness with costuming and sets—over-attentiveness to secondary levels of realism buying off sharp enough attention to primary—to the rather adventurous but rather arty photography. Nevertheless, I enjoyed the romanticism of the picture, and its hopefulness and energy, and much of its acting—that of Miles Mander, Claire Trevor, Ralfe Harald, and Dick Powell especially. Even its messiness and semi-accomplishment made me feel better about it than about the much better-finished, more nearly unimpeachable, but more academic and complacent "Double Indemnity."

"The Man in Half Moon Street," played by Nils Asther, whom I have always liked and am glad to be seeing again, is ninety years old, looks thirty-five, and is eager to keep up that appearance forever, if possible, at the expense of the young men whose glands he and another medical friend (well-played by Reinhold Schunzel as Albert Bassermann) confiscate. Most of the movie tries, with uneven success, to be polite about its tenseness, but the scene in which Mr. Asther's years catch up with him—a really remarkable job of make-up, lighting, and I guess a sort of acting—is much more interesting and scary than one had reason to expect.

"Jamming the Blues," a hot-jazz short by the *Life* photographer Djon Mili, is exciting quite a few people around Hollywood, and has some right to, for it is one of the few musical shorts I have ever got even fair pleasure out of hearing, and the only one, barring the jam scene in "Phantom Lady," which was not a killing bore to watch except as a heartsick attempt on the part of the makers to act as if this were the gayest, most provocative film assignment in the world. Yet I don't really care much for the picture. It is too full of the hot, moist, boozy breath of the unqualified jazz addict, of which I once had more than enough in my own mouth; and I thought the two effects which wholly compose it—chiaroscuro and virtual silhouette—too pretentious and borrowed and arty, despite their occasional good service, to be taken in a wholly friendly spirit, let alone an enthusiastic one. There are few things in any art or art-industry more discouraging to think of, more inimical to the furtherance of good work or to the chance to attempt it, than the middle-brow highbrows. Half a brow is worse than no head.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

A RECORD company executive whom I met on the street not long ago took the occasion to point out to me what I evidently had not understood when I had written that a certain set of records represented waste of technical skill, plant, materials, and labor on a worthless piece of music. If the company had not consented to record the piece, and if it had not finally issued the recording, the celebrated performer who had made it would, on the expiration of his contract, have been lost to the competing company. And to a company organized for the commercial exploitation of the "super-acrobats with extra publicity" whose names pull in the dollars of the mass musical public it was, obviously, not waste of precious labor and materials to use them for a piece of rubbish if this enabled the company to hold on to one of its valuable commercial assets. For the same reason, this executive went on, it was necessary to allow a super-acrobat who insisted to record a great work that he was not musically equipped to play well. And he piled instance on instance of the recording of poor music or poor performance in which there was a similar commercial justification for what was artistically indefensible. But in this way he demonstrated more than he intended: the fact that commercial exploitation of recording prevented its proper use for artistic ends. Not entirely, of course, since a few of the commercially exploitable names are those of great artists; so that along with Beethoven and Mozart and rubbish recorded by the Stokowskis, the Iturbis, the Heifetzes, great and small, we do also get some Beethoven and Mozart recorded by Toscanini, Beecham, Schnabel, Szigeti (most of it, as it happens, recorded in Europe).

One need not be surprised, therefore, by what Heifetz plays on his first Decca records: arrangements of *Largo al factotum* from "The Barber of Seville" and an Irish folk-dance "Gweedore Brae"; Berlin's "White Christmas" and Herbert's "A la Valse." Or disappointed by the first things Columbia and Victor rushed through after the end of the Petrillo ban on recording: Kostelanetz's performances of the Schubert and Bach-Gounod "Ave Marias"; Iturbi's performances of the Blues and Boogie-Woogie Etude from Morton Gould's American Concertette. Later there will also be things you and I are interested in.

So with the few single records on Victor's December list that have arrived so far. They include things like Warren's "Christmas Candle" and Benham's "Curley Locks" sung by John Charles Thomas; but also Erika Morini's superb performance of a fine Vivaldi Sonata in D (11-8671; $1). And the *Hallelujah* chorus and *Behold the Lamb of God* from Handel's "Messiah," well sung by the Sadler's Wells Chorus and Orchestra under Braithwaite, and well recorded except for the effect of reverberation (11-8670; $1).

The Ballet Theater's revival of "Carnaval" was an example of the disaster that can be achieved by rushing an insufficiently prepared work to the stage, and the injustice that can be done in this way to the choreographer and the dancers involved—the injustice to so fine a young dancer as Harold Lang, for example, in compelling him to exhibit anything as unfinished and callow as his Harlequin. On the other hand "The Three-Cornered Hat" was a joy to see with its wonderful Picasso set and costumes and excellent Falla music; with its homogeneity of choreographic style restored—with, that is, Massine's choreography for the Miller's Wife back in place of Argentinita's dancing in her own style; with the dramatic point and wit of this choreography employing Toumanova's gifts for just that sort of thing; and with Lichine exhibiting his gift for danced comedy—as against Semenoff's slapstick—in the part of the Governor.

Mr. John Martin put on a great show of petulance about the engagement of guest stars who were surpassed by the Ballet Theater's own dancers. One may note and dislike Toumanova's hamming in classic parts, and be disappointed by Riabouchinska's Prelude in "Les Sylphides" and "Bluebird" in "Princess Aurora," which one used to find enchanting; and one may note, on the other hand, the beautiful work in such roles of Hightower, whose fluent grace reminds one of Danilova, or Alonso, whose cool distinction reminds one of Markova, or Kaye, or even Gollner, who may have learned restraint from observation of Toumanova's excesses. But one must note also what Toumanova and Riabouchinska bring to ballets like "The Three-Cornered Hat" and "Graduation Ball"—what creates the aura and impact of greatness that the other fine dancers of the company do not create: consider the charm of Janet Reed in "Graduation Ball," as against the brilliance and radiance of Riabouchinska. And one must conclude that Ballet Theater needs its guest stars for what they can do in addition to the beautiful things its own dancers can do—one of these beautiful things being Kaye's Juliet this year, which has acquired the lightness and subtlety of movement that it lacked. It would be interesting to see Alonso and Hightower in "Romeo."

At a further visit to Ballet International I saw "Sentimental Colloquy," in which the manifestations of even a vicious use of artistic intelligence in Dali's distracting set and costumes and properties were welcome as a relief from the nothingness of Bowles's music and Eglevsky's choreography. And "Mute Wife," in which I found Antonia Cobos's invention and execution of pose and movement in the title role delightfully humorous and witty, but everything else unimaginative and dull; whereupon Edwin Denby explained that the dancers had forgotten the precise timings that had made their movements effective at the first performance. I should have mentioned the good quality of the orchestra which Smallens, presumably, assembled and trained for Ballet International; but I should also have mentioned the atrocious orchestra for "Les Sylphides" when I spoke of some of the others.

More and more I feel that International's great service to the public has been the fact that it took Nijinska away from the Monte Carlo company—which had the result that Balanchine is now working with that company, not only enriching its repertory with his own ballets but doing a great deal for better performances of the classics.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Open Shop in Florida

Dear Sirs: Approval by the Florida electorate of the anti-closed-shop amendment to the state constitution is an insult to organized labor everywhere. The explanation for this misfortune is the failure of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and what other progressive elements there are in the state to act soon enough and energetically enough to overcome the head start gained by the wealthy reactionary interests within our borders.

The true liberals of the South cannot win the fight against reaction and ignorance by themselves. They must have the help of progressives in the North and West. The pseudo-liberals of the South warn against "outside interference" and argue that the South should be permitted to solve his own problems. They are dead wrong. Unless we are constantly reminded of the injustices here, of how backward we are, and of how impractical many of our traditional ways of thinking are, we will continue to repudiate democracy. It is discouraging that *The Nation* has had so few articles on the South in recent months. I hope that you have not fallen for the dodge that the South knows what is best for itself and that you had better adopt a hands-off attitude.

Florida should be one of the most cosmopolitan and enlightened states because of its large population from other states, but the trouble is that many outsiders come in and adopt our undemocratic attitudes and folkways. The lack of a single liberal newspaper—except the St. Petersburg *Times*—is another handicap to progressive thought and action.

I write as a native Southerner who has lived every year of his life in the South. WILLIAM H. JOUBERT

Gainesville, Fla., November 15

Applause from a Texan

Dear Sirs: I was particularly gratified to see your plug for the fight for decency and academic freedom we Texans are carrying on in behalf of the University of Texas.

We ex-students have a great deal of pride about our university and the things we hope it will achieve. It hurts us to see regents appointed to pay political debts—regents who have no real interest in the school. You can see that we Texans are not taking the regents' actions without a fight.

Thank you again for your interest in our "battle of the regents."

MRS. GRIER H. RAGGIO

Elgin, Tex., November 27

Mr. Scoville Explains

Dear Sirs: Since you printed in your column In the Wind of October 28 a portion only of my answer to a question given while I was serving recently on a discussion panel in Detroit, I trust you will give me space to correct the false impression which resulted from reporting only one portion of my extemporaneous remarks.

A lady asked, "Under free economy, how do you propose to take care of the slum areas?" Believing as I do that there is no conflict between free economy and better housing, I said, "You are worrying about something that doesn't need to be worried about." I then made an ambiguous statement which was quoted out of context in a way that misrepresents my real views: "If the people living in slums don't like them, let them move out." I realize, of course, that in congested war areas, people are not free to choose desirable sections for living quarters. However, in peace times ambitious people of refined tastes will at least try to move out of the slums—slums being defined in the dictionary as "filthy streets, especially inhabited by slovenly and vicious people." A tremendous number of them in the past have succeeded, and it is my firm conviction that under a system of free enterprise in this country, we would in the course of time achieve a greater improvement in the lot of our people than would be possible under any planned economy.

It is obvious that most people do not like to live in one-room shacks—but that some people would prefer such quarters to working hard enough to acquire better quarters is probably true. I think that Thoreau's residence on Walden Pond was probably a one-room shack. I believe some of the Christian ascetics were content to live in caves.

When I said, "There is no solution to this problem," I meant you cannot even state the problem. The houses in this country cannot be divided into two categories—slums and not slums. There is a gradation from the meanest hovel to costly palaces. As our country progresses, our housing will continue to improve through the years as it has in the past. No one can take a city map and indicate accurately the so-called slum areas. A cheap, poor house may be clean and tidy. The fact that someone lives in a house indicates that it has utility. We should go slow in destroying automobiles, houses, or anything else of value. The construction of new houses should not be contingent on the destruction of existing houses.

Slum clearance is a popular slogan, for everyone would like to see poor houses replaced with better ones. But the slogan is deceptive, for those who use it usually refer to something else, namely, public housing. I do not believe that government should finance, build, own, or operate residential properties, except as this may be necessary in certain areas as a war-time measure. Public housing projects do not pay their share of local taxes; they are rented on a discriminatory basis to favored groups; and the tenants are subsidized by taxpayers, many of whom live in poorer houses than those occupied by the subsidized tenants. There is an area in which a city government can work to improve and beautify the city, but in my opinion, this area does not include the construction and ownership of residential property.

There are those who believe in socialized agriculture, socialized medicine, socialized insurance, socialized housing, etc. I do not belong to this school of thought. I believe that private enterprise will be more effective than public enterprise in raising living standards. Private enterprise can build houses more cheaply than government. But private enterprise cannot, like government, make up for losses by levying taxes or by printing money.

JOHN W. SCOVILLE,
Economist for the Chrysler Corporation
Detroit, Mich., November 30

A Few Remarks

Dear Sirs: May I offer a few remarks on Agnes Smedley's review of my book "Chiang Kai-shek, Asia's Man of Destiny," which you published on August 26?

One of the points Miss Smedley raised was what she calls Chiang Kai-shek's "appeasement of Japan." Throughout the book I took pains to explain how a nation like China, which was so unprepared for war, could put up the most effective resistance only when it had established complete internal political unity. That was why Chiang delayed, trading, as he said, "space for time." That was part of his embracing and masterly strategy, which I used a whole chapter to expound (chapter 37). Let me further quote a few sentences from Chiang's speech on July 17, 1937: "While there was the slightest hope for peace, we would not abandon it; so long as we had not reached the limit of endurance, we would not talk lightly of sacrifice. . . . There is only one thing to do when we reach the limit of endurance: we must throw every ounce of energy into the struggle for our national existence and independence. When that is done, neither time nor circumstances will permit our stopping midway to seek peace. . . . Once that stage is reached, we can only sacrifice and fight to the bitter end." Less than a fortnight later, after the Japanese occupied Peiping and Tientsin, Chiang issued another message in which he said: "Now we have reached the point when we can endure it no longer; we will give way no more. The whole nation must rise like one man and fight these Japanese bandits until we have destroyed them and our own life is secure." And so China to this day is fighting against the Japanese. Those are classic statements on the war. Is it possible that Miss Smedley is ignorant of them? I am surprised that an "authority on China" must be reminded of these elementary and basic historical facts.

Miss Smedley quoted a rather long passage trying to show that I am for having the common man in China pressed into the service of the puppet regime. She did not quote the complete sentence as she meant to convey an entirely different meaning from what I intended. She did not even insert a few dots to indicate to her readers that parts of the sentence were being left out. What I wrote on page 288 was: ". . . if conditions are such that they [the common men] cannot serve China, what difference does it make for the moment if they are pressed into the service of the puppet regime *so long as they are clear in their hearts that they are Chinese?*" By the same token the millions of Europeans quietly fighting for the liberation of their respective countries are patriots even though temporarily they have to live under Hitler.

Miss Smedley ended her review by a personal attack on me. She referred to an episode during my diplomatic career in Europe. But before doing so she should have found out the facts. She should know that while I was Minister in Poland the Chinese consular official in that country was involved, along with his Polish typist-secretary in a shady munitions deal in behalf of the Spanish revolutionary party. She should know also that the case was thoroughly investigated by the Chinese government through its court at Chungking and that it was clearly established that the consul was respon-

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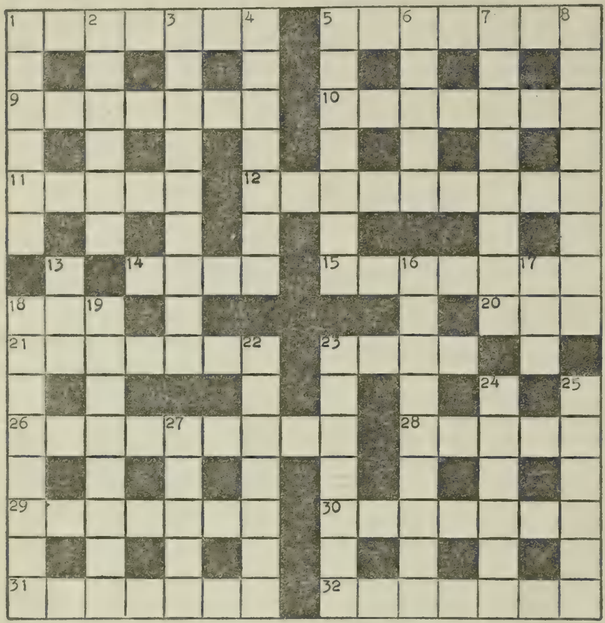
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 94

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- **1** A "Lord High Everything" (hyphen, 4-3)
- **5** They keep up more than morale
- **9** The little devil put on airs—with this result
- **10** Forced to surface, and last seen among spent shells on the Plate
- **11** A last letter
- **12** Anna Coyne shows vexation when upset
- **14** "Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of ---- And eloquence" (*Paradise Regained*)
- **15** L. I. Depot (anag.)
- **18** Dutch uncle
- **20** A back answer
- **21** He rented his spare room to Cox by night and Box by day
- **23** "For he by geometric scale, Could take the ---- of pots of ale" (*Hudibras*)
- **26** What's in this will out, and mark my words (two words, 3 and 6)
- **28** Pretty enough to get a ring
- **29** Just think!
- **30** Man and horse in one creature
- **31** Riddle makers usually allow us three
- **32** Color of a tea rose?

DOWN

- **1** "Stone walls do not a ------ make" (but they help)
- **2** Bird of prey, complete with victim
- **3** French for junk (hyphen, 4-1-4)
- **4** The sound of cheering comes from the light cavalry
- **5** Confess finally to being no longer young (hyphen, 5-2)
- **6** "The trenchant blade, Toledo trusty, for want of fighting was grown -----" (*Hudibras*)
- **7** "Silence is deep as --------; speech is shallow as Time" (Carlyle)
- **8** Hangs—and ends Puss
- **13** A reverse for 18 Across
- **16** Unlike Mr. Micawber, he hopes nothing will turn up
- **17** "How index-learning turns no student pale, Yet holds the --- of science by the tail" (Pope)
- **18** Compelling to be helpful
- **19** Character in *Pilgrim's Progress*
- **22** New Brunswick, N. J. college
- **23** Jacket named after the earl, not the philosopher
- **24** Llama of the Alps?
- **25** The last car
- **27** I am back with a solo

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 93

ACROSS:—1 PITCHERS; 5 ON LEGS; 10 LATER; 11 SALT WATER; 12 CHAUCER; 13 STIPEND; 14 TENTHS; 15 TEHERAN; 18 CAEDMON; 21 BOUNDS; 24 TRIFLER; 26 AMERIGO; 27 AFTERWARD; 28 ROOST; 29 DERIDE; 30 ORTHOEPY.

DOWN:—1 POLICY; 2 TETE-A-TETE; 3 HARICOT; 4 RESORTS; 6 NEW RICH; 7 ENTRE; 8 STRIDENT; 9 CLOSET; 16 RUDDIGORE; 17 SCOTLAND; 19 MILDRED; 20 NORMAN; 21 BOARDER; 22 UNEARTH; 23 POETRY; 25 INTER.

sible for his own activities, which had nothing to do with his superior official. The judgment is on record and is public property.

H. H. CHANG

Hollywood, Cal., September 19

Miss Smedley Replies

Dear Sirs: Dr. Chang protests not so much because of my alleged ignorance of Chinese affairs as because I am not a propagandist and apologist for the dictatorship that rules China today. Many Americans are today campaigning for that dictatorship and are stuck up everywhere as "friends" of China, though they know little about the country. An American business man made a three months' trip to China last year, was made a general in the Chinese army, and is now a sort of high adviser to the official Kuomintang propaganda headquarters in New York!

Dr. Chang is right: I should have completed that fatal sentence of his on page 288. The total sentence is inexcusable. One can forgive a poor, ignorant man who is pressed into the Japanese puppet service but not one who "is clear in his heart" that he is a Chinese.

Dr. Chang is fortunate to have had a trial and been absolved of blame in that shady munitions deal with "the Spanish revolutionary party." But why does he call one Francisco Franco's outfit a "revolutionary party"? Franco and his henchmen were and are running dogs of Hitler and Mussolini.

AGNES SMEDLEY

Saratoga Springs, N. Y., October 10

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MARIO BELLINI is the pseudonym of a former member of the Italian underground now in the United States.

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The Shape of Things

THE GERMAN DRIVE INTO BELGIUM AND LUXEMBOURG may be considered a counter-blow against Allied operations, or a desperate action aimed at raising the morale of a nation which for two years has heard only news of retreat. But the fact remains that the Germans have attacked and that the orders of Marshal von Rundstedt to his forces indicate anything but an inclination to surrender. This, indeed, must be a lesson to those who refuse to recognize that this war is not developing according to patterns set by military history. This is a war waged by fascist fanatics who do not care whether their country is torn to pieces or whether their people are bombed day and night, and who will go on fighting until the last rifle has been snatched from their hands. The time for betting that "everything will be over by Christmas" has ended. Christmas, 1944, instead of blessing American homes with an end of hostilities, has brought news of an unexpected setback. For many it has been a rude awakening, but the army at least saw the shape of future events. Three measures were taken last week: boys under nineteen were sent overseas as replacements for infantry and armored forces; announcement was made that additional men in the twenty-six-to-thirty-seven age group who were not engaged in essential jobs were to be inducted to replace service personnel released for work in "critical war programs"; casualty figures were listed at more than half a million. Those measures alone should be enough to dissuade the American public from following the press in its irresponsible and obstinate habit of winning the war by headlines.

*

ACTION BY SELECTIVE SERVICE RECLASSIFYING in I-A all men between twenty-six and thirty-seven who are not engaged in essential war work should aid materially in overcoming the alarming shortage of man-power in the war plants. While the local selective-service boards are ill fitted for the complicated task of directing men into essential war employment, they are in a position to bring immediate pressure on such registrants as have not yet assumed their full responsibilities. Undoubtedly, this pressure will be resented by many, particularly those who gave up their war jobs in good faith under the influence of the optimistic statements issued by high military authorities. Some sections of organized labor also seem to resent the use of compulsion at this late date in the war. But the bitter fact is that the present production crisis would not have developed if the government had been wise enough to adopt adequate man-power controls during the early period of the war when public opinion was prepared for any reasonable sacrifice. A "work-or-fight" order is hardly a substitute for such controls, but it may see us through the present emergency. November production, though behind schedule in eight critical categories, was distinctly more encouraging than in the previous month, and with a more serious attitude toward the war apparent everywhere, there is no reason to doubt that America will fulfil the new production schedules.

* * *

THE SENATE HAS NEVER SHOWN UP MORE BADLY than in its action defeating the St. Lawrence Seaway proposal. Judged by any legitimate criterion—national defense, social welfare, transport, or the creation of business opportunity—the St. Lawrence project is an extraordinarily good bet. It would provide cheap transportation for the vast Great Lakes industrial area; it would facilitate the export of Middle West farm crops; it would provide cheap power and electricity to New York and New England; and it would confer corresponding benefits on large sections of eastern Canada. Previously, when presented as a treaty requiring two-thirds' vote for ratification, it had been defeated by minority sectional interests, chiefly in the South, coupled with private-power groups who were opposed to cheap public power. But when the same proposal was presented last week as an amendment to the Rivers and Harbors bill, the Senate found innumerable new reasons for opposing it, few of which were in the least concerned with the merits of the plan. Although most of the Senators seem to have felt that in defeating the amendment they were somehow safeguarding their treaty-making rights, they were also demonstrating the same irresponsibility which has so often led the Senate's powers to be called in question.

* * *

FOUR PROGRESSIVE SENATORS WERE WAGING A splendid fight as we went to press to force the new "millionaires' club" State Department appointments to be recommitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for new and extended hearings before a special subcommittee. We hope that Senators Pepper, Murray, Guffey, and La Follette will have succeeded in blocking confirmation this session, for with the exception of Archibald MacLeish, these new nominees promise a combination of "old school tie," appeasement, and imperialist policies after the war. Will Clayton's explanation before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week of why he opposes "labor clauses" in contracts for the purchase of Latin American strategic materials has since been put in a somewhat sardonic light by the news that has leaked out on our current tin negotiations with Bolivia. Clayton said he opposed clauses raising wages and bettering working conditions because they are an interference with the internal government of these countries. But in the tin negotiations the State Department is offering to raise the price of tin from 60 to 65 cents—it was 48 cents until 1942—if the Bolivian government promises not to raise taxes or other "production costs" (meaning wages?). We reserve the right to cancel the contract if the Bolivian government thus cuts into the profits of the tin kings. We hope the Senate will still save us from this kind of diplomacy.

TWO ARTICLES APPEARING ELSEWHERE IN THIS issue paint the heart-rending picture of Greece's present agony and of the dismal maneuvers behind it. We see a British army, gathered to fight tyranny, turning their weapons against a people who have particularly distinguished themselves in the battle for freedom. Meanwhile Crete and other islands remain under the Nazi boot. The formula employed to impose upon the Greeks a reactionary, if not a fascist, government, amenable to British domination, has been the time-tried one: smearing the people's movements as "red" and setting Greek against Greek to minimize the expense of control. The plan has grievously miscarried. The British have a major fight on their hands. General Scobie's rejection of the E. A. M.'s very moderate terms—amnesty for leaders in the civil strife and the creation of a real unity government under a regency—signaled the resumption of attack by Spitfires and Beaufighters. The British have shown some signs of willingness to accept a face-saving compromise in the form of a regency, even though it means momentarily abandoning King George II. The British-sanctioned arrival in Athens of General Plastiras, by no means a leftist but a determined republican, is certainly a victory for the E. A. M. Even Archbishop Damaskinos, the proposed regent, is said to be more friendly to the left than to the right. But if General Scobie insists on first disarming the E. L. A. S. he will almost certainly make more Greek blood the price of British pride.

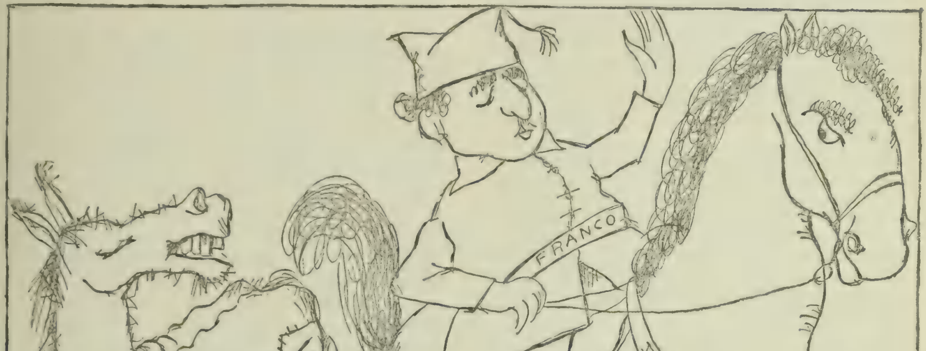
* * *

THE CHURCHILL SPEECH ON POLAND SEEMS TO have caused both dismay and astonishment outside British government circles. One would have thought that after Teheran the situation would have been clear; that no experienced observer could have doubted where the line between Russia and Poland was destined to run. Indeed when Mr. Mikolajczyk went to Moscow it was generally assumed that the Poles had at last recognized the facts and were prepared to negotiate on the basis of the Curzon line. This apparently was not true, and as a consequence of the intransigent attitude adopted by the government in exile, the Mikolajczyk mission failed. Poland will have to accept the agreed arrangement just the same; but the London government has lost its opportunity to play a role in the final settlement. As to Mr. Churchill's own position in regard to this problem, it is not so opportunist as many people are now charging. As long ago as October 1939, just one month after the invasion of Poland, Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, commented in a radio address on the advance of Russian troops toward the Curzon line: "We could have wished," he said, "that the Russian armies should be standing on their present line as the friends and allies of Poland, instead of as invaders. . . . These interests of Russia fall into the same channel as the interests of Britain and France. None of these three powers can afford to see Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and above all Turkey, put under the German heel."

* * *

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN SPAIN? CERTAINLY enough smoke is rolling out of that unhappy country to suggest that some new plan is in the diplomatic pot. And the recall by Britain and the United States of their ambassadors is a hint either that Spain's fascist dictatorship may be supplanted or adapted to post-war fashions in puppet governments, or that a new and stricter policy toward Franco is about to be inaugurated. But nothing in the recent behavior of Washington, nothing in the new set-up in the State Department suggests that any change which may be contemplated will automatically open the way to a genuine democratic revival in Spain. This will happen only if the democratic forces here and in Britain seize this moment to insist that a Don Juan or a Maura in place of a Franco will not serve the purposes for which this war is being fought. Progressives in this country have proved in recent months that when they speak firmly their words are heeded in the highest places. Today the future of Spain is in the balance. We ask all men and women who want to help end fascist tyranny and prevent a new reactionary maneuver to join us in the rally for Republican Spain on January 2 in Madison Square Garden in New York. The promise of Dr. Juan Negrín to address this meeting from London has given us great satisfaction, assuring an analysis of the problem of Spain which no other man could possibly provide.

ELECTIONS IN ARGENTINA, DESIGNED TO PUT Vice-President Juan Perón, the driving force in the military clique, into the Presidency, have been denounced by the Argentine underground press as a pure farce. Like his colleague Franco, Perón is trying to serve his Nazi masters and to appease the Allies at the same time. Perón has recently taken a number of steps clearly directed toward winning back the friendship of the United States. Among them is a decree providing for full control of Axis banks, industries, and commercial companies in Argentina, and another ministerial order slightly easing up press restrictions. But no person who is well informed about what is going on inside Argentina will be deceived by this cynical double game. Much more than in these petty maneuvers American friends of Argentine democracy will be interested in news from Uruguay that a "Junta de Patria Libre," a kind of national committee of liberation in exile, has been constituted in Montevideo. The Junta includes Rodolfo Moreno, a Conservative; Silvano Santander, of the Radical Party; Julio Gonzalez Iramain, a Socialist; and Rodolfo Chioldi, a Com-



Drawing by Luis Quintanilla.

The Horse Is Dead. Long Live the Horse!

munist. Readers of *The Nation* will recall that at a press conference held in our office three months ago, Félix Cernuschi, a member of the Argentine underground, announced that efforts were being made for the creation of such a Junta. Now his promise seems to have become a reality. All the members of the Junta are well known in Argentine political circles. Señor Santander is one of the most forceful personalities in the Radical Party, which itself is one of the strongest in the country. The only democratic group which is not represented is El Partido Democrata Progresista, but according to late news negotiations are under way for the inclusion of Luciano F. Molinas, the most distinguished leader of that party. If the negotiations are successful, the Junta can claim to represent the entire anti-fascist front in Argentina, and its activities will undoubtedly exert a very important influence upon the political life of the country.

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WHEN ARTURO TOSCANINI REFUSED TO PLAY the Fascist hymn at a concert in Bologna in 1931 he was set upon by a gang of Fascist hoodlums and his arm was slightly injured in the melee. Last week one Mario Ghinelli was arrested in Naples and charged, among other things, with having organized the attack on Toscanini. With what seems to us excellent journalistic sense, the Associated Press asked Toscanini to comment on the arrest; and the conductor made the following brief, pointed, and, to our ears, ringing statement:

> I had already forgotten the name of the man who offended me so slightly. But I cannot forget the name of the degenerate King of Italy who has betrayed my country, who was the accomplice and the supporter of the Fascists in all their crimes against civil liberties, and who is one of the major ones responsible for this bloody war and the ruin and misery of the Italian people. I am astonished and disgusted that he and the Italian monarchy have found support and protection by the Allies.

The OWI broadcast the statement to Italy. (We hope Herbert L. Matthews and his pet Prince Humberto were listening.) But the A. P. for some reason failed to put it on the wires here, and so far as we know Toscanini's remarks have not been printed before in this country.

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THIS WEEK THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT marks its hundredth anniversary. The first little group of twenty-eight mill workers who opened a store in Rochdale, England, has given rise to a world-wide economic brotherhood which, before the war began in 1939, had 73,000,000 members in thirty-nine countries. In those countries that have escaped the blight of Nazi occupation the movement has continued to grow even during the war. Britain's cooperatives now serve 9,000,000 families, returning to them approximately $120,000,000 a year in savings which would otherwise be drained into the tills of private business; Sweden, more than half of whose 6,500,000 people belong to cooperatives, enjoys the probably unique position on the Continent of having no black market. There is no over-all total for the United States, but figures compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Farm Credit Administration, and the Cooperative League indicate approximately 17,000,000 members doing business of more than $1,226,000,000 a year. Cooperatives have fought trusts successfully, keeping down the prices of bread in Sweden and of fertilizer in the United States. In an age of increasing monopolistic restriction, they appear to be the one area where enterprise is really free. Plans are now under way for the restoration of cooperative buying, selling, and producing associations in Europe after the war. It is one of the few hopeful signs of our time.

Hard Winter Coming

THE war has now reached a precarious stage: much bitterness and hardship lie ahead, and the utmost effort must be exerted both at home and abroad in order to bring our enemies to final defeat. The massive power of the United Nations has won the preliminary victories; but now the Germans are fighting for their homeland and the Japanese are fighting for the approaches to their homeland, and the battles yet to come will be more desperate than those already won. The German counter-offensive into Belgium and Luxembourg is a sign that the enemy has much strength remaining.

It is apparent through the fog of SHAEF communiqués and press dispatches that the fighting on the western European front ranks with the bloodiest in American military history. Action on a smaller scale on other fronts may have been more costly, as at Guam, where one Marine company lost all its officers and all but fifty of its men in the first five days, but for general action involving several complete armies the recent fighting from Aachen to Colmar may well prove to have been even bloodier than the sanguinary trench warfare of 1917-18. It must be stated flatly that what the Allied armies in the West are now fighting is a war of attrition, similar in its general outlines to the last war: and in a war of attrition one accepts heavy casualties with the understanding that the enemy's casualties are heavier and that he is less able to bear them. Actually the present German counter-offensive may well serve to speed that process of attrition in their own ranks even though it cost us some ground.

Undoubtedly the Germans are less able to bear casualties than are the Americans—and here it must also be stated that it is indeed the Americans, not "the Allies," who are bearing the brunt of the casualties; we have the man-power that England, France, and the smaller United Nations of the West so sorely lack. They stood their casualties earlier in the war, and we Americans must realize that it is now our own sons, husbands, brothers, and lovers who are proving the proposition that the Germans will fall first in a war of attrition. This is a hard realization to face, and it is made all the harder by our earlier optimism concerning Germany's collapse: a collapse we thought imminent because of the rapid withdrawal of the main German armies across 200 miles of France, which misled SHAEF itself. But the Germans are now stronger in the West than they have ever been; the early-winter offensive of the Allies has clearly not lived up to expectations; the much-maligned *Volkssturm* is demonstrating its ability to hold cunningly prepared defensive positions; and we see what a determined army on the defensive can do to hold a line despite one-to-three inferiority on the ground and one-to-twenty-five inferiority in the air. Now we see they are capable of mounting a counter-offensive of their own.

Once the current German attack is repulsed we may expect a series of limited Allied offensives this winter, which will further lessen the ultimate German ability to resist; and it remains true that any major break-through will probably precipitate a collapse of the entire western front, because the enemy is so short on reserve man-power and material. But it now seems likely that the date of the breakthrough will be postponed till spring, when the ground dries to permit deployment of armored forces off the roads and therefore around the villages, which are now the chief obstacle to our troops. Meanwhile a tremendous task of funneling men and supplies to the front remains to be carried out. Continued pressure in Italy is also necessary, to prevent the Germans from moving troops to the west, even though that theater is hopelessly indecisive; and a winter offensive of the broadest scope by the Red Army is also necessary, not only for that purpose, but in order further to wear down German strength and to draw the noose tighter around the Reich.

The war against Japan is not comparable to that against Germany in the time sense, but an equally hard winter must be anticipated. The 40,000 Japanese reported by General MacArthur as "trapped" last week on Leyte seem to have vanished into the hills, and even the first stage of the Philippines campaign is far from being won. However, the first stage of the Philippines campaign has been ended with the extremely bold amphibious advance to Mindora. The B-29's have operated more frequently from the Marianas than was expected, but in strength of less than 100 and with bomb loads too limited by distance to inflict the damage on Japan's war economy suggested by the headlines. The news from Burma is indeed cheering, with Katha and Indaw taken; and the Chinese have driven the enemy from Kweicho to ease the threat against overland communications from India. But meanwhile the Japanese have completed their link between Manchuria and Indo-China, effectively severing Free China from coastal China and adding weight to Mr. Bolté's earlier suggestion that we will not land in China before proceeding to Japan. Evidently it is also American blood that must win the victory in the East, with Formosa and the Japanese home islands following the Philippines: this too is something Americans must prepare themselves for, and it will be far from accomplished even after the hard winter coming.

For Full Employment

ON DECEMBER 18 the War Contracts subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs presented the Senate with a bill of historic importance, one that calls for the fullest support by progressives at the next session of Congress. Senator James E. Murray of Montana, chairman of the subcommittee, and Senators Harry S. Truman of Missouri and Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia have written a full-employment bill designed to effectuate the President's promise of 60,000,000 jobs after the war. This bill has its origin in a legislative proposal made to the subcommittee last August by James E. Patton, the enlightened and courageous head of the National Farmers' Union. Mr. Patton proposed that the government guarantee a $40,000,000,000 level of capital investment every year, pledging itself to supply the amount by which prospective private investment fell short of that goal. The basis of the Patton proposal was the view that this volume of capital investment was necessary annually to the achievement of full employment.

With the help of economists and experts from the domestic branches of the government, the Murray subcommittee has worked that idea into a flexible measure that would provide a framework in which private enterprise and governmental action could be geared together for full employment. The Murray full-employment bill takes the form of an amendment to the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921. It provides that in addition to the regular annual government budget, the President shall transmit to Congress on the first day of each annual session a "national production and employment budget." This budget will estimate the number of jobs needed during the year for full employment, the volume of gross national output required to furnish those jobs, and the estimated volume of prospective investment and other expenditure of private and public sources during the year.

If the prospective volume of investment falls short of the full-employment goal, the President in the national budget is to "set forth a general program for encouraging increased non-federal and other expenditure, particularly such investment and expenditure as will promote increased employment in private enterprises." To the extent that these activities may still fall short of full employment, the President is to include in the budget that volume of federal expenditure needed to achieve the full-employment goal. "Such program," the bill says, "shall be designed to contribute to the national wealth or well-being, and may include, but need not be limited to, specific programs for assistance to business enterprises, particularly small business enterprises; for useful public works, particularly such public works as tend to promote increased investment and other expenditure by private enterprises; for useful public services, particularly such public services as tend to raise the level of health and education; for slum clearance and urban rehabilitation; for conservation and development of national resources; and for rural electrification."

The duty of preparing this national full-employment budget would rest on the Bureau of the Budget, aided by a joint Congressional committee of twelve men—six from the Senate committees on Appropriations, Finance, and Banking and Currency, six from the House committees on Appropriations, Ways and Means, and Banking and Currency—drawn from both the majority and minority parties. The bill would make a Congressional declaration of policy of the President's recent statement on a new bill of rights, "Every American able to work and willing to work has the right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops, or offices, or farms, or mines of the nation," and it would set up a continuous mechanism for fulfilling that pledge. The passage of such legislation at the next session would, as the Murray subcommittee points out in an accompanying report, end the dangerous drift of worried war workers back into civilian industry. It would be a pledge to our fighting men of a secure and prosperous America on their return. And it would provide the framework for an economy at once sufficiently planned to maintain full employment and sufficiently flexible to give ample scope to the genuine forces of free enterprise in the American economy. *The Nation* applauds Senators Murray, Truman, and Revercomb for a great constructive proposal, and recommends the fullest possible study of and support for this legislation by labor unions, farm organizations, and progressive middle-class groups.

Only the Fig Leaf

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 15

THE caucus room of the Senate in the Senate Office Building, a large room with marble walls and Corinthian pillars, was jammed as the hearing opened on the new State Department nominees before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. At the head of the semicircular committee table sat the chairman, Tom Connally of Texas, who has grown happily plump and begun to look almost cherubic. He wears heavy horn-rimmed spectacles, over which he peers as they slip down his nose, very much *à la* Churchill. Facing the full committee table and the crowded press tables but with their backs to the audience sat Secretary of State Stettinius and the new department nominees. Stettinius, youthful, gray-haired, looked happy; Nelson Rockefeller, the youngest of them all, had the shadow of a pout, as though he expected the worst and resented it in advance. Stettinius and Rockefeller have nice boyish faces —"regular guys," not too bright but likable.

James Clement Dunn and Brigadier General Julius C. Holmes are two of a kind in appearance as in background. Dunn has the proud and supercilious look of a Spanish hidalgo; Holmes, the manner of an upper-class British schoolboy. "I have the Secretary's permission to leave," he said to Connally as the committee finished questioning him, "May I have yours, sir?" Dunn and Holmes have the faces of snobs, firmly shut against the world; both owe their rise to wealthy marriages, the former with one of the meat-packing Armours, the latter with a daughter of millionaire Senator Henry J. Allen of Kansas, Herbert Hoover's friend. Holmes is now chief of Civil Affairs for Eisenhower, and the impression was created that unless he was questioned quickly and permitted to catch a plane for the European theater, the course of the war would be seriously interfered with. The committee, impressed, did not keep him long.

Joseph Clark Grew, tall, handsome, bushy-browed, deaf, could easily take C. Aubrey Smith's place in the movies as a portrayer of the gruff but warm-hearted retired old British colonel. Archibald MacLeish has a narrow, lean, ascetic face, a good deal like that of another poet, Robinson Jeffers. Will Clayton, taller than any of them except Grew, is long-headed, growing bald, and looks like what he is, a business man of outstanding accomplishment and intellect, with the assurance of a man who has made his own way to the top. He stood out from the others at once as the commanding figure. Of the six wealthy appointees to the new State Department—Clayton, Stettinius, Grew, Rockefeller, Dunn, and Holmes—Clayton alone did not either inherit or marry his fortune.

Their prepared statements were all liberalism and light. "We need," Stettinius said, ". . . a liberal and forward-looking foreign policy." "The job of Under Secretary," said Grew, who filled it once before, under Coolidge, "is a very different proposition from twenty years ago. Now a new and liberal pattern is emerging." "Our national interest," said Dunn, "requires that we encourage the establishment of strong democratic governments in liberated countries . . . liberal governments . . . dedicated, as we are, to improving the standards of living of their peoples." "Democracy," Rockefeller said, "must be felt throughout this hemisphere as a dynamic force." "Having been brought up in this school of hard, keen competition and liking it," said the world cotton manipulator, Clayton, "I early formed a strong antipathy, in principle, to cartels." And when Senator Murray naively asked Holmes if he would "follow a democratic policy" in the State Department, the clipped, polite answer was, "Certainly, Sir."

But throughout the two sessions of public hearings it was at only one point that any of the men before the committee made a statement in defense of democratic and progressive ideals which rang true. This came when MacLeish, under a cruel cross-examination by the isolationist lame duck, Clark of Missouri, manfully affirmed his faith in the Spanish Loyalist cause. Dunn, too, was questioned about Loyalist Spain and declared that "lies" had been printed in the press about his pro-Franco attitude. But when Senator Murray asked what had been his attitude during the civil war, Dunn said, "The executive branch of the government took the view, in line with existing embargo legislation, that no arms should be shipped to either side." When Dunn was pressed to say what counsel he had given the department at that time as political adviser on Western European affairs, Dunn said it was "entirely in line with the decision made by the Executive." And when Murray asked Holmes about reports that he was anti-Soviet, Holmes replied, "I have never had anything to do with Russian affairs," and then added, "I have had . . . yes—a friendly attitude toward Russia."

The first impression one got from the hearings was that all of these men except Grew, Clayton, and MacLeish were at a loss when tackled outside their prepared statements. Stettinius's stock answer, delivered in his most disarming manner, was, "I'd be glad to go into that exhaustively with you sometime, Senator," while the others—and Grew, too—when asked for opinions on past policy, constantly represented themselves as merely carrying out orders of the Executive without offering opinions of their own. But the second impression was that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was a poor match for them, unimpressive as most of the nominees were. The committee was fumbling, inept, ill informed, fearful of inquiring too far into the sacred arcana of foreign policy. Yet among the Senators who took part in the questioning were some of the best-informed men in Congress—on domestic topics. Their performance indicated how successful Hull had been in his widely advertised private talks with Senators in keeping them from any real knowledge of what was going on in the State Department.

Tom Connally not only displayed his usual arrogance but got away with it, handling the other members of the committee as if they were naughty schoolboys whenever they began to venture into real questions. At one point Connally was more anxious than the nominees to evade questioning. Grew had defended his opposition to an embargo on scrap iron and oil to Japan, and Senator Guffey asked him about the report that he favored maintaining Hirohito in power after the war. "That," Connally interrupted, "sounds like a legislative-session question." Guffey was about to withdraw the question when Grew said he "welcomed a chance to answer." The answer indicated that Grew was thinking very seriously of keeping the emperor in power after the war. His argument that Japan had once conquered Korea under the Shoguns and that this indicated that Japan could be militaristic without the emperor was a non-sequitur. And Grew's belief that support of the emperor might be the only way to maintain order in Japan after the war is obviously capable of extension to the Reich, with alarming results. Blundering as the cross-examination of Grew was, it did show that the nominee for Under Secretary still preserves the illusions of appeasement.

Rockefeller was on the stand but a few minutes; it is difficult to believe that a generation ago a Morgan man and a Rockefeller man could have been put in charge of foreign policy without an outburst from the progressives. It is even more interesting that a Senate which but a few years ago disclosed the sinister relations between Standard Oil and I. G. Farben should have asked Rockefeller not a single question about that old cartel relationship, which Standard will certainly renew if it gets the chance. Only Clayton got a real going over at the hands of the committee. The high point of the Clayton examination was the scarcely concealed fury with which Bankhead of Alabama questioned him. Bankhead, who speaks for the cotton planter, has also been a good friend of the cotton tenant and of the Farm Security Administration. His attitude indicated trouble for Clayton with the cotton-state Senators. Clayton's admission that his views meant a shift in the growing of cotton to the Delta and the West was the most politically explosive statement made.

It is a pity that Senator La Follette did not question Clayton about the part his company played in the organization of the Associated Farmers; that would have drawn a vivid picture of what this shift would mean in human terms. The examination disclosed that while Clayton is for free trade in cotton, he is less certain about free trade for industry; that though he says he is against cartels, he declined to make any comment on the Kilgore bill for the elimination of cartels. There were seven votes against him in committee, and trouble looms ahead for him when the nomination reaches the Senate floor. But so far only MacLeish's status seems in doubt. Only the liberal fig leaf for this "reorganized" State Department failed to get a clear vote of approval from the committee.

British Labor's Dilemma

BY PATRICIA STRAUSS

London, December 14 (by Cable)

ANSWERING a question on procedure at Monday's opening session of the Labor Party conference, Harold Laski, the chairman, said, "The emergency resolution on Spain—I beg your pardon, Greece—will be taken on Wednesday morning." It was a significant slip of the tongue. Many are coupling the names. "It's the worst thing that's happened since non-intervention," delegates told one another fiercely. They were far more concerned about Greece than any subject on the agenda and wanted to "do something" about it immediately. That being impossible, the conference turned to the next most important issue of the week—consideration of Labor's position in the election, which is expected before the next party conference. It is indeed an allied subject, for the political complexion of the next House of Commons will determine British policy toward new groups and governments emerging in Europe. Arthur Greenwood, leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, moved the Executive Committee's statement on Labor and the General Election. Although Greenwood is capable of fire on occasion, this was not the inspiring pre-election speech one might expect a leader to make to a resolute, progressive party preparing to challenge the Tories and become the next government of Great Britain. Indeed, he hardly aroused a cheer.

The Labor decision to fight at the next election as an independent party is unanimously approved. The problem is how the present coalition with the Conservative government is to be ended. One delegate urged that the coalition should not necessarily be regarded as "a marriage till peace do us part." Ridiculing an Executive Committee statement that the coalition must end with "dignity and good feeling" and without "squalid bickering," Aneurin Bevan, M.P., said amid cheers: "Does this conference imagine it is possible for this party calmly and quietly to carry on in a drawing-room atmosphere and then fight the Tories at the polls? That is a fantastic and unreal attitude to politics. If the leaders are unable to break until a special conference meets, or until a general election is called, all room for political maneuver is left in the hands of the Tories. Churchill will know the Labor Party is bound by conference decision and can only be released that way. This conference should say that the leaders are themselves to interpret in the light of developments in Parliament and elsewhere the point at which they are to leave the coalition." Replying for the Executive Committee, James Walker of the Iron and Steel Trades Association was understood to state that the Labor leaders would continue in the coalition until the European war is won unless something fundamental and serious should arise. The delegates immediately shouted, "Greece!" They retain an uneasy feeling that their leaders will remain in the government to the last possible moment and by identifying themselves with all the Churchill government's actions, domestic and foreign, right up to the moment of the election will discredit Labor in the eyes of the electorate.

Any form of electoral agreement among the left parties in the coming election was never a serious issue. James Walker, opposing the suggestion on behalf of the Executive Committee, described the Common Wealth Party as one "founded during the war by a rich man so he could become a leader." He said the Independent Labor Party was "dead but won't lie down" and described the Communist Party as "in fundamental disagreement with the Labor Party and having the avowed object of destroying the Labor Party."

Tuesday's debate on the international post-war settlement aroused considerable interest, but there was still the feeling of "waiting for Greece." Clement Attlee, M.P., leader of the party, moved the Executive Committee's tepid statement in a speech which one delegate described as "vegetarian." His influence on the party, never noticeable, diminishes steadily. On the question of reparations he said, "We have never believed every German to be irreclaimably vile, but we cannot and do not acquit the German and Japanese people of their share of responsibility, and we believe it right that they should make whatever restitution is possible."

The conference showed a lively sense of the responsibility this country shares for the present war. "We British cannot wear a mantle of purity and righteousness," said one delegate amid cheers. The need for international cooperation among progressive movements all over the world was strongly supported. The delegates felt that an alliance between the governments of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union was not enough and that there must be an intimate working cooperation among left organizations throughout the world, including those of occupied and enemy countries. A curious feature of the debate was that no one mentioned Hitler. He has faded out of the press, speeches, and conversation. One misses him.

Amendments were accepted calling for an international Socialist conference and for the formulation of an educational program for Germany. Hugh Dalton, M.P., president of the Board of Trade, promised, on behalf of the Executive Committee, close, careful study of the possibility of the formation of a United States of Europe and suggested that the Labor delegation about to go to Moscow might discuss the matter there. Except for a few enthusiasts, the conference did not take this project seriously.

A resolution moved by G. R. Strauss, M.P., that "peace cannot be safeguarded by the drawing of strategic frontiers" and strongly opposing "schemes for the dismemberment and division of Germany, the mass transfer of populations, and for the pastoralization of that country" was defeated, not on Vansittart grounds but largely on Dalton's reminder to the conference that the U. S. S. R. has taken account of strategic considerations in its agreement with Finland. In his peroration he said, "Stalin has made it clear that he looks forward to frontier readjustments. Are we sure that is wrong?" Many delegates shouted, "Yes." Nevertheless the resolution was defeated mainly on the ground that it would not accord with Soviet policy. Many delegates commented on the strange turn events have taken when Dalton, regarded in the movement as a reactionary, can use Stalin in opposing Socialist principles.

The result of the ballot on the Executive Committee, always eagerly awaited, was regarded as revealing the temper of the political side of the movement. As was expected, Herbert Morrison, Minister of Home Security, was elected. Less expected was the choice of Aneurin Bevan, known as an impatient, uncompromising Socialist and Churchill's most irrepressible critic in the House of Commons. His election indicates a desire for more forthright leadership, but one man cannot change the character of the Executive Committee.

The conference really came to life on Wednesday morning when it considered the emergency resolution on Greece. I have been present at most Labor conferences in the last fifteen years; the only other time I remember such excitement was in 1936 in the debate on non-intervention in Spain. Several times Laski had to call the conference to order. "Will the delegates," he said severely, "try to control their excessive emotions?"

The Labor Party and most of the British people are outraged by the spectacle of a British government using an army which was conscripted to fight fascism against a popular movement and in behalf of an unpopular government. But the Labor movement is in a dilemma. Its own leaders are members of the government, jointly responsible for all its actions. As Ernest Bevin, M.P., Minister of Labor, said so frankly, "The steps taken are not the decisions of Winston Churchill. They are the decisions of the whole Cabinet. . . . I took part with my colleagues in these discussions. . . . I am a party to the decisions that have been taken. Looking back, I cannot feel that any one of the decisions was wrong."

Therefore, if the conference were to pass a resolution condemning the Churchill government's policy on this or any other major issue, it would be condemning its own leaders. The Labor members of the government would then have to resign and thereby break the coalition, which they are loath to do until the war in Europe is officially declared won.

Against this background everyone knew the Greek resolution was a compromise arrived at after days of heated discussion between certain trade unions which wanted a strong, unequivocal statement of condemnation and the Labor members of the government, who were anxious to avoid acute political embarrassment. Like most compromises, this one satisfied no one. "Armistice without delay" followed by a "free and fair general election as soon as practicable" is plainly desirable. Yet the tenor of the resolution was spineless and failed to reflect public indignation over the whole Greek tragedy. The delegates were put in the impossible position of being able to vote only for or against the resolution and debarred from moving amendments. So although delegate after delegate, with loud vocal support from all over the hall, denounced its weak terms, it was carried by a vote of 2,455,000 to 137,000. There is no particular significance in these figures. It is vital for the world to understand that the 137,000 votes against were not cast because those delegates approve British policy in Greece. Both the majority and minority feel equal shame and repugnance and want the affair settled honorably forthwith. But only a small minority movement at the moment is prepared to break the coalition on this issue.

All through the conference, all through the business of the House of Commons, runs the same problem. Labor lent its leaders to a Tory government in a time of dire crisis. They played a great part in assuring the defeat of the fascist armies. Having now announced their intention of fighting as an independent party in the next election, how long can they remain in the Churchill government without becoming hopelessly compromised and discrediting their party? This is a problem of more than domestic importance. The foreign policy of this country depends on which party has a majority in the House of Commons in the post-war years. The Labor movement is Britain's only alternative to indefinite Tory rule.

Greek Politics and Puppets

BY MICHAEL CLARK

IN GREECE, at this moment, the invasion, which was to have brought liberation, is bringing a white terror instead. What liberation there was, the Greek resistance movement itself had won, at heavy cost, first by clearing the Germans out of three-quarters of their land, then by forming so effective an advance guard that the British army suffered only three fatal casualties in "operations against the enemy" in Greece. When the bulk of the British forces landed unopposed from troop ships in Piraeus, the job was already done. Today, barely two months later, these same forces, under a command in which American officers participate, are using American-made weapons against the very Greeks who have distinguished themselves so valiantly in the cause of freedom since the Albanian campaign.

The British policy toward Greece, ever since the royal government was brought into exile by Britain, has been so thoroughly out of harmony with the will of the Greek people that only radical modification could have averted conflict. Modification did not come. I recall in this connection a conversation I had more than eight months ago in Cairo with an American official who had been following the Greek situation closely. Quite unexpectedly he said, "At this rate the British will soon find themselves fighting the Greeks." But at that time it hardly seemed possible that the British could blunder so terribly.

While the Germans in Athens were setting up a puppet Greek government under the premiership of Rallis, the British were tightening their grip on the Tsouderos government, which they had rescued. The one was no more representative of Greek opinion than the other, although the British were careful to preserve what little prestige the trappings of legality and royalty could give their creature Tsouderos in Cairo. Meanwhile, in Greece itself, patriots of all political persuasions joined forces in a resistance movement called the E. A. M. (National Liberation Front). The leadership at first was Communist, chiefly because during their suppression under Metaxas the Communists had acquired a lot of experience in underground techniques, but others cooperated whole-heartedly and rose to leadership as they gained experience. The E. A. M. was, and is, the most powerful Greek resistance organization. The Communist group (K. K. E.) forms only one component, representing from 15 per cent to 20 per cent of the whole. The E. A. M.'s actual strength is hard to estimate. Its army, the E. L. A. S., has been able to put 25,000 armed men into Athens without stripping other regions under its control. The E. P. O. N., the E. A. M.'s youth organization, has an estimated membership of 500,000. The right-wing E. D. E. S., on the other hand, probably never had more than 7,000 members, with an armed force of some 3,000 at the most.

At the beginning the E. A. M. proclaimed that the Germans were the enemy, but their fight became more and more ideological with the realization that compatriots and allies could be as fascist as the Germans. Thus the Greek resistance movement created, in the midst of its suffering, a real solidarity of the left. This became clear to the world a few days ago when the leftist members of Papandreou's Cabinet, of whom only two were Communists, resigned as a bloc. It is worth noting, too, that the rightist groups in Greece, such as the E. D. E. S. and the Security Battalions, have all been heavily tarred with the brush of collaboration. The Security Battalions, in particular, were organized by Rallis to fight the resistance movement. They were German-sponsored and German-equipped. The resistance movement constantly begged the Cairo government to denounce the Security Battalions, and it is a curious commentary on the British-supported Greek government that it steadfastly refused to do this. It was known in Cairo last summer that a British liaison officer inside Greece had actually been in touch with the Security Battalions.

Yugoslavia had shown how dangerous a people's resistance movement, tempered in the fire of combat, could be to a docile government in exile. Having lost one Balkan round to Russia, the British were determined not to lose two. The miseries of occupation and the leaven of the E. A. M. had, by the beginning of the year, made the exile government in Cairo seem to the Greek people very remote and thin. Thoughtful men were convinced that only a coalition Cabinet, including representatives of the resistance movement inside Greece, could give a measure of meaning to the

Tsouderos government. Here it must be said categorically that all attempts in this direction were frustrated by the British, who remained convinced that their protégés might still be made acceptable to the Greeks, particularly if the resistance movement could be discredited as bandits and Communists.

In the mountains of free Greece, however—for by March, 1944, the bulk of the country was already liberated—a group of leaders formed a Political Committee of National Liberation (P. E. E. A.) for the purpose of achieving a unity government. Until such a time as its chief goal could be reached, the P. E. E. A., which was primarily but not exclusively E. A. M.—it even included such pillars of respectability as General Manolis Mantakas, the hero of Crete, and Alexander Svolos, professor of law and former minister—administered free Greece, held elections, installed law courts, levied taxes, and maintained order.

Evidence of dissatisfaction with the government in exile was not confined to Greece. In Cairo a delegation including high-ranking officers petitioned the government for an enlargement of the Cabinet—and were arrested for their pains. Many other Greeks in Egypt, civilians as well as officers, were subsequently arrested for suspected E. A. M. sympathies, and some were exiled. Of their number was General Karapanayotis, former Minister of War, exiled to Eritrea.

Unrest and distrust of British motives mounted fast in liberal Greek circles everywhere. The Greek armed forces in Egypt, sensing that they were being groomed to escort an imposed government back to Greece, mutinied in April. British censorship, evaded only by a Tass dispatch—which provoked official British censure—shrouded the mutinies and the manner of their suppression. The subsequent trials of the mutineers, held at Qassassin, a desert camp too far from Cairo to be accessible to correspondents, were utilized by the Greek government to discredit the E. A. M., charged with fomenting the disorders. Some 12,000 "mutineers" were disarmed and put in concentration camps. From the remainder of the Greek forces the British chose men of proved royalist sympathies to form the Greek Mountain Brigade, trained in the Lebanon to become the mailed fist of the royal government. This Mountain Brigade was, in fact, sent to fight in Italy, where it found time to shoot up pro-E. A. M. Greek Cypriot soldiers in the British army because they refused to sing Metaxas songs. It was then sent into Greece, where it is now fighting against the E. A. M. The ranks of the Mountain Brigade have been swelled by former members of the Security Battalions arrested as collaborators by the E. A. M. but later surreptitiously released by the British.

The Tsouderos Cabinet fell as a result of the mutinies and was replaced by one headed by Sophocles Venizelos, son of the great Eleutherios Venizelos, whose only act of note was to invite the resistance movement to send delegates from Greece to help form a unity government. After a few days' incumbency Venizelos was told by Rex Leeper, British ambassador to Greece, that he was incompetent. He was replaced by George Papandreou. Papandreou, known as a successful criminal lawyer, liked by a few but respected by none, was brought out of Greece as the "resistance" Premier just three days after Venizelos had issued his invitation. Installed as Prime Minister by the British without consultation with any Greek groups, Papandreou appeared as a *fait accompli* to the resistance delegates when they arrived in the Lebanon shortly afterward. He has stuck ever since, even though he has been a major obstacle to unity.

As early as last spring it was clear to well-informed persons in Cairo that Greece was ripe for invasion and had been for some months. That it was delayed until October can only be ascribed to reasons of political expediency. British official circles apparently felt that the E. A. M. was simply a left-wing minority which, if denied supplies, would fall under the blows being dealt it by the Germans, by the British-supported E. D. E. S., and by the Security Battalions.

In May the resistance delegates from Greece met with the Greek government in a general political conference, held in the hills of the Lebanon. Cairo, because the arrests of E. A. M. sympathizers had been carried out there, was felt to be an inappropriate place to which to invite E. A. M. representatives. The Lebanon conference, although a purely Greek affair, was dominated by Rex Leeper, who happened to be "vacationing" nearby. Out of the conference came a general agreement known as the Lebanon Charter, providing, first, that a certain number of ministries in the unity government would be reserved for E. A. M. nominees and, second, that the E. L. A. S. and the Greek forces in the Middle East would be welded into a single national army under the command of General Othonaios. Other provisions dealt with the "mutinies," the position of the King, the denunciation of the Security Battalions, the position of the government with regard to "terrorism," and a number of matters of lesser importance. It was the understanding of the leftist delegates that Papandreou would at once give place to another Premier in whose selection they would have a voice. Papandreou, was, however, promptly called upon by the King to form the new ministry.

At once obstacles were set in the way of the leftists. Great pressure was brought to bear upon them to follow along with docility, and when they balked, they were accused of betraying the Lebanon Charter. The present writer, who was in Cairo at the time, filed an article to *The Nation* on that conflict, but it was stopped by an American army censor in French Morocco. When, at the beginning of September, the leftist ministers—who alone represented any constituency, the others being Papandreou's nominees—did finally enter the government, the Cabinet was swollen to such a size that their influence was much reduced. Nevertheless, all the leftist ministers, of whom two were Communists, repeatedly asserted their support of the government and shared its labors and responsibilities.

In recent days the British have justified their repressive measures on the ground that the E. A. M. was preparing a Communist coup d'état that would endanger life, property, and the good order upon which military security depends. This charge does its authors no honor. Not only has the E. A. M. been successfully administering free Greece for over a year, but its patient efforts to achieve real unity within the Cairo government were not abandoned even in the face of evident bad faith on the part of Papandreou and his associates. Athens itself had been freed of Germans some days before the British "liberators" arrived. The E. A. M.

might easily have taken control of the Greek capital, as it subsequently did in Salonika, if its intentions were such as the British charge. On October 18 Papandreou and his government arrived in Athens with Mr. Leeper. Immediately the problem of what to do with the E. L. A. S. overshadowed the colossal problems of food, currency, reconstruction, employment, and the general restoration of normalcy. No time was lost in bringing the Mountain Brigade over from Italy and in strengthening it with former Security Battalion men. When preparations seemed adequate, Papandreou issued the order that all resistance groups surrender their arms and disband by December 10. An American newspaperman reports that this order was formulated at General Scobie's direction and that the Cabinet was not consulted. The E. L. A. S. protested that it could not obey unless rightist bands, notably the Mountain Brigade, did likewise. The government replied that the Mountain Brigade was part of the regular army and hence could not be disbanded in time of war. General Othonaios, who had been agreed upon in the Lebanon as the commander-in-chief of a unified Greek army, was quietly forced to resign. Meanwhile Napoleon Zervas, leader of the much-compromised E. D. E. S., ostentatiously declared his readiness to disband, and his attitude was widely played up in press dispatches as a noble contrast to E. L. A. S. stubbornness. Said the monkey to the elephant . . . !

The refusal of the E. L. A. S. leader, Sarafis, to lay down his arms as General Scobie ordered provoked the charge of insubordination, for Sarafis, like Zervas, had signed the Caserta agreement on September 26 promising to serve under the orders of the Allied high command. But in the opinion of Sarafis and his followers that agreement applied to the war against the Germans only. Sarafis, in fact, told General Scobie that the engagements which the E. L. A. S. had freely entered into when faced with the task of driving out the Germans must not be construed as giving the British command full powers to regulate the country's internal political organization after the departure of the enemy. Sarafis made it clear, as the E. L. A. S. fighters in Athens are doing at this very moment, that the E. A. M. and the Greek people will not swallow easily a right-wing dictatorship imposed upon Greece by the British army. This misuse of military power is particularly reprehensible at a time when, instead of using their forces to suppress an allied people, the British might far better send them to relieve Crete.

On Sunday, December 3, came the melancholy episode of the shooting in Constitution Square. Permission for the demonstration had first been given, then revoked. Demonstrations had been almost a daily occurrence in Athens, and in view of the confusion of authority it could hardly be regarded as a crime that the later order was ignored—certainly not a crime justifying promiscuous shooting into an unarmed crowd. Greek policemen pulled the triggers, but American tanks driven by Tommies were deployed about the square and paraded through the streets to "maintain order." And now a major battle is raging in Athens. British Spitfires are strafing the Greeks on the streets. Constantine Poulos reports from Athens that the most common comment heard from the Greeks is, "The Nazis never used planes."

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE COUNTRY SWARMS with half-crazed husbands and lovers, who read the law reports, and who see that nobody is ever punished for any outrage if he can only show that his feelings about some woman led him to commit it, and they are naturally enough kept by these examples in a state of constant tigerish preparation for crime.—*December 2, 1869.*

THE PRESIDENT recommends a "gradual return" to specie payments, which is, indeed, the only kind of return possible; most of the declamation against a "sudden" return being like warnings against a too rapid growth in virtue.—*December 9, 1869.*

THE REST OF THE MESSAGE is comparatively unimportant; and to prove that they have no desire to shirk their due we are sorry to say nothing with regard to the condition of the Civil Service, which has formed the great scandal of General Grant's administration, and illustrations of which are cropping out every day. The President alleges what is quite true, that the territory of the United States is capable of maintaining a population of 500,000,000. He might have added that at the present rate of increase it will contain more than that number within a century from this time. We shall then have 500,000 office-holders, and at each change of administration, at a very moderate computation, five million candidates for office, and about one million "men inside politics" pushing their claims; so that the new President of that period will be pursued, during the months of March, April, and May of his inauguration, by seven millions and a half of males and females, of whom certainly half will make their way to the seat of government, the remainder only writing letters. Supposing him to live and preserve his faculties into the summer, the "rotating" will then begin. *—December 9, 1869.*

THE AUSTRIAN IMBROGLIO seems to be making but little progress towards settlement, at least so far as regards the Czech difficulty. . . . The Bohemians . . . stand up for a revival, with the necessary modifications required by the federal union, of the historic kingdom of Bohemia, with of course a Czech government, against which 2,000,000 Germans resident in Bohemia, and possessing a large portion of its wealth and enterprise, protest violently.—*December 16, 1869.*

THE ONEIDA COMMUNITY are engaged in a controversy with the government which raises some interesting questions. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue says, as they are one family, they are only entitled to one deduction of $1,000 on their income tax; they say that they are an unincorporated cooperative association, in which each adult member is entitled to any legal rights he might have if he did not belong to it, and therefore each one is entitled to the $1,000 deduction; and to prove that they have no desire to shirk their due proportion of the public liabilities, they show by their tax receipts that, had the rest of the nation contributed as much to the Treasury as they have, the national debt would by this time be wiped out, and a surplus of two billions of dollars left.—*December 30, 1869.*

Are Monopolies Inevitable?

BY STUART CHASE

NOBODY has ever estimated, or can estimate, the percentage of the total economic activity of the nation which has been lifted out of the free market. We know that the percentage had been growing steadily up to the war. We have seen how the war has increased the share of the big chaps against the little chaps—which furnishes a strong presumption of growing monopoly.

We know that free competition has been declining in many parts of the world even more rapidly than in America. Throughout the vast domain of Russia it has altogether gone, except for some "socialist competition" between the state trusts. Throughout much of Europe free competition has been practically obliterated by the Nazis, while the returning governments in exile seem to be pledged to planned economies.

No other countries have anti-trust laws such as our Sherman and Clayton acts. Many foreign governments not only encourage international cartels but participate in them. Powerful cartels are now said to be hibernating in Switzerland, getting ready for action the instant the war ends.

Democracy Under Pressure

This state of affairs is extraordinary not only in the light of the current crusade for "free enterprise" in America; it is even more extraordinary in the light it throws on human beings and their institutions. Many of us seem to take to monopoly like a sailor to beer. Many of us, like the officers of the Diamond Match Company, look on competitors as a danger to our business, and denounce the repeating match, or whatever the new process is, as providing the "rottenest kind of competition."

Assuming it to be technically legal, without secret rebates and the like, when is competition "sound" and when is it "rotten"? Is there anything in the philosophy of laissez faire to allow for such a distinction? There is not. The distinction occurs first in the mind and then in the behavior of most business men. We are getting down to bedrock here. Is there something in human nature, or in the structure of human society, which makes monopolies under certain circumstances inevitable? The whole post-war world is waiting for an answer to that question. The future of business enterprise is tied up with it.

Legal Monopolies

To clear the ground, the question has already been answered in the affirmative so far as legal monopolies are concerned. Certain industries have been declared monopolies, affected with a public interest, and are operated or regulated by the state. For instance, government runs the post office and regulates the telephone company. You would go crazy with half a dozen competing telephone companies running a line into your house. The cost per call meanwhile would be many times what it is under monopoly conditions. Water, gas, street railways, electric power, radio air waves are legal as well as technological monopolies.

Only a fanatic like Herbert Spencer or Isabel Paterson would atomize these technological unities. Their prices are often fixed—as the Interstate Commerce Commission fixes railroad rates; their new investments are controlled, their conditions of service specified. Thus a considerable and growing section in the economy is already posted "Monopoly—Keep Out. This Means You." This section has been taken off the free market by the march of technology and by common consent, and handed over to the community to be controlled in the interest of all the people.

The Tendency of Enterprisers

But how about matches, cheese, automobiles, tractors, milk bottles, plumbing fixtures? In America, such goods are supposed to be sold in the free market. The cheese business goes through all the motions of a free market. Why have these industries and many others ceased to be genuinely competitive? Why is there a constant cumulative drive to take them out of the free market?*

Beardsley Ruml, Barbara Wooton, J. M. Clark, and T. O. Yntema are only a few of the economists who have called attention to this apparently irresistible tendency. Miss Wooton suggests in her "Lament for Economics" (Allen and Unwin) that if a business man is intelligent enough to grasp the logical beauties of free competition, he is intelligent enough to grasp the superior advantages of monopoly. "Experience has shown," says Miss Wooton, "how persistent is the threat of monopoly to competition, and how difficult it is to keep alive a competitive regime by any kind of artificial respiration."

Are Monopolies Inevitable?

This is all very perplexing, for the small competitive business man, full of initiative and self-reliance, is very deeply rooted as a symbol of the American system. True, it becomes increasingly difficult to find such men in the flesh, but even as their numbers shrink, the aura about the symbol grows. They have been called the "yeast of the economy." The current celebration of free enterprise is directed toward the sturdy competitor as the savior of society. Yet while we celebrate, the big boys grow bigger on war orders and the government reaches out farther.

To suppose that competition and monopoly are natural opposites is absurd, says C. E. Ayres ("Theory of Economic Progress," University of North Carolina Press). It is the ambition of every competitive business man to put his rivals out of business and absorb their trade. Ten days' apprenticeship in a competitive enterprise, he says, should convince any inquiring student of the true nature of competition.

The NRA, most of us agree, was a very wicked piece of legislation. It sought to make American industry a series of cartels under government supervision. It left no place for the venture-capital man at all. We thanked God when the Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional; but was it or was it not closer to the trend curve of the real, wicked, workaday world than the current ideological crusade?

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* It is true that a reverse drive is also at work, where monopolies are broken into and dissolved by strong competitors, but it is the weaker of the two.

It is, I repeat, a strange parodox, this proliferation of monopoly in the teeth of what all the good books, the good professors, the good corporation presidents, and the good Congressmen have been saying for a century and more. It is like the war against sin. The preachers thunder every Sunday, but the congregation loses so much ground during the other six days that the preachers never can catch up.

In our perplexity let us turn to the economic historian Karl Polanyi. He has a theory which tries to explain the enigma ("The Great Transformation," Farrar and Rinehart). After a superbly documented analysis he concludes that the formation of monopolies was due not so much to human waywardness as to a revolt of society against the stony rigors of the automatic market. Let us examine briefly his thesis, for it may help us to find an answer to the paradox.

The Great Transformation

Polanyi describes how the market economy started with bright utopian promises, and how by subordinating everything to a maximum output of goods its leaders hoped to solve mankind's economic problems. He traces the steady deterioration of that ideal until the final collapse of the world free market in the early 1930's and the adoption of managed economies by every state on earth.

Why did such a logical conception come to such a sad end? Polanyi is the first, so far as I am concerned, ever to answer this question satisfactorily. *The chief trouble with the market, he says, was not that it exploited people—which of course it did from time to time—but that it dissolved society.* It broke up the family and made people spiritually homeless. It wrenched them out of their farms, their crafts, their ancient ties, and herded them, rootless, into the dark, satanic mills. It offered a mechanical institution depending on money prices to supersede the organic human institutions which mankind had always known. For thousands of years markets had been dependent on society, defined in this sense. Men came first and money second. The nineteenth century reversed the process, and the resulting tensions finally exploded in the disorders, wars, revolutions of our time. The more one thinks over this hypothesis, the more impressive it becomes.

The era of mercantilism, which preceded the market, was one of expanding trade routes, but they were controlled by the state, often elaborately controlled. At the time of the Industrial Revolution the middle classes revolted against these controls. Their revolt was so determined that it swung the pendulum all the way over to the ideal of no control at all. Instead of a series of little regulated markets set against the background of organic society, there was to be one big market, self-regulating and automatic, to which all social behavior should be subservient.

In order to have a truly self-regulating and flexible system, Polanyi points out, everything must obviously be included, because everything must be treated as a commodity with a price. Otherwise the mechanism will not work automatically. Labor must become a commodity; so must land; so must money. As a result, industrial workers, with nothing but the market to depend upon, were stripped of human dignity, to be disposed of like so much pig iron. Their less negotiable qualities tended to disappear. Similarly the buying and selling of natural resources, removed from the ancient protection of society, amounted to summoning the demons of flood, fire, erosion, dust storm, stream pollution.

Money was made a commodity by tying it to gold. Gold was bought and sold like anything else, at so much an ounce. Its behavior was naturally uncertain, with alternate gluts and shortages. This caused recurring shocks to the money supply, and threatened the stability of industry. Business men, according to Polanyi, were the first victims of the money-commodity theory. "The market required that the individual respect economic law even if it happened to destroy him."

Society Versus the Market

Almost immediately society moved to protect itself against this logical Moloch. The first reaction was the factory legislation of the 1830's in Britain. In due course came legislation for public health, public schools, food and drug laws, municipal trading, subsidies, embargoes, tariffs, and other "government interference." *The most drastic interference, however, did not come from the government at all, but from the trusts, monopolies, and trade associations of the business men, and from the labor unions of the workers.*

Something very deep and very powerful was obviously at work. To fit this historical development into the theory of the class struggle, into fights between radicals and reactionaries, or into standard theories of property, is impossible. The facts come running out of all the cracks. But they fit easily into a flesh-and-blood social structure spontaneously trying to protect itself against the ravages of a cold mathematical market. For example, according to market philosophy nothing must be undertaken unless it "pays." Unemployed persons can rot by the thousands if it does not pay some enterpriser to hire them. Clearly no society can long tolerate such a destructive taboo. It is worse than foot-binding or child marriage. It is a form of human sacrifice.

The monopoly movement thus appears in a strange new light, as a natural human defense. Monopolies were formed to protect business men from the violent ups and downs of the market, precisely as trade unions were developed to protect workers from the howling blizzards of the free market in labor. If monopolies are part of this social defense mechanism, clearly they cannot be liquidated blindly. If they are broken up in a flood of cease-and-desist orders, they will surely form again as soon as the government lawyers go home to get a little sleep.

I do not know whether Polanyi's thesis will finally stand the test of history, but it accounts for most of the facts, without moral judgments against individuals. If the market was destructive to that vague but powerful entity which we call society, then it followed naturally that we should have government interference, labor unions, and business monopolies —big business, big unions, big government.

What Is the Trouble with Monopoly?

On Polanyi's showing, it is not greed, or even arbitrary power, though both are often in the picture. The real trouble is a negative thing: *restriction of output*, holding down, holding back, holding up the flow of goods. A monopoly, whether of business, labor, or other producers' group, is constantly seeking that level of output which will best protect its members—usually for the short run.

Animated by fear of loss, once their vested interests are built up, monopolists often become timid. They are afraid of new ideas and inventions—to lock 'em up is safer. They are the antithesis of the venture-capital man who was always ready to risk his last dollar to make a million.

To the extent that monopolies do keep the machines from running, they tend to reduce the investment of savings in productive enterprise and aggravate the problem of idle money. They could limit employment even if the dollar circuit were closed. A government trying to underwrite full employment on the principle of a compensatory economy might never be able to close the circuit as fast as the monopolists broke it open.

On the other hand, the flight to monopolistic methods might not be so urgent when compensatory devices were operating to begin with. If Polanyi is right, monopolies have been formed more for defense than for offense. It is a nice question how far monopolists would go in restricting production if there were no business cycle.

Assuming that certain monopolies do slow up the machines, and must be brought under the control of the community, is the community strong enough to do it? Who's in charge around here anyway, in the mid-1940's? Many liberals believe that big business has been in charge, is now in charge during the war, and will continue in charge after the war. I doubt whether the situation is quite as simple as this. The liberals are using class-struggle dialectics in a world where such mental calipers are out of date.

Rope Trick

Big business—and I am thinking now specifically of top management in the one hundred great companies which have 70 per cent of war orders—is exceedingly powerful in some respects. But as a substitute for the accredited government neither its credentials nor its prospects are too good, in my opinion. Among other reasons are these:

1. The gentlemen do not want to assume the duties and responsibilities of government. That has not been part of their training. Which one of them is ready to guarantee 60,000,000 jobs, or draw the blueprints for averting World War III?

2. Their interests are diverse. They have a united front in such ideological matters as the virtues of private enterprise, but they lack a united front in practical matters, such as who is going to get the cream of the passenger traffic after the war—airways, railways, or highways?

3. They are increasingly vulnerable in an interdependent high-energy society. In a depression most of them go down with the rest of us, no matter how high they maintain their prices or how tight their control of output.

4. Finally, they live in a kind of judicial vacuum, because in many cases the managers of our great corporations have deprived stockholders of all de facto control of their property. Thus, as Peter Drucker has emphasized in "The Future of Industrial Man" (John Day), they have cut the nexus with property which makes their position secure and legitimate. They represent no interest but themselves, a small, self-perpetuating class, the crowning triumph of night work in the offices of corporation lawyers.

The result has been a disorderly industrial scramble in which the public interest is largely neglected. The managers have had power without responsibility. The plantation owners in the South before the Civil War, the lords of the manor in medieval Europe, did better than that; they were tyrants, but they accepted responsibility for their people, and for the land.

Sooner or later a showdown must come as to whether the managers of big business and big monopoly are to run the community or the community is to run them. When it does come, we may find that big business is perhaps way up in the sky by a kind of Indian rope trick. It might fall down pretty fast.

[This article is the second of a series of three taken from Mr. Chase's forthcoming book "Democracy Under Pressure," a report to the Twentieth Century Fund. The third will appear in two weeks.]

Battle of the Sequins

BY KAY BOYLE

I DID not know that sequins were being worn this year. I did not know until yesterday that garments stitched with sequins were being fought over on department-store counters. I did not know that blouses seemingly entirely fashioned of sequins, hard and brilliant and metallic as humming-birds, were coveted as gold, or beauty, or fame is coveted—especially if they come with little sequined caps to match. Apparently a great many people did know this, for the battle taking place for these things was a bitter battle. It was a battle among women—as terrific as any that is taking place in the rain or the snow or the jungle among men. For if one woman succeeds in getting the only size-42 blouse in topaz sequins, there is still no assurance that she will be able to get the topaz-sequined cap to wear with it. It is quite possible that she may have to go home with the heartbreak of having got only the blouse, and not the little cap, or perhaps with the little cap in a different color.

Yesterday, in the department store, the women who had gone there to buy were surrounded by mirrors—mirrors on the counters, mirrors in the lifts, full-length mirrors in the panels of every door. So that everyone, if he paused for an instant, could see exactly and unequivocally how he looked. But the faces of these women were turned away, their eyes were fixed on something else; they were there to outwit one another, and they had no time to face themselves. In the mirrors there might have been the singular reflection of other women—women who skipped quickly back into a trench before the shellfire got them, dragging with them the body of a companion who had fought three winters with her feet bound in rags, as were the feet of the other women, and who now had been killed. Perhaps they are Russian women, perhaps English women, perhaps women of the French *maquis*. It is difficult to say whether they are beautiful or not, for their faces are masked with filth, with sweat, even with blood. Their skin is cracked, weathered; their nails are not varnished. The dead woman who had fought through three winters with them and whom they kick down into the bottom of the trench for safety has been dragged so far by her feet that her mouth and nostrils are stopped with dirt. But whatever has happened to her eyes, the vision is set as clear as glass in them. When this thing is finished, those of them who survive will sit down under a roof again and hold their children against them, and they will never be afraid, no matter how old they grow, to look at their own faces in the mirror.

Across the walls of the department store there were words written, written more violently and boldly—in spite of their absolute invisibility—than the legend which states that it is a legal offense to smoke in a retail store. "Caution," say these indiscernible words. "You are warned by the authorities against stopping to look at yourselves in the mirrors." Not because you will see your own shape or face reflected; not for an instant. But because the leaves of jungle trees will suddenly grow there, tough and strong as rubber, and bright green in the mirror. You will see the hair that grows on the bark of trees in that tropical place, and the blades of green on green, and then, without warning, you will come upon the man lying there on the jungle floor with the blood like an open fan, spread as thick as tar and as black, beneath his head. He is a young man in a khaki shirt, and his beard is a week old on his jaws, and by his eyes you know he is not dead. His eyes are watching the men who come and kneel, and who set down the stretcher beside him, and his eyes move in quick desperation from one face to the other, asking them not to let it happen. It is when they lift him that the black fan opens a little wider on the grass, and the look of ice moves over his face, and you know he is asking nothing of anyone any more.

"Customers are cautioned not to look," says the sign of which no one can perceive the letters, for if you stop to look you will see something you do not wish to see. You will see the shallow water of the river flickering, and out of the muck of the river's bed you will see the other boy crawling on his knees. His shirt is ripped away, and his arm is hanging from the shoulder by two delicate threads of sinew or nerve or splintered bone, and the blood is not running from it, it is spouting from it the way water will spout from an open water hydrant and pour, foaming, into the street gutter below. You are cautioned not to look, for you have come here to buy sequins, and if you look you will see that his lips are stiff and that his teeth are shaking in his head as if he were cold. But this is the tropics, and he is not cold, he is merely frightened. He is crying, with little shuddering gasps of terror shaking through his teeth. He is saying: "I am not going to die, am I? Tell me, I'm not going to die, am I? I am not going to die, am I going to die? I am not going to die, am I? . . ." and he comes crawling toward you, crawling like a beast through the mud. He has almost reached you, he has almost touched your skirt with his hand when you hear the woman's voice saying: "I've been waiting twenty minutes, and then this customer gets in ahead of me and gets the last 42 in topaz—"

"Listen," said the sales-girl, leaning forward. "You can't take them with you."

"Take what?' said the customer.

"Sequins," said the sales-girl. "You know, things that glitter."

"I didn't want to take them with me," said the woman. "I wanted them sent C. O. D."

In the Wind

A GHOST-WRITING FIRM in New York advertised in the December 9 *Saturday Review of Literature* that it does sermons. We asked about rates and got this reply by return mail: "The cost for the preparation of an original sermon which would take from fifteen to twenty minutes to deliver would be $6." Folders inclosed with the letter offered (1) a set of four ready-made sermons, $1.75; (2) "several original prayers" for private devotions, guaranteed to have a "distinct psychological appeal," $1; (3) a $25 personal horoscope, $5.

GOLDSMITH BROTHERS, "the Big Stationery Store" at 77 Nassau Street, New York, will give you $8 for any friend you recommend who works there for thirty days; if the friend does part-time work, you get $4. There is no limit to the number of friends you may place.

FROM A STATEMENT by Tom Linder, Georgia Commissioner of Agriculture, before a subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee in Washington, December 5: "In the union of these forty-eight states there is strength. The farm belt of the United States and the industrial belt of the United States are married. The two form one complete whole. When either of these contracting parties undertake to carry on intercourse with the outside world, the effect is the same as the unfaithfulness of one party to a marriage contract."

IN NAZI ANTHOLOGIES of German poetry, Heine's poems are signed "Anonymous." Olin Downes, music critic of the New York *Times*, quotes in the issue of December 10 a letter from Lieutenant E. Forbes of the Seabees, who reports that at an orchestral concert in the Royal Opera House in Rome, under the auspices of the British Army Education and Welfare Commission, the composer of "The Ride of the Valkyries" was designated on the printed program as "Anonymous."

FROM AN ACCOUNT of a speech by R. F. Clough to the Elks of Mason City, Iowa, in the Mason City *Globe Gazette* of December 4: "Mr. Clough called attention to the fact that the flag of the United States stood for all the virtues of Elkdom."

JEWS, CZECHS, GREEKS, etc., take note: "While we hate to say it," says the Washington *Times-Herald* of December 9, "war does seem to have contributed a lot to human progress by weeding out the less fit and permitting the fittest to survive." It adds that it means not individuals but races.

FESTUNG EUROPA: Inmates of the Fröslev concentration camp in Denmark asked permission to hold religious services. It was refused. A Nazi official told them, "We do not pretend to be Christians."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Rule Britannia

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

Athens, December 10, by Cable (Delayed)

ONE of the first posters pasted on the walls of Athens by extreme rightists after its liberation proclaimed "Rule Britannia." Obviously, even if such sentiments hadn't been expressed by any Greeks, the British were determined to rule Greece.

It appears that Great Britain's historical reasons for hanging on to the various parts of His Majesty's empire now apply most definitely to Greece. Britain has heavy commercial interests in Greece. The largest foreign investors in Greece are British. In foreign lendings to Greek industry and public-utility companies, as well as in holdings of the public debt, British money merchants take top place. Strategically this war has convinced Britain that it must control Crete, Rhodes, and many other Greek islands, as well as Cyprus. Lastly, British prestige and diplomatic influence [rest of sentence deleted by censor].

Today British troops in American tanks are firing on the very Greeks who seven weeks earlier were fighting the Germans. This is the result of a serious blunder made by Britain's Prime Minister and the Foreign Office. They believe that only the British royal family's poor relative, King George, can keep Greece on the straight and narrow Whitehall road and not let it be seduced by its great big, attractive co-religionist in Moscow. Starting from that completely erroneous and unjustified assumption, Churchill and the British ambassador to Greece, Rex Leeper, have used every possible method, all possible tricks and tactics, to force George back on a people determined not to have him.

Last May the London *New Statesman and Nation* said that "British intervention had gone far beyond Mr. Leeper's backstairs intrigues in Cairo." Leeper was responsible for the colonial censorship policy on Greek news in Cairo. Leeper also discovered George Papandreou.

Papandreou was one of the old party leaders who saw, while living in Athens, the tremendous growth of the E. A. M., and was frightened because he realized it meant changes in Greece after the war. Papandreou thereupon prepared a detailed memorandum on how the E. A. M. menace could be met and placed it in the hands of British agents. It is reported that when Leeper saw the memo he shouted "Eureka!" and sent for Papandreou. Later, in Cairo, Papandreou told me that he was selected by "divine Providence" to lead the Greek nation through its difficult period.

The E. A. M. is a popular people's movement. Its program, which is almost identical with that of the Greek Communist Party, closely resembles De Gaulle's plan for France. It calls for regulated wages and hours, peasants' cooperatives, nationalization of the railroads, public utilities, and banks, and for extensive public works, including roads, schools, and hospitals. On the constitutional question the E. A. M. demands an immediate plebiscite. The sins of the E. A. M., which have been so colorfully enlarged upon by Greek royalist flunkeys, British officials, and the New York *Times*, are simply the sins of any underground resistance movement. Weighed against its accomplishments they are not worth discussing. For three years the E. A. M. and its guerrilla force, E. L. A. S., have carried on a remarkable fight against the Nazis, which the Greek and British officials did their utmost to keep from the outside world. While moribund Greek political leaders of the past sat safely in Athens, the E. A. M. sounded the battle cry of resistance.

By its demonstrations in Athens during the occcupation, the E. A. M. prevented the mobilization of slave labor for Germany, stopped the conscription of Greeks for the Wehrmacht, and forced an increase in the bread rations. The E. A. M. did something more. It sensed the feelings of the people and breathed new life into Greek politics.

On the basis of having traveled over most of Greece both during the occupation and after liberation, I estimate that in the Peloponnesus the E. A. M.'s strength is between 50 and 60 per cent, and in the rest of Greece, 90 per cent. Having this strength, the E. A. M. could have seized power. They had plenty of time in which to do it between the German withdrawal and the British arrival. There are two reasons why they didn't. One was their keen understanding that the Greek people have suffered so much during the past eight years that they are sick and tired and anxious for peace. The other and major reason was Teheran.

Not only the Communists but all the E. A. M. party heads believed that at Teheran Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin agreed to the one-world idea and that small nations would be under the joint protection and combined influence of the three great nations. Therefore, the E. A. M. leaders calculated, by virtue of the Greek people's contribution to the common anti-fascist cause, all three powers would jointly guarantee and insure the right of the Greek people to a new, democratic, socialist way of life. Those who tried to convince the E. A. M. leadership that it wasn't so, that power politics and spheres of influence were still very much in vogue, and that the future of Greece lay in the hands of the Greek people themselves, were accused of shortsightedness or condemned by the Communists as anti-Soviet and anti-Stalin. Thus was the real Greek revolution lost.

For from the moment that Papandreou returned to peaceful, orderly, awakened Greece every attempt was made by him, by his rightist ministers, by nationalist, royalist, and fascist organizations, and by the Leeper holding company, to destroy the power of the left. Thousands of traitors and quislings were permitted to roam freely around Athens. No collaborators were called to trial or punished by the government. Royalist organizations were secretly armed. Members of the Nazi-organized Security Battalions were spirited out of prison and armed. Wild stories of red terrorism were fed to the local and foreign press. High officials of the various ministries who had faithfully served the Nazi and quisling governments were kept in their posts. No attempt was made to purge the police and national guard, both of which had worked for the Gestapo. When the Under Secretary of War, on November 24, appointed fourteen officers to organize a new national guard, eight of them were former officers of the Security Battalions. The Mountain Brigade was withdrawn from Italy and brought to Athens. More British troops kept landing in Greece. And long after the last German had left the Greek mainland British tanks rumbled through the streets of Athens.

During this time the E. A. M. was exercising remarkable control over the Greek people. I have seen Greek mothers and fathers go hysterical as they saw the men who had collaborated with the Nazis to torture and murder their sons marching proudly down the street at the head of one rightist organization or another. But the E. A. M. kept saying, "We mustn't take the law in our own hands." The few placards demanding "Bread for the People" soon disappeared after the first few demonstrations last October, because the hungry people had confidence in the E. A. M. They believed their representatives in the government would be able to fulfil in an orderly way the promise of a better life.

In the face of all this the question of disbanding the E. A. M. armed forces came to a head. The E. A. M. agreed to disarm and disband its army, but insisted that all other organized Greek units, including the royalist Mountain Brigade, should do likewise; so that a new army could be organized from scratch. The British have refused to listen to any proposals for disbanding the Mountain Brigade. Had they assented, there would be no civil war in Greece today.

While these military discussions were going on, a revealing incident occurred. On Wednesday, November 22, General Scobie, commander of the Allied forces in Greece, summoned Alexander Svolos, E. A. M. Minister of Finance, and John Zeugos, Communist Minister of Agriculture, and in the presence of the omniscient Mr. Leeper lectured them on two points. First, he insisted that the wage-scale system set up by their colleague, Miltiades Perphyrogenis, Labor Minister, was too high and would make reconstruction efforts difficult. Second, he issued an ultimatum demanding within twenty-four hours a declaration that they were opposed to acts of violence—no such demand was made of the right. Svolos and Zeugos indignantly refused to discuss either question.

On Thursday of the following week the British posted instructions for disbanding and disarming the guerrilla forces. This was done before the Greek government had agreed on the question and before an order had been signed by the Minister. In protest, and because Papandreou appeared powerless to prevent British intervention in internal affairs, the left ministers resigned the next day. The E. A. M. immediately called for a mass demonstration in Athens and Piraeus, a general strike in the same area, and a reorganization of the central committee of its army.

Encouraged by the crisis created by the resignations of the left, which represented the break in national unity which the royalists, rightists, and fascists had been praying for all along, the police fired on the unarmed demonstrators on Sunday, December 3. That was the spark. The E. A. M. forces in Athens and Piraeus set out to clean out the police, national guard, and other armed fascists. Only British intervention prevented them from finishing the job in short order.

On Tuesday morning, December 5, Papandreou told the American correspondents that he had tendered his resignation. At the same time it was made known that Themistocles Sophoulis, an old Liberty Party leader, having received approval of the left, was forming a new Cabinet. At noon on the same day, Sophoulis was called in by Leeper and told to cease his efforts as London felt that Papandreou should remain in office. Sophoulis then threatened to pull his ministers out of the government. Realizing that such a move would leave Papandreou flat on his back with no popular support, Leeper pleaded with Sophoulis to change his mind, and when he failed he sent for Scobie, who succeeded. Had Sophoulis been permitted to form a government, the civil war would have ended after two days.

The suspicion that food would be used as a weapon against the Greek people appears to have been well founded. The original military organization which was to handle relief in Greece for the first six months after liberation was called the Allied Military Liaison. Shortly before liberation, the State Department, realizing what might happen to Greece, but either reluctant or unable to do anything about it, recommended that American administrative participation in the A. M. L. be kept at a minimum. The name of the organization was accordingly changed to the Military Liaison, in spite of the fact that most of the relief supplies come from America. On November 29 the M. L. was absorbed by Scobie's headquarters. Following this, the UNRRA's Greek mission signed an agreement with the M. L. whereby its activities were also brought under British control.

In a proclamation to the Greek people on December 1, Scobie said: "I stand firm behind the present constitutional government until the Greek state can be established with a legal armed force behind it and free elections can be held. Unless we all together succeed in this, currency will *not* remain stable and the people will *not* be fed." (The emphasis on the "nots" is Scobie's.) No wonder that all over the Peloponnesus shivering old people who hadn't eaten anything except bread and beans for four years fearfully asked me, "Is it true that the British won't bring us any food unless the King comes back?" But the most common Greek answer to Scobie today is, "We know how to starve."

The struggle has now passed from the hands of a few leaders into the hands of the Greek people. In a funeral procession for the massacred workers the old banners demanding "bread and work" were again flying defiantly. Regardless of the outcome of the present ugly situation, the Greeks, particularly the young Greeks, are determined that the future shall be in their hands.

Churchill weeps for "poor old Britain," which armed all the guerrillas of Europe, and condemns those who now want "to use arms to achieve their own ends." Churchill must know that the British stopped sending arms to the E. L. A. S. in April, 1943, when Rommel's Afrika Korps was no longer using Greece as a supply route. And at that time E. L. A. S. was only a third of its present size. I know, for I saw them, that the vast majority of the E. L. A. S. fighters have German and Italian arms which they fought and died to get.

But maybe Churchill is confused. Maybe he meant General Napoleon Zervas's few boys—the guerrillas "loyal" to King George. These "loyal" guerrillas not only have the latest-model American Tommy guns but also received one gold pound per man per month from the British for their patriotic endeavors. And because they were good boys their pay was raised to two gold pounds on April 19, 1944, which, coincidentally, was the same month that three-fourths of the Greek armed forces outside Greece revolted.

Naturally everyone asks where America stands on this. Americans like to say they are standing on the sidelines. But the Greeks don't see it that way. The Greeks consider the United States their best friend and big brother. A big brother doesn't stand by and watch his smaller brother be mistreated and beaten up. Or if he does, then the younger brother doesn't have much use for him afterward. The Greeks say, "They're your tanks and your trucks. The food and clothing that is here and is coming in is all from the people of the United States. Why must we pay so dearly for it?"

After the Sunday massacre of the Greek workers, their wives and children and the other demonstrators, stunned and shocked, floundered about for just a moment. Then they started crying, "Roosevelt! Roosevelt!" and "America! America! America!" They fell on American officers and correspondents and kissed them. With tears streaming down their faces they cried, "Why don't you help us?" Suddenly the demonstrators marched straight up to the American Embassy to ask for help in their struggle against fascism and to refresh the President's memory about the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms.

Observant Greeks have noticed that after the strife broke out the American flag was hauled down from the American Embassy flagpole and hasn't waved again, while the French flag still flies proudly over the French Embassy across the street.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

FOR a long time the German army, or to be more exact Himmler's Waffen S. S., has contained detachments of "foreign volunteers." Of course most of them are not really volunteers. A large percentage were conscripted in the occupied countries or the camps of "foreign workers" by open or thinly veiled force. It used to be assumed that the Nazis would one day have trouble with these Dutch, Danish, Belgian, Norwegian, Serbian, Polish, Russian, and French auxiliaries. Mutiny, desertion, and sabotage on a large scale were thought to be inevitable, especially if the "foreign volunteers" were actually sent to the front and used in battle against the Allies.

Since then we have learned that, in this field as in so many others, the power of a modern organization is greater than we had ever imagined. The Hessians who fought against Washington discharged their duty as soldiers satisfactorily although they had been brutally conscripted and literally sold overseas; the machinery of a modern organization hamstrings the will and convictions of those who have once been regimented in it even more completely. They function with an automatism which one would not have thought possible. As a matter of fact, the Germans do not seem to have been especially disappointed in their "foreign volunteers," and they have recently decided to form more of such units.

A dispatch in the *Tribune de Genève* for December 4 says that Mussert, the Dutch Führer, was summoned to Berlin and immediately afterward undertook personally a vigorous recruiting campaign among his countrymen in German labor camps and also in the occupied parts of Holland. Corresponding figures of other nationalities are intensifying their efforts among the French, Belgians, and Serbians in Germany. "The conscription of Poles is being carried on with particular energy. The first brigade will be sent to the eastern front under the banner 'Poles for Poland.'" The Russian unit is the strongest of all. Its official name is Russian Army of National Liberation, but Germans refer to its members as the "eastern volunteers."

The Stockholm *Aftonbladet* of November 24 reports a great parade of "eastern volunteers" in Berlin. Their commander, one General Vlassow, "made a speech to them stressing the fact that this is a war between ideas, not between nations." On November 30 the German overseas radio broadcast an interview with General Truchlin, General Vlassow's chief of staff, in which he said, "Our first line is composed of the more than 100,000 men who have already joined up; our reserves are the millions of Russian war prisoners and workers in Germany."

The importance attached to this Russian formation by the German army command is indicated by the fact that a brand-new newspaper with the title *We and Our Comrades from the East* is being distributed to German soldiers. On November 30, a few days after the fourth number of this paper appeared, the German radio, in one of its regular broadcasts to the armed forces, took up the question of why relations with the eastern volunteers were handled in a special newspaper. Its explanation was:

> The publication is necessary because the many soldiers who come in contact with eastern volunteers must know as much as possible about Russians so as to treat them properly, understand their racial and personal traits, and establish a satisfactory basis of cooperation. Furthermore, this periodical is published not only in German but also in Russian and Ukrainian, since eastern volunteers in their turn must be taught to understand Germans. Not every army paper can be published in three languages. Our eastern comrades are by no means excluded from the discussions started by the new paper. On the contrary, a lively exchange of views and experiences is desired.

General Truchlin's statement, "Our reserves are the millions of Russian war prisoners in Germany," raises the question of how prisoners of war may be used. The Geneva convention expressly forbids their use against their own country and their enrolment in armies. Since the strict observance of the code concerning war prisoners has recently been stressed in Germany, this question has been brought up publicly. The *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* of November 29 answered it as follows: "The Geneva convention applies only to nationals of countries which have signed it. Russia has never signed it and has never become a partner in its rights and obligations." According to this, no legal hindrance prevents either Germany or Russia from forming an army of war prisoners to use against the other.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Silver Clue

HENRY JAMES: THE MAJOR PHASE. By F. O. Matthiessen. Oxford University Press. $2.50.

PROFESSOR MATTHIESSEN'S intelligent study of James's later period, appearing one year after the rather neglected James centenary, presages, it is to be hoped, other criticism directed toward the Works and produced by critics who do not hate James or misprise good writing. Matthiessen mentions at one point the present interest in the international scene as having some relation to a new interest in James. It would be one more queer twist of circumstance if Americans now come to an interest in their great compatriot because of reasons quite separate from the central values in James. What James really was—a great "poet" and a profound psychologist—and what he actually accomplished, is beyond any interest of a "timely" kind, no matter how pressing and serious such an interest may seem or be.

James's reputation has been affected by the turns of fashion before this. He has been earlier than his time, later than his time, and his work has fallen into neglect between "periods." He has been thought outmoded, when his modernity was far ahead of the van; genteel, when he had become the sharpest critic of "gentility"; a dull expatriate, when his books flashed with incisive American wit; "finedrawn," when, at the end of his life, his writing was loaded with almost an excessive weight of insight and experience. He lost one audience at the end of the 80's. He gained a younger one in 1918, only to have it fall away from him—with notable exceptions—during the experimental and eclectic decade of the 20's. The Parrington–Van Wyck Brooks sort of attack appealed to exactly the type of reader who, by nature and training, would decry James in any case: the middle-class man dead set against anything he cannot "use" or "understand." James, being a shining mark, drew to himself all the concentrated vituperation such characters are capable of producing. Every remark made by critics of the middle class, from Stendhal on, was thereby proved. Every dictum of Flaubert's—and there are many—concerning the hatred of the artist felt by the rank and file of the bourgeoisie was proved of a deadly truth by the attacks made, and the misinterpretations thought up, by middle-class critics, on the subject of James.

Matthiessen has made a choice among the works, and deals at length with the three last novels—"The Ambassadors," "The Wings of the Dove," and "The Golden Bowl"—published during James's lifetime; together with, in passing, "The American Scene" and the two posthumous and unfinished novels, "The Ivory Tower" and "The Sense of the Past." This phase Matthiessen calls "major." It might better be called the "past-master" period, for James had been "major" for twenty years or more before he entered into his last and greatest powers of thought and expression. A period of mature experimentation—with the theater, with the strict dramatic form as applied to the novel, and with various special viewpoints (notably those of the child and the neurotic)—intervened, in the 90's, between the middle and late James. The later novels have often been singled out for special praise—or blame; they have never, however, been analyzed with the thoroughness they deserve, and we must be grateful to Matthiessen for the attention he has paid to their subtleties, and the care he has taken not to split their form and content into two unnatural divisions. He is out to shed light, and to direct attention not only toward the master's "pattern" but also toward the magician's enchantment surrounding that pattern and the fine mind's relentless insight into it. This is the James, Matthiessen with tacit irony reminds the reader, who has been accused of identifying himself with his characters. This is the "snob" who was taken in by the European scene. This is the dim-witted old man drawing out a tangle of conclusions from desperately small premises. We see, instead, the deliberate, immensely skilful artist in his sixties adding to his effects; the clear-eyed man who can penetrate, to the point of clairvoyance, any human obscurity. We see James writing these last novels with a speed incommensurate with their complexity. During the three years of their composition James also produced the life of William Wetmore Story, the American sculptor, and several short pieces. The delightful Story biography, revealing James's perfect grasp of the American artist's problems during the period with which he deals, is a Jamesian triumph too little known. It is a pity that Matthiessen does not include a detailed estimate of it in his treatment of the last phase, where it belongs. Matthiesen had access to eight working notebooks, running from 1878 to 1914. Not a great deal of clarification of James's intentions is, however, drawn from this source.

One or two matters not accented by Matthiessen come to mind, together with what seems to me a real underestimation, based on imperfect analysis, of "The Golden Bowl." Matthiessen believes that James's twenty years' absence from America, during a period of crucial American social change, made him uneasy with the "multi-millionaire" Adam Verver. Do we not see, instead, in Mr. Verver, as well as in Maggie, James's recognition of a new American type? Surely some kind of maiming and distorting force, as well as increased powers of specialization acting upon basic American romanticism, aggressiveness, and naivete, reverberates through "The Golden Bowl." Mr. Verver and Maggie both are at first grotesques. They are at once far too powerful and far too infantile. Maggie must learn that love and "help" cannot be bought, or called in, and later neglected; that these things turn out to be dangers to face up to. Matthiessen states that the dynamics of the book are provided entirely by Maggie. The exact opposite is true. Maggie is reduced to impotence and fear when she tries to "go it" alone; to run everyone. It is only when Charlotte steps out on the terrace with her silent offer of help that Maggie is deflected from her crass, childish, and neurotic course. And behind Charlotte is the Prince's "humility" and delicate sense of balance and form. In this book it is the Europeans who "save" the Americans; it is the Americans who have become corrupted by power, and by "taste" pushed too far. Note should be made of Mrs. Assingham's extraordinary analysis, at the end of the novel's first part, of the relation between the four principal characters—an analysis securely based on the truth of modern psychology, and all done without benefit of Freud or Jung. James, in "The Golden Bowl," had come to the point where he could hear aright, in spite of "stock" pretenses, the whole hidden story of the human heart, including its minor "intermittences." The reader is led, through small truths, toward stern, prodigious human facts. He experiences, not minor interpretation, but comprehensive wisdom.

From one point of view, "The Golden Bowl," written in the same year (1905) as Debussy's "La Mer," is one of impressionism's triumphs. Both works are formal accomplishments "of magnificent scope" of that school. And the later James must be approached in the same way as one approaches music. Soon any surface oddity disappears. The center continually shifts, but the development of theme never stops for a moment and never errs. As in great music and in tragic life, the shifts are always toward the larger and unsuspected capacity, modulation, event; and toward a final major resolution.

James knew that democracy was diversity. To step into his world of Americans, Europeans, and every international combination of the two, is to find oneself in developing diversity. To read James we must follow "the silver clue . . . to the whole labyrinth of the artist's consciousness: his active sense of life." To understand James we must be the opposite of his "awful Mona Brigstock, who is *all* will, without the smallest leak of force into taste or tenderness or vision, into any sense of shades or relations or proportions . . . the thriftily constructed Mona, able at any moment to bear the whole of her dead weight at once on any given inch of resisting surface." The Mona Brigstocks, American or "international," should leave James alone. The non-Monas should go toward him without fear, if they have not already found him.

LOUISE BOGAN

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Best of Tennyson

THE TENNYSON that W. H. Auden gives us in the selection recently published (Doubleday, Doran, $3) is the Tennyson that Harold Nicolson asked for twenty years ago, a Tennyson disembarrassed of the largest and most popular part of his work. What is left is as characteristically good as the rejected part is characteristically bad, a very considerable canon of enormous skill and intense feeling. Admirers of Tennyson will agree with Mr. Auden when he says that the quality of the feeling is most often neurotic and most interesting when it is. Tennyson was an orphaned spirit; he was obsessed by the theme of desertion by a loved person and by the emotions of depression and despair that follow. And he was of the company of men—Mr. Auden mentions St. Augustine, Kierkegaard, and Baudelaire, and though he presses the Baudelaire similarity too precisely the comparisons are apt—who can raise their sense of personal isolation to a cosmic power. Certainly what makes "In Memoriam" a great poem is not, as the Victorians said, its mastery of large ideas but rather its involvement of large ideas with that bitter, childlike loneliness which we get in so many of its lyrics.

Truly admirable as it is, Tennyson's verse is not likely to be, for us, finally satisfying. Perhaps this is because we sense that it stands in some strange uncomfortable relation to its author. For whatever strict things we say about keeping our eye on the poem alone, we still want to feel, however dimly, that the poet stands strong behind his poem. And somehow with Tennyson we cannot feel this—it is as though his poems, dealing with the orphaned sense, were themselves orphaned. This may account for a tone which is not quite happy in Mr. Auden's introduction; the essay, written in admiration, is full of fine things, but it is more mocking and facetious than the occasion permits, as if Mr. Auden, in assuming the protective role of editor, feared that he might be identified with his subject. For the same reason that I should have liked more gravity in the introduction, I could wish that the volume had omitted its two satiric illustrations. Since one of them is the Beerbohm caricature, "Mr. Tennyson Reading 'In Memoriam' to His Sovereign," it gives me a good chance to say that I think Beerbohm's literary caricatures much overrated.

LIONEL TRILLING

Wanted: Equality

THE IMPORTANCE of "What the Negro Wants," a symposium edited by Rayford W. Logan (Chapel Hill, $3.50), is not due so much to the answers given to the question raised in the title as to the fact that it provides documentation on the race problem in the United States during a period of national crisis. It is obviously impossible for fourteen educated and race-conscious leaders of the Negro minority to state what the thirteen million Negroes really want in this country. The wants of Negroes, like the wants of other people, depend upon the conception which Negroes have of themselves and the degree to which their economic and social status accords with that conception. The question of what the Negro wants assumes importance at this time because the Negro's status in American life no longer satisfies the Negro's changing conception of himself. This fact is forcibly revealed in the essays forming this book. The editor of the University of North Carolina Press, who is evidently shocked by the demands put forward, thinks it necessary to take the authors to task for wanting for Negroes what the South, in his opinion, is not going to accord them, namely, *equality in the American community.* This is, in fact, what all the authors ask for despite the various standpoints from which they write. These various standpoints reflect the professional interests and political and economic affiliations of the contributors. Because of this fact the majority of the essays are on an ideological plane and fail to analyze the deeper sociological forces which are responsible for the change in the attitudes of Negroes toward their present status. The volume as a whole provides an excellent summary of the intellectual orientation of the majority of articulate and educated Negro leaders in the present crisis.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Tenth Anniversary

OF THE HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY LITERARY FELLOWSHIPS

Ten years ago Houghton Mifflin Company adopted, for the first time among book publishers, the principle of financing literary work by means of Fellowships.

Since 1935, when the Fellowship was established, ten books have been published under its sponsorship, among them GREEN MARGINS by E. P. O'Donnell, YOUNG MAN WITH A HORN by Dorothy Baker and THE GIANT JOSHUA by Maurine Whipple. During January we shall publish, under the Fellowship scheme, LOOKING FOR A BLUEBIRD by Joseph Wechsberg, a book as distinguished as any on this list, a book enlivening and sophisticated and wholly different from all the rest.

The Fellowship plan is intended to assist promising writers to become established. We require the outline of a plan for the book and a sample of writing. Not more than two fellowships will be given, each carrying with it an award of $2,400 payable during the succeeding year in monthly installments. Applications may be mailed to us any time during 1944 for the current award. Further information may be had by application to Houghton Mifflin Company Literary Fellowship, 2 Park Street, Boston 7, Massachusetts.

This year, in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Fellowship plan, we are offering a special award of $1,000, exclusive of royalties, for a book of poetry. The judges are: Katharine S. (Mrs. E. B.) White, an associate editor of *The New Yorker*, Horace Gregory, poet and critic, and Ferris Greenslet of Houghton Mifflin Company, former member of the Pulitzer Prize Poetry Committee. Applications for the poetry award will be received until March 1, 1945.

Gettysburg to Appomattox

NEITHER THE ENERGY nor the critical powers of Douglas Southall Freeman are in the least diminished in this third and last volume of his series, "Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command" (Scribner's, $5), which covers the period from Gettysburg to Appomattox. New material from recently opened sources permits the author to redress reputations and throw light on hitherto imperfectly understood phases of the last campaigns. This alone will make the volumes fruitful for those whose principal interest in them is their value as a historical record of the Civil War. Longstreet, together with Stuart and Ewell, has been traditionally blamed for the great Confederate defeat of 1863. This charge, Dr. Freeman proves, cannot be sustained. He also includes a critical review of the careers and characters of Hampton, Gordon, Pickett, Mahone, Ramseur, and others. As a narrative for the non-specialist, the book is perhaps a little prolix, though never laborious or tedious. Certain lessons stand out for the lay student of war. The whole period under examination was for the Confederates a period of declining command. The loss of Jackson was irremediable. Nor did the Southern command ever succeed in harmonizing the two contradictory theories of military organization which in this campaign, as in all such, obtained vehement support.

There were those, notably Toombs, who relied on heroic impetus, unceasing offensives, and diehard defense of every inch of soil. Their belief was that the weakness of the Southern industrial base and the scarcity of trained officers could be compensated for by sheer dash, exactly as the supporters of the militia idea in Spain believed. And as in Loyalist Spain, there were others, professionals for the most part such as Lee, who believed the war would inevitably be a long one and that solid organization and professional training were before all else essential. To some extent the first view lay behind the early demands for an immediate second front in this war, while the second reinforced the arguments of those who held out for the precedence of the North African and Italian ventures, as "training campaigns." In the fighting of May, 1864, and subsequent campaigns one sees the type of combat further depleting the higher field command. Loss of men and further reduction of the economic base by Sherman's raid were important causes of collapse, but the failure of the command to meet the demands of the field was another. Had the German army leaders of the Weimar period studied the Civil War they could not have learned this lesson more thoroughly: hold together an officer corps and you have the framework of an army. This is an enjoyable work of solid history. RALPH BATES

Bureaucracy Analyzed

IN A STIMULATING STUDY, "Bureaucracy" (Harper, $2), J. M. Juran appraises the effectiveness of federal operations and advises on means of improving them. Written in a quietly humorous, informal style, the book corrects many current misconceptions of government bureaucracy. Mr. Juran finds federal management less effective than it ought to be. But this weakness is not the result of fundamental defects in democratic government. Nor does Juran blame it on New Deal programs like unemployment insurance and the TVA. Government operations are hamstrung, he states, by antiquated legislation, impractical customs, and other ailments of expanding organization. Juran has been an industrial engineer in private industry and a high official in Lend-Lease and the FEA. He recognizes that the same management problems have characterized the bureaucracy of business and of government and argues convincingly that application of the scientific management techniques used by industry in streamlining its operations will produce similar advantages for government. Those readers who believe in the capacity of government to work for the people will find here a new direction for exploration. BROM WEBER

Geography and Politics

"COMPASS OF THE WORLD: A Symposium on Political Geography" (Macmillan, $3.50) is "intended to correct some of the basic misconceptions of political geography which threaten to confuse the minds and the plans of statesmen, soldiers, and the general public alike." The volume, which is edited by Hans W. Weigert and Vilhjalmur Stefansson, contains a valuable though haphazard collection of contributions to political geography by some of the foremost American and British geographers, and summarizes a few of the more recent geographical findings. Great emphasis is laid upon the problems of the Arctic. There is much interesting information on such subjects as Siberia's strategic importance and the oil resources of the Far North. Another informative chapter—highlighted by an excellent piece on post-war civilian aviation by the editors of *Fortune*—is devoted to the influence of air power on geography. The shifting balance of man-power is discussed intelligently. Unfortunately, the discussion is restricted to Europe and Russia. The reviewer was happy to see again Eugene Staley's now classical "Myth of the Continents," and a number of other authoritative articles by Edmund A. Walsh, Ellsworth Huntington, and James Fairgrieve. One famed piece reprinted here—Isaiah Bowman's "Geography Versus Geopolitics"—appears, however, strangely changed by the editor.

Although purporting to be a compass of the world, the book wholly neglects most of the really burning problems of modern political geography, some important countries not being mentioned at all. Whether the alleged confusion in the minds of statesmen, soldiers, and the general public will be alleviated by describing Pearl Harbor merely as a "supply base . . . relatively useless as a defense of our continent" may be open to doubt. It is also very misleading to isolate the element of distance from other military factors and to consider great circle routes as all-important because they are shortest—precisely at a time when modern logistics have enabled the American armed forces to maintain supply lines 56,000 miles long. Yet this criticism should not detract from the fact that the book is stimulating and informative.

STEFAN T. POSSONY

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VERSE CHRONICLE

Miscellany

THE mass production of poetry anthologies has been one of the minor abuses of our time. The good thing about Oscar Williams's yearly collections is that a poet can contribute to them, and a reader buy them, without feeling that he is lining the pockets of some racketeering editor. Williams's editing is far from ideally courageous and selective, but it is better than most. If his latest annual, "New Poems 1944" (Howell, Soskin, $3) includes certain items which can only be accounted for on grounds of war patriotism or poetry politics, it also contains many of the best of recent poems. It is on the whole a dependable survey of current verse.

Two poets who are missing from Williams's anthology and who are a little alike in temperament if not in quality are Babette Deutsch and Rolfe Humphries. I can see why Miss Deutsch was omitted. Though obviously the work of a kindly, civilized, and intelligent mind, the poems in her new book, "Take Them, Stranger" (Holt, $2) are to my taste too *sec* to be even mildly stimulating. But Rolfe Humphries ought to appear in any collection which is not —as "New Poems" is not—purely avant-garde. The poems in "The Summer Landscape" (Scribner's, $1.75) have a peculiar excellence: they are neat without being slick, and charming without being coy. It is true that Humphries, with his intimate and musical lyricism, is the kind of poet who was more admired in the twenties than after; but this is not his defect any more than it is his merit, and he is neither proud of his idiosyncrasy nor disgruntled by it.

As a matter of fact, it is only in superficial ways that Humphries diverges from recent poetic practice. To be sure, his metrics are fairly conservative, his attention to clarity is classical, and instead of projecting himself in terms of some impersonal mask or myth he says "I." Yet the anxiety out of which he writes is akin to that of all the wasteland generation; and in regard to language he is as much at ease in the modern colloquial style as Cummings or Auden.

> Time is of the essence. The crowd and players
> Are the same age always, but the man in the crowd
> Is older every season. Come on, play ball!

What I have so far written of Humphries sounds rather negative and defensive. That is because it is hard to define his special perfection without using words like "delicate," "exquisite," "chaste," "chiseled," "lucid," and "limpid"—words which would inevitably corrupt the impression. I will merely say that although I do not care much for those few poems in which Humphries wrestles—rather self-consciously —with his ego, I think pieces like For My Ancestors, From My Travels, and above all the metaphysical baseball poem, Polo Grounds, are as good as if they had been written by a resurrected Herrick.

To be a resurrected Whitman, Whittier, and Julia Ward Howe seems to have been the modest aim of Russell W. Davenport, ex-*Fortune* editor and Willkie organizer, in writing "My Country" (Simon and Schuster, $1.50). This

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is the poem which the publishers proudly announce wasn't written in a garret, and which the *New Yorker* says couldn't be worse if it had been written in a dinette. "My Country" is said to be selling 2,000 copies a week; and on the advice of Simon and Schuster it is being read aloud in family circles all across this broad land (as Davenport would say), from the Kennebec to the Sacramento, in office and factory and farm

> in barns and buses
> trailers and trains
> in homesteads and bedsteads and
> bandstands!

To quote the actual poem:

> America lives in her simple homes . . .
> In furniture for comfort not for looks . . .
> She lives like destiny in Mom who cooks . . .

But you know what she cooks. And in short the war has produced no worse abomination of inverted chi-chi and phony sunbonnet sentiment than "My Country." It's smart to be folksy! Let's turn to Marianne Moore.

In a very small book called "Nevertheless" (Macmillan, $1.25), Miss Moore prints seven recent lyrics, most of them having appeared in this magazine. One scrutinizes her work carefully to ascertain if it deserves its astonishing repute. It does: she is unique; and she is writing some of her best poems now. For the times, which are cruel to so many, are kind to poets like Humphries and Miss Moore, artist-stoics, whom the disasters of civilization only put more than ever on their mettle. Their aesthetic stoicism would appear irrelevant, even smug, if it were not accompanied by real performance in their art. But in Miss Moore's case, particularly, it is not only so accompanied but it springs, her wisdom, organically right out of the texture of her lines. So at the end of the title-poem she says,

> What is there
> like fortitude! What sap
> went through that little thread
> to make the cherry red!

having first earned the right to this pronouncement by virtue of the artful fortitude with which she has built up her little poem, word by word and image by image, into something indestructibly fine.

F. W. DUPEE

STAGE PLAYS

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MOST spectators will probably agree that "A Bell for Adano" (Cort Theater) is, so far, the most effective American play to come out of the war, and some part of its success is no doubt due to the fact that it does not attempt too much. I have not read the novel upon which the play is based, but it is obvious that the author did not plan an epic or hope to get into one evening the whole truth about either war or the men who fight it. He had, instead, a simple story to tell, and though that story has implications of the greatest importance, no attempt is made to force it to carry more weight than it can easily bear, and its simple action is not cluttered up with more or less irrelevant incidents introduced out of some mistaken notion that a good play about the war must somehow get in some reference to all its major aspects.

I confess that what I had read of John Hersey's novel did not much predispose me in its favor. The story, so I read, was concerned with the misadventures of a Civil Affairs officer who realized—as his superior did not—how much a conquered Sicilian village needed the ancient bell which the Germans had carried away. That suggested to me something a little precious and a little sentimental. But in the play at least, the bell, convenient symbol though it is, remains in its proper place, and what we get is not a merely sentimental tale but a moving and substantial story of the conflict between two men—one with a decent sense of the decencies for which we are supposed to be fighting, the other a blood-and-guts general to whom war is war—merely a question of our team against the other. This general never appears on the stage, and his influence is directly felt only twice—once when we hear him through a window bullying a peasant in the street below and once when his long arm reaches out to remove the officer whose humanity is bringing life and hope back to the village. But as the curtain falls it is still an open question whether all that decent men have been able to accomplish will not be undone by the ruthless arrogance of the general and his kind.

Paul Osborn, a practiced craftsman, has made a smooth dramatization which deserves the high praise implied in saying that no uninformed spectator would ever need to suspect that the story had been told before in another form. Fredric March, as the man of good-will, gives a performance of remarkable restraint and effectiveness; the rest of the company, performances generally very good indeed, though I did find it necessary to remind myself from time to time that real Italian peasants probably are in actual fact nearly as much like stage Italians as these seem to be. But perhaps the most significant thing about both the novel and the play is the seeming willingness of the public to take both the one and the other to its bosom.

Six years after the First World War was over New York audiences greeted "What Price Glory?" with an enthusiasm which could mean only that the ribald cynicism of that play expressed as the audience wanted someone to express its own not quite articulate reaction to the events through which it had just lived. Today, three years after we entered the present conflict, a corresponding audience would hardly be expected to be in the mood for a "What Price Glory?" but one might guess that it would find itself most strongly attracted to some expression of militant nationalism, to some tale of martial courage, or even to some representation of the crude horrors of war. Instead, it has chosen to acclaim a humane appeal that this war shall be made in actual fact a war of liberation rather than a war of conquest. If "A Bell for Adano" were a work of extraordinary power and hence capable of imposing itself, its success would mean less as a symptom. But for all its effective simplicity and sincerity it is hardly strong enough to demand more attention than the public is ready to give it, and its success must mean that it says what many want it to say. That many do want to have just these things said is a fact hopeful enough to be worth noting.

Billy Rose's "Seven Lively Arts," now housed in the elaborately refurbished Ziegfeld Theater, seems to me to provide about everything which can reasonably be desired in a spectacular revue. It is true that nothing now remains of an original intention to stress Art with a big A except two stunning virtuoso performances by Benny Goodman and a rather tame ballet in the classical style. It is also true that most of the entertainment is provided by the established stars rather than by any of the newcomers; but at least two of these established stars are at the top of their form, and Mr. Rose has provided spectacle with his usual lavish hand. Beatrice Lillie is still unique and still capable of making the gamut from *A* to *B* yield more variety than most performers can get out of what looks like a really extensive range; Bert Lahr can still make more and uglier faces than any two other comedians on our stage. The skit in which Miss Lillie appears as a highborn English lady who has learned out of a book how to talk to American soldiers in their own language is very funny indeed but no funnier than that in which she sings a waltz song and has nothing except herself to use as material. Mr. Lahr's rendition of a drinking song in the manner of "The Student Prince," is also hilarious, even though it was obviously suggested by his masterly rendition, some years back, of "The Song of the Woodman." Doc Rockwell's lecture on female anatomy will continue to be a high spot unless the police insist that the young lady who indicates the organs under discussion by means of an illuminated manikin must in the future make fewer embarrassing mistakes.

Films

JAMES AGEE

FRANKLY, I doubt I am qualified to arrive at any sensible assessment of Miss Elizabeth Taylor. Ever since I first saw the child, two or three years ago, in I forget what minor role in what movie, I have been choked with the peculiar sort of adoration I might have felt if we were both in the same grade of primary school. I feel I am obligated to this unpleasant unveiling because it is now my duty to try to review her, in "National Velvet," in her first major role.

So far as I can see on an exceedingly cloudy day, I wouldn't say she is particularly gifted as an actress. She seems, rather, to turn things off and on, much as she is told, with perhaps a fair amount of natural grace and of a natural-born female's sleepwalking sort of guile, but without much, if any, of an artist's intuition, perception, or resource. She strikes me, however, if I may resort to conservative statement, as being rapturously beautiful. I think she also has a talent, of a sort, in the particular things she can turn on: which are most conspicuously a mock-pastoral kind of simplicity, and two or three speeds of semi-hysterical emotion, such as ecstasy, an odd sort of pre-specific erotic sentience, and the anguish of overstrained hope, imagination, and faith. Since these are precisely the things she needs for her role in "National Velvet"—which is a few-toned-scale semi-fairy story about a twelve-year-old girl in love with a horse—and since I think it is the most hopeful business of movies to find the perfect people rather than the perfect artists, I think that she and the picture are wonderful, and I hardly know or care whether she can act or not.

I am quite sure about Mickey Rooney: he is an extremely wise and moving actor, and if I am ever again tempted to speak disrespectfully of him, that will be in anger over the unforgivable waste of a forceful yet subtle talent, proved capable of self-discipline and of the hardest roles that could be thrown it. (I suggest it jealously, because I would so love to make the films rather than see them made; but if only a Studs Lonigan for the middle period could be found—the two I will mention might conceivably overlap it—and inter-studio entanglements could so be combed out that both Rooney and James Cagney—from whom Rooney has learned a lot—were available, they could find in Farrell's trilogy the best roles of their lives; and those novels, done as they should be, could become three major American movies.)

There are still other good things about "National Velvet": the performance of Anne Revere as the girl's mother and of Donald Crisp as her father (except for their tedious habit of addressing each other as "Mr. Brown" and "Mrs. Brown," and some conventional bits of business which I suspect were forced down Crisp's throat); the endearing appearance (I don't suppose one can really call it a performance) of Jackie Jenkins; and a number of gently pretty "touches," mainly domestic, which may have been Clarence Brown's, who directed, or may have been in the script, or for that matter in Enid Bagnold's novel. And there are few outright blunders, like the silly burlesquing of one adolescent love scene.

Yet in a sense—the sense of all the opportunities, or obligations, which were either neglected, with or without reason, or went unrealized—almost the whole picture is a blunder mitigated chiefly but insufficiently by the over-all charm of the story and affectionateness of the treatment, by Rooney's all but unimprovable performance (I wonder only about his very skilful but stylized use of his hands in his impressive drunk scene), and by a couple of dozen piercing moments—which may have transfixed me exclusively—from Miss Taylor.

The makers of the film had an all but ideal movie: a nominally very simple story, expressing itself abundantly in visual and active terms, which inclosed and might have illuminated almost endless recessions and interreverberations of emotion and meaning into religious and sexual psychology and into naturalistic legend. But of all these reins, all of which needed so light, hard, clear a hand, they seem to have been conscious only of the most obvious; and they have bungled even their management of those. Far from understanding and valuing their story for all it is worth, they don't even tell its surface half well enough.

To take just two samples of this: the sequence during which the horse is trained for his race gives you little more than generalized pretty-pictures instead of a précis of the pure technical detail which must have deeply excited, instructed, and intensified the girl, and so could and should have done the same for the audience. As for the race and the immediate preparations for it, they are only the more sadly flunked because, again in a secondary, generalized way, they manage to make you half forget the fact by being quite fairly exciting. If the audience could have experienced what the girl experienced, with anything like the same razorlike distinctness of detail and intensity of action and of spirit, they would have been practically annihilated. But they not only never have a chance to identify themselves with the girl or her horse; they hardly even get a good look at them, during the whole course of the race. The jockeys, moreover—and again their horses—are not only not characterized, and play none of their professional tricks on each other or the amateur; by some horribly misguided desire to enhance the contrast between their mature masculinity and the heroine's frightened nubility, they are selected to look less like jockeys than like guards on All-American. Such neglect amounts to a dereliction, not of art, if Hollywood fears and bridles at the word, but of the most elementary common sense, which amounts to the same thing. If a man wrote a piece of music so full of chowf-chowf, people would hardly bear to listen to it (unless it were given some such title as "The Four Freedoms," or perhaps "The Seven Against Thebes"). But that is not going to make a flop of "National Velvet." I expect to see it again myself, for that matter.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

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Bach: Fugue in E flat ("St. Anne") for organ; Bonnet; V 11-8528, $1. Sonata in E minor for violin and figured bass (Peters Series 3, Vol. VII, No. 2) (for the first movement); Busch and Balsam; C 71582-D, $1. Toccata and Fugue in E minor for clavier Serkin (poor performance); C 71594-D, $1.

Beethoven: Quartet Opus 132; Budapest Quartet (badly recorded); C Set 545, $5.50.

Bloch: "Nigun" from "Baal Shem" Suite; Elman; V 11-8575, $1.

Corelli: Sonata in F for strings and organ; Fiedler Sinfonietta and Biggs; V 10-1105, $.75.

Debussy: "Gigues" and "Rondes de printemps" ("Images" Nos. 1 and 3); Monteux and San Francisco Symphony; V Set 954, $2.50. "En blanc et noir" for two pianos (a lesser work); Bartlett and Robertson (imperfectly recorded); C Set X-241, $2.50.

Dvorak: Slavonic Dances Nos. 1 and 3; Golschmann and St. Louis Symphony; V 11-8566, $1.

Handel: Hallelujah Chorus and *Behold the Lamb of God* from "The Messiah"; Braithwaite and Sadler's Wells Chorus and Orchestra (reverberant recording); V 11-8670, $1.

Hadyn: Symphony No. 103 ("Drumroll"); Heward and Hallé Orchestra (not a good performance); C Set 547, $3.50.

Mozart: Piano Concerto K 414; Kentner with London Philharmonic under Beecham; C Set 544, $3.50. Quartet K. 428; Busch Quartet (poor performance, poorly recorded); C Set 529, $4.50. *Batti, batti* and *Vedrai, carino* from "Don Giovanni"; Sayao; C 71582-D, $1. *Se vuol ballare* from "The Marriage of Figaro" and *Bei Männern welche Liebe fühlen* from "The Magic Flute"; Pinza and Rethberg (poorly sung); V 10-1104, $75.

Schubert: "Der Doppelgänger" and "Die junge Nonne"; Lehmann; C 71509-D, $1. Piano Sonata Opus 120; Casadesus (poor performance); C Set X-236, $2.50.

Strauss: "Blue Danube" Waltz; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V 11-8580, $1.

Thomas: Overture to "Mignon"; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V 11-8545, $1.

Vivaldi: Violin Sonata in D; Morini; V 11-8671, $1.

Wagner: Part of Act 3 of "Tristan und Isolde"; Melchior, Janssen, Columbia Opera Orchestra under Leinsdorf, Teatro Colón Orchestra under Kinsky (not all of Melchior's singing is agreeable to the ear); C Set 550, $5.50.

JAZZ: NEW PERFORMANCES

Wild Bill Davidson and Others: "That Da-Da Strain" and "Ugly Chile" (Commodore 546, $1). "That's a Plenty" and "Panama" (Commodore 1511, $1.50).

JAZZ: REISSUED PERFORMANCES

Duke Ellington: "Tiger Rag" (Decca 80048, $.75) and "Creole Rhapsody" (Decca 80047), in "Ellingtonia Volume 2" of Brunswick Collectors' Series (Set B-1011, $3.50).

And now Victor has issued a set (978; $3.50) which is another of the outstanding things of the year. Not, certainly, for the music—the Immolation Scene from Wagner's "Götterdämmerung," which is the grand climax of the entire series of the "Ring" music dramas, and the climax, therefore, also of the philosophical, dramatic, and musical bombast in them that many people find soul-shaking and some find laughable or unendurable. What makes the set outstanding is Toscanini's performance with the N. B. C. Symphony and Helen Traubel, which was recorded in Carnegie Hall after a concert three or four years ago, and is reproduced by the records in all its phenomenal beauty—the only defect being an occasional lack of cleanness in fortissimo, caused by overcutting. The recording engineers must be complimented and thanked for the balance that allows the orchestra to be heard clearly at all times behind Traubel's superb singing.

The "Götterdämmerung" music is on five sides of the set; and on the sixth is Toscanini's performance of the finale of "Tristan" with the orchestra alone. What about the Prelude?

CONTRIBUTORS

PATRICIA STRAUSS, wife of G. R. Strauss, a Labor member of Parliament, is the author of "Bevin and Co.: The Leaders of British Labor."

MICHAEL CLARK has recently returned from the Middle East, where he was *The Nation's* accredited correspondent.

CONSTANTINE POULOS, correspondent for the Overseas News Agency, has lived with the Greek guerrillas since last August. He entered Athens the day before the Germans left.

KAY BOYLE is a well-known novelist. Among her books are "Death of a Man" and "Armistice Diary."

LOUISE BOGAN'S books of verse include "Body of This Death" and "Sleeping Fury."

Letters to the Editors

COMPROMISE FOR PALESTINE

Dear Sirs: I am often asked for my views on the Palestine situation. The following is an attempt to express them briefly.

I have lived in Palestine for almost twenty-two years. I am the president of the Hebrew University, but what I am writing is not in the name of the university. The views expressed here are, however, shared by a number of men and women of standing, both in Palestine and elsewhere.

The problem is primarily how to give the Jews the chance of a larger immigration and at the same time take away from Arabs their fear of being swamped and dominated by large numbers of Jews.

My friends and I were glad to know that President Roosevelt said recently that both Jews and Arabs would be consulted before final decisions as to Palestine were taken. That, doubtless, will result in a compromise. The compromise we propose is as follows: political and numerical *parity* between the Jews and the Arabs in a bi-national Palestine which is to be part of a larger union consisting of four autonomous units—Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, the Lebanon.

We are convinced that both the Jewish and the Arab people can be won for this or a similar compromise. The leaders will be reluctant, and may want to rouse their people to revolt. But we are confident that they cannot succeed in this, because both peoples can, we think, be persuaded to acquiesce in such a compromise. If the attempt is made to convert Palestine into an Arab state or a Jewish state there will, we think, be war here.

As to Jewish immigration, which is the crux of the problem, our compromise—that is, the principle of parity—would provide that another 500,000 Jews, approximately, could be brought into Palestine. There are now over 500,000 Jews and over 1,000,000 Arabs here. The tempo of this immigration would be dependent upon the economic absorptive capacity of the country. The faster the Jews could help to increase this, the faster the immigration.

After this initial parity has been reached—one does not know at present how long this would take, the quicker the better—there would be a further steady, though limited, Jewish immigration in order to make up the difference between the Arab and the Jewish birth rate. The Arab birth rate is higher than the Jewish (2.7 per cent to 1.3 per cent).

If parity, thus attained, results, as we think it can, in peace and cooperation between Jews and Arabs, agreements as to immigration and settlement other than the purely arithmetical are thinkable. But this would depend, first, upon the proper achievement of parity, and then upon the cooperation and understanding attendant upon it.

As to Arab fears, we are convinced that they can be removed through the creation of the larger union of Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, and Lebanon. This would provide the wider background needed for giving a more generous answer to the Palestine problem than would be possible if the whole issue were restricted to the narrow confines of Palestine alone. In this union an Arab population of perhaps five million

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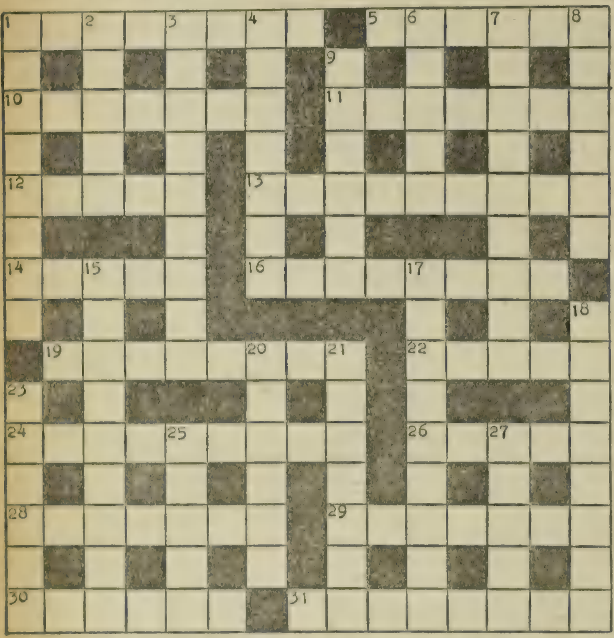
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 95

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Dye trouble in one of the states
5 They were indifferent to pleasure or pain
10 "Choice word and -------d phrase above the reach Of ordinary men" (Wordsworth)
11 Not lacking in affection, despite trouble attached to a symbol of it
12 That will do, Ted, for the time (hidden)
13 Animal, proverbially mad (two words, 5 and 4)
14 Sounds as though it might be good for the boat, but actually is the reverse
16 In Latin it often comes to absurdity
19 Purloin the summary
22 One of the movements of a sonata
24 There are two parts of a leg in this dish (two words, 5 and 4)
26 Proposal a Tory might follow in church
28 They revolted and burned Sardis in 500 B. C.
29 Instruction that might be expected to excite the musicians
30 Scene I (anag.)
31 Flayers

DOWN

1 The humorist seeks to attract Diana
2 Slate in its smallest form
3 Cannon balls, very warm after games of golf (two words, 5 and 4)
4 The red mare turns out to be a wool-gatherer
6 Wants a bit of stopping once it starts going
7 Not an original copy
8 Police inspector in a Hercule Poirot story who proved to be the murderer
9 This European capital does stand on a river, though you may not know it
15 Being knocked down by one is the height of something or other
17 Effect of exposure on an iron constitution
18 They learned nothing, and they forgot nothing.
20 Beheading this wakening word doesn't alter its meaning
21 It appears to be two birds!
23 The three parts of oratory
25 He is but a shadow of his former self
27 "The ----- that lit the battle's wreck Shone round him o'er the dead" (*Casabianca*)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 94

ACROSS:—1 POOH-BAH; [illegible] GARTERS; 9 IMPAIRS; 10 OYSTERS; 11 OMEGA; 12 ANNOYANCE; 14 ARTS; 15 PILOTED; 18 OOM; 20 YES; 21 BOUNCER; 23 SIZE; 26 INK BOTTLE; 28 BELLE; 29 IMAGINE; 30 CENTAUR; 31 GUESSES; 32 ROSEATE.

DOWN:—1 PRISON; 2 OSPREY; 3 BRIC-A-BRAC; 4 HUSSARS; 5 GROWN-UP; [illegible] RUSTY; 7 ETERNITY; 8 SUSPENDS; 13 MOO; 16 LAZYBONES; 17 EEL; 18 OBLIGING; 19 MUCKRAKE; 22 RUTGERS; 23 SPENCER; 24 ALPACA; 25 HEARSE; 27 OLIOS.

---

would be brought together. The Arabs of Palestine would not need then to fear, as they do now, domination by a larger Jewish immigration.

The Jews would be given the right to purchase land on the basis of parity; and what matters is that the settler, Jew or Arab, should be protected against being bought out by finance capital.

Politically there would be equal rights and duties for both peoples in the bi-national Palestine, somewhat on the Swiss model, with modifications appropriate to Palestine conditions. Several plans have been drafted for such an eventuality.

On condition that political peace could be established thus in Palestine itself, but only on this condition, it is likely that other countries of the larger union, more especially Transjordan, would want to have Jewish immigrants who could be of aid in the development of their sparsely populated lands. It should of course be clear that additional Jewish settlement outside Palestine would not be part of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. It is the Jewish National Home inside Palestine that was assured to the Jews by the League of Nations and the mandatory power, and not outside Palestine.

We assume that there is to be in the Middle East a regional body on which local governments as well as the United Nations are to be represented. This regional body would guarantee the political undertakings entered upon by the Jews and the Arabs, and this regional body would also aid in the economic and social development of the union of the four countries.

Both the Jewish National Home and a larger Arab union are historical necessities, no matter what the temporary setbacks either or both may suffer. The fate of each is bound up with that of the other; and perhaps Palestine may be spared the misery due to intransigent nationalistic rivalries if the whole issue is lifted to a wider political and economic plane.

The Holy Land of three religions is in deep need of a wise and peaceful answer to its problems.

J. L. MAGNES

Jerusalem, November 10

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

THE DARK CHRISTMAS OF 1944 WAS SPENT BY most Americans with soldiers in battle. And most Americans did some hard thinking about the meaning of peace and war. For the lightning thrusts of the Panzers had caught off guard not only the forces of our First Army but also a complacent public for whom the war was all but won. We would call our readers' attention to Charles Bolté's thoughtful analysis of the lessons to be drawn from this almost incredible reversal of military fortunes. This is a different sort of war—and we cannot say it too often. And if it is to result in the kind of peace we hope for, it must be treated as a different sort of war by civilians. We have no right to demand of our armies and our allies the genuine liberation of Europe unless we at home are committed with a single mind to the ends for which men are dying. Perhaps the shock of the counter-offensive will have the salutary effect of revealing to the American people how complete is their involvement in the war's outcome.

*

THE THOUGHTS OF EVERY ANTI-FASCIST THESE days are fixed upon the anti-fascists of Belgium, Luxembourg, and France, who for the second time during this war face the horrors of invasion. Nothing in the reports of the great German offensive has been more tragic than the descriptions of Belgians trying to climb aboard the retreating vehicles of the American army, asking Americans if they would not take them along, even to kill them, for they would prefer to die at their hands than at the hands of the Nazis. They know well that the Nazis, having learned that the population is 95 per cent pro-Ally, will now treat the people with a brutality that has no limit. And it will be difficult to forget the stories of old men and women in the towns and villages near Liège stealing through the dark streets to wash the walls clean of anti-Nazi slogans, while young men rushed to American headquarters begging to join the fight. The Allied commanders have rejected their pleas, perhaps because the confusion of the moment made it difficult to think of organizing civilians, or perhaps because of Anglo-American hostility to the movements of resistance which became clear everywhere after liberation. Here we come face to face with the major political problem of the past weeks. What are the Allies to do if the Germans advance further into Belgium and France and the support of the forces of resistance again becomes necessary? Is there any military leader with courage enough to appeal to the Belgians to fight at the side of the Allies after Allied tanks and soldiers turned their guns upon the people of Brussels demanding the right to keep their arms until the fascists had been destroyed?

*

AT THE MOMENT WHEN ALLIED ARMIES IN THE West are locked in decisive battle with the enemy, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden have flown to Athens. This dramatic and surprising move, whatever its consequences for the Greek people, clearly gives the lie to the opinion, still official in Britain, that the E. L. A. S. forces are a small minority of "ruffians," "gangsters," and Communists. The inadequacy of the British position became patent last week when the right-wing E. D. E. S., long recognized by Britain as the authentic Greek resistance movement and abundantly supplied with gold sovereigns and tommy guns, utterly collapsed in Epirus before the E. L. A. S. forces. Now the E. A. M. and its fighting branch, E. L. A. S., emerge as the only resistance movement in Greece and the actual masters of the country, for General Scobie's troops have only secured against the E. L. A. S. a small part of Attica. Faced with the total bankruptcy of British policy in Greece and with the bitter opposition of a large proportion of the British public, Mr. Churchill is obviously trying to salvage what he may. The Central E. L. A. S. Committee was invited to send delegates to take part in a meeting of political groups, over which Archbishop Damaskinos, who has no status in the puppet government, rather than Premier Papandreou, was asked to preside. The E. A. M. has won a great victory, and it may be hoped the political lesson of Greece will affect Allied policy in other liberated areas.

*

LAST THURSDAY AT A PRESS CONFERENCE Secretary Ickes told reporters that he had declined an invitation to speak at "an anti-Franco" meeting at Madison Square Garden on January 2. "I would like to express my opinion of the gentleman," Mr. Ickes said, "but because of my official position I do not believe that I should do so." We are awfully sorry not to have the redoubtable Secretary of the Interior at our great rally. He would add color, force, and the weight of his vigorous democratic opinion to the protest. But after reading his comment we are inclined to think that he has said his say pretty effectively, without overstepping official proprieties in the least or openly transgressing restrictions laid down by other departments of the government.

IN EARLY ISSUES OF *THE NATION*

Keith Hutchison is just back from England: next week he reports on "Britain—Sixth Winter." Hollywood is in the searchlight. John Grierson, distinguished documentary authority and head of the Canadian Film Board, contributes two articles: "Will Hollywood Help the Peace?" and "Movies Without Theaters." Dorothy Jones of Los Angeles writes on "The War à la Hollywood" and "Is Hollywood Swinging Left?" Also, in January, Nation *readers may expect articles by Stuart Chase, Carey McWilliams, and Sidney Hook.*

Franco Loses a Friend

FOR five years Lord Templewood, the former Sir Samuel Hoare, rendered Franco great service by helping him keep up the farce of neutrality before the world. At the moment of his retirement as Ambassador to Spain, His Lordship has at last rendered service to his own country and to the United Nations. Speaking in the House of Lords, he astounded his aristocratic colleagues with a description of how he, the representative of His Majesty's Government, was besieged by the Gestapo in Madrid. Some of his words are worth quoting: "I had many instances in my own experience of this non-military occupation. I had the Gestapo living in the next house looking over a wall watching every movement I made and constantly trying to suborn my domestic staff." And further, "I saw what was more sinister—how the Gestapo would seize some man or woman in Spanish territory and take them over the frontier to death or torture in Germany or one of the occupied countries."

By making these revelations after five years in Franco Spain His Lordship may have relieved his conscience, the conscience of a member of the British ruling class. But his frank statement hardly closes the matter. It still leaves room for a good many questions and for a good deal of analysis.

The first question that comes to mind is this: Did the Ambassador inform his government in due time about the undignified situation to which an envoy of a great and proud nation was subjected in a "neutral" country? If the British government was informed, how could the Prime Minister speak of General Franco as he did last summer, when he insulted the entire democratic world with his enthusiastic pro-Franco declarations in the House of Commons? Let us accept, if without any great conviction, the old argument that continued appeasement was necessary to keep Franco out of the war. Since 1943, when the military situation no longer allowed Germany to send an army through Spain, the argument of military expediency has been gradually losing any strength it may once have had. But, to be generous, let us pretend it was true; that the British and American governments were justified, on military grounds, in eliminating any chance that Franco might make conclusive arrangements with Hitler. The least we could have expected from a British Prime Minister who "had not come to preside over the dissolution of the British Empire" was enough imperial dignity to refrain from praising the man who allowed the British Ambassador to be treated as Lord Templewood was treated in Madrid.

The second question is this: Why did Lord Templewood, in recounting the activities of the Nazis in Spain, not tell the whole story of their operations within the Spanish police, in the Spanish radio systems, and in every department which could aid Hitler in his war against the Allies? Why did he say nothing about the work of German officers and Gestapo agents in the Spanish ports, where German submarines were launched in order to attack Allied convoys in the Atlantic and kill British and American sailors?

Perhaps he reserved the most exciting part of his story for the book he may be writing under the title, "The

Failure of a Mission"—the second in the series begun by Sir Nevile Henderson. In all justice, one volume should be saved for former Ambassador Hayes, the last chapter of which will eventually be written by Norman Armour, our new representative in Madrid, on the day he resigns. In that way the whole record of appeasement will have been transcribed by its protagonists, and later generations will learn to what depths of absurdity and hypocrisy Anglo-American diplomacy sank in its effort to save the social order so dear to Mr. Churchill, Lord Templewood, and Adolf Berle.

Everything that is now coming to light—and much more—has been told innumerable times by Spanish Republican leaders and in these columns. But the stories of Nazi penetration in Spain were dismissed as "pure leftist propaganda" by our State Department, and even some American liberals resented it when *The Nation* and a few other publications said exactly what is being said now by Lord Templewood. But if anyone has any doubt about Franco's position, let him follow the Spanish press and radio these days. Let him see with what joy they are commenting upon the German offensive in Belgium and France. There is only one policy for the Allies to follow: break off diplomatic relations with Franco at once. Therefore we appeal to all readers of *The Nation,* to every progressive in New York, to come to the mass-meeting for Republican Spain at Madison Square Garden on the evening of January 2.

Exit 78th Congress

AMIDST the grim news from the war and diplomatic fronts of Europe, the passing of the Seventy-eighth Congress provided one of the few notes of cheer in the Christmas season of 1944. It is not easy or safe to pass blanket judgments on contemporary happenings. Historians of the future may dispute the current judgment that the Seventy-eighth Congress was the worst since the Constitution went into effect in 1789. But certainly no Congress has failed more signally to meet the responsibilities and opportunities that have been presented to it. If it has avoided disastrous steps, it has done so by limiting itself to inaction and senseless wrangling, and because the President has intervened on several occasions with adroit vetoes of particularly dangerous legislation.

When the late Congress first assembled in January, 1943, five primary tasks lay before it: (1) enactment of an adequate man-power policy so that America might meet the rising needs of war production without undue disturbance to essential civilian output; (2) formulation of a sound program for financing the war as much as possible on a pay-as-you-go basis so as to avoid inflation and disastrous post-war readjustments; (3) strengthening the feeble legislative basis for the country's price-control and stabilization mechanism; (4) widening and strengthening the country's social-security provisions along the lines requested by the President; and (5) laying the groundwork for a comprehensive, long-range program for the provision of full employment in America after the war. Readers of *The Nation* will recall that these issues were stressed in its editorial pages at the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943.

Merely to recite the list is an indictment. For the Seventy-eighth Congress adjourned without having fulfilled any of these obligations. What man-power measures have been taken have been adopted without Congressional sanction. When the President specifically asked for a national-service act, the request was pointedly ignored. On the anti-inflation front the record of Congress is even worse. Repeated requests for a $16,000,000,000 tax bill ultimately led, after incredible delays, to the passage of a measure that at best was calculated to yield $2,000,000,000—and that meager gain was more than offset by two postponements in increasing the social-security tax. While failing to provide adequate finances, Congress repeatedly yielded to special interests and passed bills which, had they become law, would have wrecked the entire stabilization program. Although under pressure of Presidential vetoes it finally provided some funds for subsidies, these funds were inadequate to roll back food prices or to hold the line firmly enough to prevent demands for higher wages. Only the difficulties of obtaining agreement between the House and Senate prevented the enactment of a number of special-interest bills which would have completely destroyed the stabilization program.

Throughout its two years of almost continuous session, the Congress completely ignored the President's request for an extension and strengthening of our social-security system. The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, embodying most of the Administration's ideas, was never even accorded the courtesy of a committee hearing. Congress's general irresponsibility toward the war and the peace was demonstrated particularly this past fall by its refusal to make provision for the orderly demobilization of war workers and federal employees, thus encouraging the exodus of workers from war plants when it looked as if the end of hostilities in Europe might be near. Having killed the National Resources Planning Board, which was the one agency equipped to undertake long-range post-war planning, Congress blithely ignored the problems of demobilization and reconversion except for passage of the reasonably good "G. I. Bill of Rights" and an extraordinarily feeble bill covering the disposal of surplus war materials.

In its final session, just ended, the Seventy-eighth Congress did nothing to mar its unenviable record of inaction. Apart from passing a deficiency bill restoring crop insurance, and embarrassing the Administration by freezing the social-security tax, it accomplished nothing. The St. Lawrence Waterway project was decisively rejected in the Senate, while the bill authorizing $500,000,000 in post-war river and harbor development was allowed to die in conference after having been passed by both houses. Other vital measures, such as the provision of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission and the anti-poll-tax bill, were not even brought up for a vote.

Fortunately, many of the leading obstructionists in the Seventy-eighth Congress will not be members of the Seventy-ninth. The list of absentees is not as long as it might be, but there can be no question that the removal of men like Reynolds, Clark, Nye, Gillette, and Davis from the Senate, and Dies, Starnes, Kleberg, Fish, and Day from the House will facilitate serious consideration of the problems which the last Congress refused to face. The Democratic majority in the new House may be large enough to prevent reactionary Democrats and the Republicans from blocking Administration proposals without regard to their merit or urgency. The new Congress has a peculiarly difficult task. It must not only assume responsibility for the crucial domestic and international problems of the peace but discharge, as best it can, the responsibilities which the Seventy-eighth Congress refused to assume. We trust the lessons of the 1944 election will have been carefully studied and assimilated by its members before they assemble on January 3.

The Supreme Court and Racialism

WE FIND the weak handling of racial issues by the United States Supreme Court deeply disturbing. The majority of opinions in the cases involving anti-Negro discrimination by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers are unworthy of the court. So basic an issue called for the clear affirmation of fundamental constitutional guaranties. The opinions, while upholding Negro rights, were turgid, legalistic, and evasive. The cases called into question contracts between the Brotherhood and certain Southern railroads depriving Negroes of jobs and giving those jobs to white men. The right of the Brotherhood to act as an exclusive collective-bargaining agent derives from a federal statute, the Railway Labor Act. And the Fifth Amendment gives the Supreme Court ample leeway to end a situation in which this exclusive bargaining agent at one and the same time excludes Negroes from membership and bargains away their rights. Something more was called for than the court's two meek little sentences on the Negro issue: "Here the discriminations based on race alone are obviously irrelevant and invidious. Congress plainly did not undertake to authorize the bargaining representative to make such discriminations." The round-robin-hood's-barn reasoning of the majority merely serves to widen the area of judicial interference in labor contracts without strongly and squarely outlawing racial discrimination in such contracts.

The Nation is glad that one member of the court, Justice Murphy, spoke out manfully against the queasy attitude of the majority. "To decide the case and to analyze the opinion solely upon the basis of legal niceties," he said in his concurring opinion, "while remaining mute and placid as to the obvious and oppressive deprivation of constitutional guarantees, is to make the judicial function something less than it should be." Justice Murphy declared that "no statutory interpretation can erase this ugly example of economic cruelty against colored citizens of the United States" and warned that racism is "far too virulent today to permit the slightest refusal, in the light of a constitution that abhors it, to expose and condemn it wherever it appears in the course of a statutory interpretation." We note that Justice Black concurred only in the result. We hope he shared Justice Murphy's feelings.

We find ourselves equally disturbed by the Korematsu case in which a badly split court handed down no less than five separate opinions, one by Justice Black for the majority, a concurring opinion by Justice Frankfurter, and separate dissents by Justice Roberts, Justice Murphy, and Justice Jackson. The case involved an American citizen of Japanese descent found guilty of violating a military exclusion order in California. The case had difficulties obvious enough to discourage dogmatic lay judgment, but certain points made in the individual opinions merit closer public attention.

Justice Roberts made the point that Korematsu was actually subject to arrest under two conflicting military orders, one requiring him to stay where he was, the other requiring him to leave, and termed this "a cleverly devised trap to accomplish the real purpose of the military authority, which was to lock him up in a concentration camp." Justice Roberts thought the court should have addressed itself to "the actualities of the case," instead of setting up "a figmentary and artificial situation." Justice Murphy did not see why Japanese, like German and Italian Americans, could not have been given separate loyalty hearings. He pointed out that while the military argued the need for speed, "nearly four months elapsed after Pearl Harbor before the first exclusion order was issued; nearly eight months went by until the last order was issued; and the last of these 'subversive' persons was not actually removed until almost eleven months had passed." Justice Murphy says "there was no adequate proof" that the F. B. I. and military intelligence did not have the situation well in hand and points to the excellent record made by Japanese Americans. "I dissent, therefore," he said, "from this legalization of racialism."

Justice Frankfurter, concurring, took a middle position. He felt the military had ample power in time of war to do what they did but did not feel impelled to approve what they did; "that is their business, not mine." This judicial abnegation at least has the virtue of meeting the basic point raised by Justice Jackson's dissent. "Much is said," he declared, "of the danger to liberty from the army program for deporting and detaining these citizens of Japanese extraction. But a judicial construction of the due-process clause that will sustain this order is a far more subtle blow to liberty than the promulgation of the order itself. A military order, however unconstitutional, is not apt to last longer than the military emergency . . . but once a judicial opinion rationalizes such an order to show that it conforms to the Constitution . . . the court for all time has validated the principle of racial discrimination in criminal procedure. . . . The principle then lies about like a loaded weapon ready for the hand of any authority that can bring forward a plausible claim of an urgent need."

In the light of that sound observation, we shudder when we read in Justice Black's opinion, "It should be noted to begin with, that all legal restrictions which curtail the civil rights of a single racial group are immediately suspect. *That is not to say that all such restrictions are unconstitutional.* It is to say that the courts must subject them to the most rigid scrutiny. *Pressing public necessity may sometimes justify the existence of such restrictions;* racial antagonism never can." The italics, and the forebodings, are ours. We do not feel that these forebodings are made groundless by the unanimous ruling of the court in the

Endo case, and its dictum that "loyalty is a matter of the heart and mind, not of race, creed, or color." We are glad that the court freed Endo, a Japanese American of unquestioned loyalty, from detention, but we share the doubts expressed in their separate concurring opinions by Justices Murphy and Roberts and suspect that here again the majority evaded the basic issue. We fear that these Japanese cases are the thin edge of the wedge by which racial discrimination makes its first unmistakable appearance in American constitutional law.

Hard or Durable Peace?

ELSEWHERE in this issue, Oscar Lange takes exception to certain aspects of the "Plan for Germany" which *The Nation* outlined on October 7. Professor Lange is no extremist but an informed student of international affairs, a friend of the Soviet Union and an acknowledged liberal. We think his views deserve careful consideration. We do not feel, however, that they call for a modification of our position. Professor Lange is right in asserting that our first concern is a durable peace and the building of a stable international order; we believe that this is what most Americans are fighting for. A "hard peace," a "soft peace"—these are emotional and not definitive terms. They represent an attempt to transfer primitive punitive concepts from an individual to a collective application. Suppose we admit the collective guilt of the German people, does that mean that a "hard" retributive justice must be visited on all Germans alike—soldiers and civilians, men, women, children, and infants yet unborn, on rich and poor, on the Nazi functionary and the anti-Nazi prisoner whom he tortured? Such a retribution, while satisfying an understandable desire for vengeance, can hardly provide the basis of a lasting peace.

Let us by all means be hard where punishment can be closely related to the crime and the criminal. Let us seek out and punish with the utmost severity the Nazi criminals responsible for destroying democracy, for torturing thousands of their countrymen, for plunging the world into war, and for glorying in brutality the like of which the world has never before seen. And let the accusers and the judges be those who have felt most directly the scourge of Nazi ruthlessness.

But let us not abjure the very essence of democratic faith by indulging in racial myths such as Professor Lange suggests. In a sense fascism and Nazism represent a kind of "people's imperialism." (It should be noted that Professor Lange in his analysis names both Italy and Germany—two widely different nations. He might have gone on in his roll call of fascist-dominated lands.) For Nazism and fascism are phenomena of a revolutionary era, the toxic products of social disillusionment and economic decay. They are virulent in those countries where democracy is most immature and where primitive traditions of militarism are strongest. They have been most virulent in Germany, and therefore we admit that Germany deserves specially drastic treatment. But to lay the blame primarily on the German common people and minimize the role of the army, the feudal landowners, and the industrialists who financed the rise of Hitler as a bulwark against socialism is to distort history. And even with this powerful backing it is doubtful whether Nazism would have triumphed over popular opposition but for the refined terrorism of the police methods of a modern dictatorship. And beyond that, as every student of modern history knows, Hitler would not have got his way in Europe, would not, in fact, have been able to pitch Europe into war, had not the great democratic powers outside proved first complacent, then timid rabbits in their acceptance of his demands, revealing in the showdown that they dreaded communism more than they feared Nazism.

It is well to remember that fascism has roots and that it has flourished in many soils. Its eradication is only begun with military defeat and with those precautionary disarmament steps aimed to prevent new aggressions. Professor Lange's solution has a deceptive simplicity: Germany could be utterly destroyed and the roots of facism left undisturbed. In fact, if the proposed economic destruction of Germany should produce the chaos, mass unemployment, and industrial disruption which many envisage, we would not only have left the roots but tilled the soil for a new and more terrible fascist crop. And who then but our sons and daughters would be the victims of the "hard peace"?

What then is the alternative? We return to our original proposal. We believe that the last vestiges of the Nazi state should be destroyed, that all Nazi functionaries should be removed, and that there should be no temporizing with the pre-Nazi reactionaries who will doubtless come forward and offer their Darlan or Badoglio services in enforcing order. We believe that the power of the great German industrialists, cartelists, and landowners must finally be broken. We believe that Germany must be disarmed and kept disarmed by the combined action of the United Nations. This will not require dismemberment of Germany or the removal of its industries. The apparent security advantages of such measures would be offset by the necessity of long-term occupation and Allied policing, by economic dislocation, and by the "rise of frantic agitation on the part of nationalist groups interested solely in preparing the ground for a new war of 'liberation.'" Ultimately, Germany will be rendered "safe" only by the rise of its own democratic elements and by the rebuilding of a European community designed, not to perpetuate anachronistic monarchies or predatory economic tyrannies, but to serve the needs of the people themselves regardless of race or nation. And this European community will develop only if the United Nations remain united, pledged not merely to guard against new aggression but to cultivate a true democracy.

Alas, that the most recent revelations of Allied plans and practice give us little hope for democratic and economic renaissance after military victory. When it comes to settlement for Germany, we fear that it will be neither our plan nor Professor Lange's which will be adopted. For if our present policies hold, it will be anti-Nazi German workers who will be shot and "good" German reactionaries who will be installed by Allied arms. If this happens the peace will fail not because it is soft but because it is conceived and enforced by tories who have learned nothing and forgotten nothing since 1918.

The Counter-Offensive

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE German counter-offensive, as this is written on Christmas night, has been brought to a halt. Supreme Headquarters announces that the front has been stabilized; and presumably it is being very careful about what it says these days. The ending of the first phase of this astonishing German effort is a Christmas present to the United Nations from Allied soldiers in Western Europe.

The second phase may bring renewed German attacks; indeed, front dispatches reported Monday that the fighting was still fluid at the open end of the two thin salients thrust into Belgium and across Luxembourg. On the other hand, and with better luck, the second phase may bring American counter-attacks, either driving the enemy frontally back to his old line or, better yet, cutting in at the base of the salients and lopping off a considerable enemy force. It is too early to predict—and nobody has stomach for predictions any more—but the thing may be at least temporarily settled by the time this article sees print.

Meanwhile, what ever happened? How did this shattered army of a defeated nation rise up and scare the daylights out of us? Reconstructing as well as we are able, at this distance and after the event, we see the following:

The German retreat from France last summer was not nearly so disorderly as it seemed. Although several hundred thousand men were left in France or brought home wounded, a considerable enemy force landed safely in the strongest prepared defensive position in the world. The pursuing Allied columns ran out of gas just as they ran into the Westwall and its covering approaches; during the pause in which the Allies brought up gas, men, and ammunition, the Germans carried out their third total mobilization of the home front, scraping together several extra divisions which were under strength, deficient in mobility, and composed largely of under-age, over-age, and 4-F men, but which were quite capable of holding prepared positions with the weapons put in their hands. At the same time the German field armies were regrouped, some existing divisions being brought up nearly to normal strength and others put into the line considerably under strength but still capable of fighting offensive action. Finally, the direction of the German army passed from the hands of Hitler into the hands of capable generals of the General Staff.

This reorganization for war was probably completed at about the time General Eisenhower started his winter offensive toward the Ruhr-Rhineland and the Saar Basin. The reorganization was enough to keep the pace of the offensive down to a walk, but it became apparent to the German high command that this war of attrition could end only one way—with the Allies wearing their way through into one or both of these areas, either of which is vital to the war economy of the Reich. To save the situation, pressure on these two areas had to be relieved; and the German army, not strong enough to withstand that eventual pressure, was still strong enough to relieve it indirectly by mounting a counter-offensive elsewhere and forcing General Eisenhower to divert troops from the vital areas in order to repulse the counter-blow. A secondary objective was the disruption of Allied supply lines and the destruction of Allied supply depots, so arduously built up through the fall: perhaps, if the Allies were caught as much off balance as the German generals had reason to believe they would be, Liège itself might be taken, deranging the supply lines as far north as the British Second Army; or a salient might be pushed out to the Meuse from Namur to Sedan, causing a general rectification of the Allied line.

So a concentration of about fifteen rested and first-class divisions was effected around the key points Honsfeld, Viangen, Echternach, under cover of darkness, with horses doing much of the moving and with the usual German thoroughness in camouflage. Evidently this concentration was spotted by aerial reconnaissance, reported back to headquarters, and misinterpreted as a defensive grouping. Therefore the attack was a complete surprise—on what must have been the weakest sector of the entire Allied line

Before considering the course of the counter-offensive itself and of the measures taken against it, let us look at the reasons why surprise was possible. The tactical reason is given above—faulty intelligence or faulty interpretation of correct intelligence. The strategic reason would seem even more damning: apparently the Allies arrived in Luxembourg, looked at the hills, the forests, the bad roads, and decided that no advance was possible in that area. This is bad thinking in any situation, modern war being so capable of overcoming mere terrain; in this situation it is nearly incredible, for that is exactly what the French thought in 1940 when they looked at the same ground, and the Germans in 1940 came through exactly the same place, driving on through Sedan and winning the First Battle of France. The bad thinking, in fact is so incredible at this point that one looks deeper, for another reason why surprise was possible. The answer that suggests itself is psychological rather than military: our total underestimation of the strength, skill, tenacity, and resourcefulness of our enemies, not only the Germans but the Japanese. That underestimation starts, I believe, at the top level with the Allied war leaders and proceeds through General Eisenhower, SHAEF, the Pentagon Building, the press and radio, and the average American, ending at the bottom with your correspondent, who predicted in the September 2 issue of this magazine that organized German resistance would cease by November 15.

On the tactical, strategical, and psychological levels, therefore, we have committed the gravest sin in warfare. The only satisfactory or possible explanation of this state of affairs, it seems to me, is that we have made what may be called a historical error on a level more vital than any yet mentioned: we have, most of us, mistaken the essential nature of this war. Despite the protestations to the contrary of those of us who have seen this war as something more than a nationalist-imperialist war of conquest and counter-resistance, our thinking has been warped by the history of past wars, in which nations quit when they were defeated. Now we are engaged in a war in which nations do not quit when they are defeated, in which there is no such thing as surrender, in which fascism must either conquer the world or be itself utterly conquered.

This analysis, I believe, does much to explain the serious miscalculations of our high command. In any purely nationalistic war there would have been no miscalculations, the Germans would not have regrouped so effectively, there would have been no counter-offensive, there would be no sudden canceling of reconversion orders, no frantic attempt to remobilize the nation for war by asking the racetracks to close three years after Pearl Harbor, no last-ditch efforts to compensate for the lack of an equitable national-service act by a series of stop-gap measures. Having failed in our understanding that this war is a world revolution, we find all these things necessary: and we may well find even more unpalatable things necessary—long casualty lists, for instance.

Certainly the reports filtering through last week's censorship suggest long casualty lists. The enemy must have had local superiority on the scale of about three to one in the break-through area, with five or six panzer divisions to spearhead the attack. It was the old, unhappy German story: tanks coming into a village with the American gunners unwarned at chow, paratroopers in the rear zone shooting up headquarters and wrecking communications, enemy troops disguised as American soldiers, driving American vehicles, even dressed as civilians; tanks superior to our own in firepower, armor-plating, and silence of movement; the Luftwaffe, carefully hoarded for the occasion, out in force to cover the advance; and then rain and fog, keeping our aircraft aground during the desperate days and hampering our movement of reinforcements to the front.

Saturday's break in the weather, valiant resistance by American units cut off or threatened with outflanking, and the quick shifting of troops and armor from neighboring sectors have contained the counter-offensive at least temporarily; it has not been able to break out to north or south against our forces on the flanks; thus its real threat has not yet been realized. The hope now is for a counter-blow at the base of the salient, which might cut off and destroy thousands of enemy troops. That might indeed shorten the war, by further depleting the ranks available to man the Westwall; but we shall not even be able to guess about that until we know more of how far the counter-offensive upsets General Eisenhower's own arrangements for further offensive action.

Toward Imperialism

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 21

ONE of the minor mysteries of the State Department fight is whether the insurgent New Dealers in the Senate called off their filibuster after the phone call from the White House or whether they telephoned the White House themselves. The general impression is that they themselves telephoned, and that it was Senator Murray of Montana who insisted that the call be made. On Tuesday morning, the day the fight ended, word spread that the President had sent a telegram to Secretary Stettinius to tell Senator Connally to pass word to the insurgents that he wanted the new nominees confirmed. Both Senator Guffey and Senator Pepper felt that this indirect appeal gave them grounds to assume that their battle, at least in the case of some of these appointees, might not be entirely unwelcome. It was understood that James Clement Dunn was the choice neither of the President nor of Stettinius but an appointment made at the request of Hull. Guffey and Pepper felt that the President might not have been altogether displeased if they had mustered sufficient strength to force elimination of at least Dunn and Holmes. To telephone the White House, however, was to leave the President with no alternative but to ask confirmation of all the nominees.

It will be interesting to see what effect the Senate fight has on the political future of Henry Wallace. Wallace was at the White House yesterday, but no one seems to have been able to learn what occurred in his talk with the President. It would mollify the progressives to have Wallace given an important Cabinet post, and it is hoped that he may still become Secretary of Commerce. The job is now held by Jesse Jones, but Jones is said to be on the way out. Jones has made a new and powerful enemy in Sam Rayburn, who has been telling the President that Jones was one of the principal backers of the anti-New Deal revolt in Texas. At one time there was talk of enlarging the importance of the Commerce post by giving it jurisdiction over the foreign economic relations now handled by the FEA, but Jones's close ally, Clayton, has moved into a position at the State Department where he will at least supervise these activities. I am inclined to think that if Wallace becomes head of the Commerce Department, its jurisdiction will be somewhat reduced, not enlarged.

The deeper meaning of the whole Wallace affair may be read in the current and as usual secret negotiations which have just ended in the signing of a new tin contract with Bolivia. The trend of Administration economic policy in foreign affairs is conservative, and to give Wallace any real hand in the formulation of this policy would merely be to lay the seeds for another intra-Administration struggle like that which occurred last year between Wallace and Jones. The key to that struggle lay in the labor clauses by which Wallace and Milo Perkins sought to give Latin American workers some share—in the form of better wages and working conditions—in the profits of the companies from American contracts for the purchase of raw materials. Those clauses faced in the direction of active intervention by the United States to raise the living standards and buying power of Latin America. Jones and Clayton opposed them, and Clayton explained to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he did so because he did not believe we should intervene in the internal affairs of other countries.

Last fall the Bolivian government asked for a 10 per cent increase in the 60-cent price of tin, to be used to carry out the recommendations of the Magruder commission we sent there after the Catavi massacre. The commission recommended better wages and improved health, sanitary, housing, and educational facilities in the mining areas. The Bolivians argued, as Wallace has in the past, that such measures would increase the productivity of the workers. The State Department and the FEA offered a 5-cent increase on condition that the Bolivian government impose no new taxes, charges, or other costs that would "interfere with production," and Bolivia has been forced to accept the increase on those terms. This condition leaves the way open for the mine-owners to reduce output if increases in taxes and wages are imposed upon them and then appeal to the American government on the ground that the Bolivian government has interfered with production. Thus the condition imposed by our government represents the very intervention to which Clayton piously declared himself opposed, but this intervention is in behalf of the tin kings, not of the tin miners.

Little attention has been paid to this matter here but much in Latin America. There it will seem that we are directing the course of our economic foreign policy to the restoration of the old colonial relationship under which Latin America was primarily a source of cheap raw materials rather than a market for manufactured goods. This is the spirit in which big New York banks like Chase National and world cotton traders like Clayton put money into Latin America between the two wars. This is the policy implied when it is proposed, as it is by Clayton and the New York banking community, to have world trade expansion combined with governmental laissez faire. The cast of characters is in keeping with the plot. Clayton becomes Assistant Secretary of State in charge of foreign economic affairs, and a member of the Rockefeller family, which dominates Chase National, becomes Assistant Secretary for Latin American affairs. Joseph T. Rovensky, a vice-president of the bank and Rockefeller's principal adviser on economic matters in Latin America, was long a director of the Patino tin enterprises in Bolivia and may have resumed that connection when he left his job as assistant to the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Machado in the 20's and the Catavi massacre in the 30's symbolize this approach to Latin America. Imperialism is the soapbox word for it, and it is a good word. And I might add that it will take enormous pressure from popular forces in Europe and Asia to prevent us from adopting the same attitude toward their economic problems. I do not think it fits the needs of a full-employment economy, and I do not think it will raise the prestige of capitalist democracy in Latin America or elsewhere.

I am fully aware of the necessity for a coalition with internationalists of the right to achieve the establishment of a new United Nations organization, but this new State Department goes so far to the right that it may defeat the President's purpose. The economic policies indicated by Wallace's defeat in his controversy with Jones last year, by the new appointments, and by the Bolivian tin negotiations cannot but increase the undertow toward some form of socialism or communism in Europe, Asia, and Latin America—however "correct" the Russians in abstaining from propaganda and however well-behaved the Communist parties of the West. The tides of revolution are not propelled by leaflets. Relations with the Soviet Union will inevitably worsen as the masses, notably in our own hemisphere, turn left. The President's political problem is thus a double one; it calls for social reform as well as for concession to the right if the peace is to be durable. The obvious base for such a dual policy in the business world is among the business men immediately interested in mass sales of consumption goods, not among financial and raw-material groups who think in terms of low wages and high rates of profit. It seems to me equally obvious that a dual policy of this kind can only be achieved if we have an informed and militant progressive opinion on foreign affairs. To perform our task we must be neither blindly angry with the President nor blindly subservient to him.

In this context, remembering always not to cut off our nose to spite our face, it is important to keep the public as fully informed as we can of the men and the actions of this "reorganized" State Department. From a progressive point of view, it is worse than it was before, and the new nominees merely intensify a drift that set in months ago with the removal of Sumner Welles. Laurence Duggan, one of the few liberals in the department, Welles's protégé and head of the Latin American Division, followed him. Herbert Feis, not too effective but at least an enlightened middle-of-the-roader, also resigned. Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson, a corporation lawyer by trade but too liberal-minded for the department, is expected to leave in March, and there is talk of appointing Leon Fraser, former head of the Nazi-appeasing Bank of International Settlements, as an Assistant Secretary.

Yesterday, when Lord Templewood, formerly Sir Samuel Hoare, finally gagged on Franco and told the House of Commons the truth about Spain, Stettinius announced that H. Freeman Matthews, who was counselor at Madrid under Franco and at Vichy under Pétain and seemed to have no difficulty in swallowing both, was to be the new head of the Office of European Affairs. His friend and pro-Franco ally, James Clement Dunn, whom he succeeds, is to be Assistant Secretary not only for European but for Far Eastern, Near Eastern, and African affairs, quite a domain for Hull's gifted croquet partner. Leo Pasvolsky, sired by Brookings Institution out of Kerenskyism, is given new eminence as assistant to the Secretary in charge of international organization and security. The announcement that Michael J. McDermott is to remain as special assistant to the Secretary and department press officer, together with the wording of the new departmental reorganization order, indicates, as I suspected, that Archibald MacLeish will not handle relations with the press but will be hoisted into the innocent stratosphere of "cultural relations," while the old hush-hush policy continues.

What Peace for Germany?

BY OSCAR LANGE

AS THE defeat of Germany draws nearer, pressure is developing in this country, and also in Great Britain, to spare the German people the consequences of defeat. The demand is heard in many different quarters. A "Save Germany" camp is clearly in formation. Roughly, this camp can be said to be composed of three groups. The first consists of those former isolationists whose opposition to aiding Great Britain and Russia was based on the idea that Nazi Germany was useful as a bulwark against "bolshevism." The anti-Soviet basis of the pro-German sympathies of these people is quite clear. Another group consists of pacifists and moralists who believe that justice and order in international relations can be maintained by the mere assertion of abstract principles, without the sanction of power or the use of organized force. The attitude of these two groups could be expected. But a third is made up of liberals and progressives who have shown in the past an excellent understanding of the realities of fascism and Nazi-German imperialism. These persons are driven into the "Save Germany" camp by their sincere concern for a durable peace and a just and stable international order. They advocate a "soft" peace as a means of effecting the democratic regeneration of the German people. Behind this attitude there is the lingering idea that the Nazi regime is merely the product of the "injustices" of Versailles. The German people are considered unwilling prisoners of the Nazi machine, not responsible for or participating in its crimes. With the removal of the Nazi dictatorship, they are expected to accept the values of a democratic way of life, provided a "hard" peace does not drive them again into the arms of an anti-democratic leadership.

The argument of the liberal wing of the "Save Germany" camp is based on a misconception of the real attitude of the German people and on a faulty analysis of the social and historical bases of Nazi imperialism. Unlike fascism in other countries, the Nazi regime and its aggressive foreign policy have received the support of the overwhelming majority of Germans. During the first two months that the Nazis were in power, when legal opposition parties were still in existence, these parties—the Social Democrats and the Catholic Center—used the tribune of the Reichstag to declare their support of the government's foreign policy. That, unlike the anti-fascists in Italy, Austria, and Spain, they let themselves be destroyed without putting up a fight, showed not only the weakness of their leadership but also the masses' acceptance of the Nazi "revolution." All the famed efficiency of the Gestapo could not destroy underground resistance movements in Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, the Low Countries, and Norway. Even in Austria there was secret unrest. But no significant opposition was ever found in Germany proper. The invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 brought an upsurge of Communist activity in all occupied countries. In France this upsurge revitalized the whole underground movement. Germany remained quite unaffected. Such resistance to the Nazi regime as has recently appeared in military circles is entirely due to the realization that Germany is losing the war. The opposition is not to Hitler's plan of world conquest but to his inability to implement his plan successfully.

THE PEOPLE SHARE THE GUILT

Moreover, there is evidence that the Nazi idea of the "master race" ruling the world has won the positive approval of the German people, and particularly of those age groups which are now fighting the war and which during the next twenty years will be decisive for the future of Germany. In the first place, only a people giving full support to the government and its objectives could fight with such tenacity and self-sacrifice. A comparison of the fighting morale of the German and Italian armies makes this point clear. And secondly the unprecedented atrocities in the occupied countries—the mass murders, the cold-blooded extermination of the Jews—were not the work of "a handful of Nazi criminals." They required the direct cooperation of hundreds of thousands of men. Facts uncovered in the liberated areas of Eastern Europe, as well as reports of the underground in Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, show that the whole German administration participated, from provincial governors down to the lowliest civil servants. They all treated the people of the occupied countries as "subhumans," especially in Eastern Europe. The prevalence of this attitude receives further confirmation from German war prisoners, most of whom do not see any wrong in the atrocities committed in the conquered countries. The killing of Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians appears to them as natural as the extermination of rats or insects.

These crimes must have been known to the German people at home. And yet no voice was ever raised in protest. The churches did some grumbling about certain acts of the Nazis *in Germany*. They opposed the "mercy" murders of Germans and the sexual libertinism encouraged by the Nazis among the German youth. But they uttered no word of condemnation of the systematic extermination of the Jews or the mass murders of Poles and Ukrainians. One may plead in their defense that the ruthlessness of the Gestapo kept them silent. Gestapo threats, however, did not prevent the Catholic and Protestant churches in occupied France from protesting against Nazi inhumanities. Countless French priests risked their lives to save Jews from being sent to extermination camps in Poland. The conscience of Germany was silent.

Of course, after Germany is defeated, plenty of "anti-Nazism" will appear in Germany. But until the fundamental outlook of the German people changes, this anti-Nazism will not be a rejection of world conquest and domination by the "master race." It will represent, rather, a technical criticism of the Nazis' failure to attain the objectives of their policy and a search for a better method. Such "anti-Nazism" cannot serve as the foundation of a secure peace.

NAZI IMPERIALISM A "PEOPLE'S" IMPERIALISM

The peculiar attitude of the German people is explained by the specific social content of Nazi imperialism. Most of us think of imperialism as a policy of the ruling classes imposed upon the people through deception and propaganda. Imperialism, according to this view, is fostered by industrial and financial interests which use their governments to secure for them monopolistic control over markets and resources. Such, indeed, was the imperialism of the capitalist powers at the end of the nineteenth and in the first quarter of the twentieth century. If Nazi imperialism were of the same type, the German people might be expected to discover that they had been made to fight for their rulers against their own best interests.

Nazi imperialism, however, has different social roots. It is a policy pursued not for the benefit of a single class or a few classes—monopoly capital and the Junkers—but for the benefit of all strata of German society. Sociologically, we may describe it as a *people's imperialism.* It gives everyone a stake in imperialist expansion and conquest. And the rewards of conquest were actually distributed among all classes in Germany. German capitalists acquired capital assets in the conquered countries; military and civil officials got opportunities for advancement as a result of the extension of German administration. Business men were rewarded by expansion of their sheltered markets; managers obtained key positions in Europe's industries. German peasants, or their sons, were given land taken from its Polish or Ukrainian owners.

The German working class, too, shared in the fruits of Nazi imperialism. At first the expanding war economy provided it with employment. Later the importation of foreign slave labor brought about a general upgrading of German workers; theirs became the positions of skilled workers, foremen, and supervisors. If Germany had won the war, the German working class would have become the "master proletariat" of the world. Its relations to the workers of other countries would have been like those of white to colored laborers in South Africa. In the Kaiser's Germany imperialism was supported by the heavy industries and the Junkers. The working class, reared in Marxian traditions, opposed it in the name of democracy and the international cooperation of all working people. Now, however, the German working class has traded its earlier socialist ideology for the promise of becoming the "master proletariat." Of all the successes of the Nazis, this was the greatest.

This "people's imperialism" is a basic feature of fascism in general. It was prominent in Italian fascism, though Italy had no chance of becoming a world power and of carrying through its program successfully. Consequently, Italian fascism was unable to get the approval of the whole nation. Germany, however, had a real chance of becoming the master of the world.

Germany cannot become a useful member of the community of nations unless the idea of a people's imperialism is driven out of the minds of the German people. Our policy toward Germany must be designed to accomplish this purpose. It will not be served by a "soft" peace which saves the German people from the hard consequences of their imperialist ambitions. If the United States and Great Britain protect Germany from the wrath of the nations it has enslaved, starved, and murdered, the German people will believe that they can try the same thing again. They must be allowed to bear fully the vengeance and wrath of those nations they invaded; they must also be made to repair, to the utmost of their capacity, the damage they have done.

PUNISHMENT MUST PRECEDE REEDUCATION

The countries which suffered German occupation, particularly Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, and the western republics of the Soviet Union, have been ravaged to such an extent that even a defeated Germany may emerge from the war in a relatively improved economic position. It may turn out that Germany is the most prosperous country in Europe. This would be very dangerous because the German people would believe that the tenacity with which they supported the Nazi regime and carried on the war was worth while after all. The reparations exacted must therefore be sufficiently great to prevent the Germans from enjoying a higher standard of living than the peoples they have ruined. Moreover, international investment and development plans should give priority to the ravaged countries.

Nothing but the psychological shock of a very severe peace will induce the German people to give up their imperialist ideas and accept civilized standards of international cooperation. The problem may be compared to that of reforming a criminal who has consistently violated the standards of the society in which he lives. The first step is to convince him that crime does not pay. This has to be done by deeds which affect his well-being adversely, not by preaching. After that, it may be useful to call upon the chaplain or the Sunday-school teacher. Similarly, before we start to "reeducate" Germans, we must convince them that the fruits of aggression are bitter.

Even so, the reeducation of the German people in a new set of values will be very slow. A part of German youth will have to be considered "incurable" and deported from Germany. Many individuals, however, will escape detection. And until the new values of a democratic and peaceful way of life have been accepted by a sufficiently large majority of the German people, there will be danger that the "incurable" minority will take advantage of the political inexperience of the masses to win influence over them and start a new international adventure. Against such a possibility the world must be well guarded. Whatever the ultimate chances of "regenerating" Germany, it must be deprived of the means of starting a new war. We may hope to cure a lunatic. But if the process of recovery is a slow one, we must take precautions that he does no fresh harm.

Depriving Germany of the means of starting a new war implies the diminution of its strength as a nation. This will be effected partly through the territorial changes and consequent demographic readjustments demanded by Germany's neighbors. In addition, however, it is necessary to strike directly at the sources of the nation's military potential. Its internal economy must be revised under Allied supervision, and all industries which might serve war purposes must be removed. By means of an internationally financed investment program, it is possible to raise the industrial capacity, and hence the military potential, of the countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. Such a development, together with the industrial and demographic growth of the Soviet Union and the restoration of the power of France, will reduce Germany's relative position to that of a third-rate European power. The peace of the world will then become less dependent on the success or failure of German reeducation.

No contradiction exists between the two objectives of "reeducating Germany" and of providing security during the interim period. The measures needed to make Germany harmless will in the long run further its reeducation. The price the German nation must pay is of course enormous. But only persons indifferent to moral values will pity the criminal who expiates his crimes. When Germany finally "reforms," it will find itself in an entirely different world. It will be a relatively small nation, with no chance of ever becoming a great power. But great powers have been reduced permanently to the status of minor nations before now. Spain and Sweden are instances. Germany will have to adjust itself to a new situation. Historical changes are irreversible.

I Don't Take Sides

BY GEORGE H. GALLUP

I CAN think of nothing more beneficial than a full-dress Congressional investigation of all polls, with the press, the radio, and the people invited to attend. I have repeatedly urged this in the past for two reasons. In the first place, Congress and the country ought to become familiar with the technique of polls and their contribution to this government. Secondly, such an investigation should put an end to the misrepresentations and downright falsehoods which circulate about polls, particularly during election campaigns.

Nine years ago leading newspapers of the country helped to launch the polls of the American Institute of Public Opinion. It was recognized at that time that findings which dealt with highly controversial issues would be bitterly attacked. And they have been. Some criticism has been just and helpful. A lot has been unintelligent, even fantastic. Hitler and his stooges have consistently maintained that the Gallup Poll is a gigantic fraud, controlled and engineered by President Roosevelt to dupe the people. The Chicago *Tribune*, classing me as a rabid New Dealer, has implied that we were part of a nation-wide conspiracy working hand in glove with the White House. Huey Long's brother, Earl Long, stated flatly in the *American Progress:* "The Gallup Poll is a corporation tool pure and simple."

Now comes Mr. Ginzburg with his piece in the December 16 issue of *The Nation*. He doesn't charge that we are part of a national conspiracy, but he does claim he can see Republicans under our bed.

This is not a new charge. Since 1936 it has time and again been alleged that I have masterminded Presidential campaigns, in fact, masterminded the campaigns of two opposing candidates at the same time. May I say here that I have never read a speech by Roosevelt, Landon, Willkie, Dewey, Thomas, Teichert, Watson, or any other candidate in advance of delivery. Nor am I, incidentally, "a frequent house guest of Roosevelt" and responsible for supplying him with information to keep his popularity at a high point, as the Nazi-controlled Hamburg *Illustrierte* of Hamburg, Germany, stated not many months ago.

The latest of our critics is, I am sorry to say, guilty intentionally or unintentionally of some very careless reporting. It is regrettable, for instance, that he did not bother to check in advance his statement that I made an "off-the-record speech at the University Club in New York, about a week before the election," in which I am supposed to have said that Dewey had shown such gains as to assure his going over the top. If he had made a five-cent phone call to the University Club of New York, he would have found that I have not set foot inside the door of the place for more than a year. Furthermore, I never, anywhere, any time, made the statement Mr. Ginzburg alleges I made there.

In one part of his article Mr. Ginzburg said that the Gallup Poll made "during the closing weeks of the campaign" an adjustment for the "veracity" of the voters interviewed—an adjustment which in his opinion "appears fantastic." It *is* a fantasy. We made no such adjustment.

Both Republican and Democratic critics who charge us with political bias seem to start with the assumption that "if you're not for us, then you must be against us." They look everywhere for evidence of political bias but avoid the one place where the argument could be settled. *That is in the figures themselves.* In the 1944 campaign the Institute's final figures on the civilian vote showed a nation-wide error of between one and two percentage points. The average state-by-state error on the civilian vote was a little over two percentage points. This is one of the best jobs we have ever done, and in a year when dislocations of the voting population increased the difficulties of forecasting accurately election results in all forty-eight states.

Since 1935 the Institute has reported political sentiment in five national elections. In three of these it has overestimated the Republican vote. In two it has overestimated the Democratic vote. What is more, the average error on the Democratic side has been almost exactly the same as on the Republican side—four percentage points of error in favor of the Republicans, three and one-third points in favor of the Democrats. You can't make much of a case of political bias out of this record, unless perchance you regard us as chameleons who change political colors every two years. In this case at least one would have to admit that we distribute our political favors evenly.

Mr. Ginzburg and some other critics usually fail to mention 1942, because what happened that year destroys their case. In 1942 the Institute predicted that the Democrats would do better than they actually did at the polls. After

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this overprediction of Democratic strength, the Republican storm that broke over our heads was a glory to behold. Colonel McCormick's paper referred darkly in an editorial to charges of "deliberate falsification" designed to gather the " 'band-wagon' vote for the Democrats." This is the familiar formula.

When it comes to 1944, the chief bone of contention, or source of irritation, on the part of a small coterie is found in the question of turnout. If Mr. Ginzburg had been completely frank he would have admitted as much. The other points he brings up are mere side issues to this main one. To understand this issue you have only to go back to 1942. As already stated we overpredicted—by 3.8 percentage points—the aggregate national Democratic vote for Congressmen. Subsequent analysis indicated that virtually the entire gains scored by Republicans in Congress in that year could be accounted for by this one factor of turnout.

Although the Republicans hated to admit the validity of this point, New Dealers accepted it in its entirety. My friend and fellow Iowan, Henry Wallace, went to President Roosevelt with this explanation. The Democrats began to plan right then to do something about turnout in 1944. In fact, the P. A. C. centered its main effort on getting out the vote. A study by Professor Hadley Cantril of the Princeton University Office of Public Opinion Research confirmed our findings as to the importance of turnout, as did all the elections held between 1942 and 1944. From these studies emerged this one indisputable fact—that as turnout declines the Republicans tend to gain.

Evidence from the 1942 Congressionals, from state elections and special elections to fill vacant seats in Congress, showed that the Democrats tended to lose about one percentage point when turnout declined 8 to 10 per cent. In fact, only by making such an adjustment can the 1942 figures be brought to the right level. But having accepted in full the principle that turnout is important to their success at the polls, some Democrats now object very strongly to the fact that the same principle and the necessary adjustments to it were applied in the early days of the 1944 campaign at a time when all evidence pointed to a national civilian vote of 40,000,000 or less.

Such a turnout would require a downward adjustment of the Democratic vote by at least two percentage points, if the 1942 experience were to be heeded. And because the Institute has a perfectly natural desire to be as nearly right as possible in its election forecast, such an adjustment was made. After the New York City registration was complete in October, we published a revised estimate of turnout, with 45,000,000 indicated. Consequently the adjustment previously made for low voter participation was eliminated. This elimination would obviously have resulted in an automatic increase in the Democratic figure had there been no change of political sentiment in the electorate itself. Having made a successful effort to stir up interest in the campaign and get out the vote, some Democrats were obviously nettled because such a gain was offset by the increase in Republican strength shown in ballots received during October.

And now for future reference when controversies over polls arise again, I invite readers of *The Nation* to clip out and paste in their hats the following points-to-remember:

1. Every cent of our income is from a group of approximately 130 newspapers, which include a good representation of strongly Democratic Southern papers, as well as Republican and independent journals.
2. We do not work for any political candidate or party, and never have. We have not the slightest interest in who wins an election. All we want to do is be right.
3. We see no social value in predicting elections, but we regard elections as an ideal testing ground for new methods of opinion research.
4. We have urged a regular Congressional audit of polls. In addition to this we here and now suggest that the American Statistical Association appoint a committee to review at any or all times the methods and procedures we use.

Mr. Ginzburg Answers

DR. GALLUP confines himself to general protestations and to technical denials. He denies making his off-the-record speech at the University Club. But apparently he made some sort of speech, and its purport can be surmised from the following press dispatch: "New York, November 2 (NANA). After listening to George Gallup, head of the Gallup Poll, give an off-the-record talk on the election, a group of New Yorkers who wish to remain anonymous proposed making up to a $50,000 pool to be placed on Governor Dewey at three to one." Dr. Gallup also denies having made a "veracity adjustment," but does not deny having made the adjustment I described under that name. The name he himself used in talking to the Anderson committee was "adjustment for past voting preferences."

His protestations fail to meet the principal issue—why his Roosevelt-Dewey percentages remained unchanged after he abandoned the downward Roosevelt adjustment for expected low voting turnout. Was the abandonment of this adjustment compensated by an increase in actual Dewey strength in the raw figures, by the discovery of new anti-Roosevelt adjustments, or by both? That is what we want to know, and that is what Dr. Gallup has failed to reveal in any precise form. He told the Washington *Post* that the compensation came from (1) "slightly higher" Dewey figures shown by secret ballot tests and (2) "evidences of a Dewey trend." He now says that it came from "the increase in Republican strength shown in ballots received during October."

If there was a rise in Dewey strength in the unadjusted polls completely offsetting the abandoned turnout adjustment, then Dr. Gallup is in the clear, and no one will quarrel with him for originally using that adjustment when the outlook seemed to him to dictate it. But if Dr. Gallup switched to new and arbitrary adjustments to replace the one he could no longer use, then he is not in the clear.

Dr. Gallup had a chance to give the full facts and figures to *Nation* readers. He still has a chance to give them to the Anderson committee. He now suggests a "review" by a committee of the Statistical Association, but he has that already, since the experts with the Anderson committee are leading members of the association. In words Dr. Gallup has always welcomed investigation; what has hitherto been lacking is the physical readiness to disclose the facts and figures.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

IT IS TIME, we think, that the responsibility of the reader should be a little more insisted upon. He has a complete remedy in his own hands, if he did but know it. In other departments of artistic production he knows it and uses it without any hesitation. He does not get on his knees to theater managers and beg them to give wholesome and enjoyable performances, all the while tacitly conceding that he will go in any case. He does not beg painters to avoid producing meretricious or repulsive canvases, admitting that he will buy them just the same. If the play is bad, he does not show his face at it; if the paintings are lurid or hideous, he turns his back on them. But what does he do about the books which he does not approve of, or the newspapers which disgust him? Why, the simple soul buys them and reads them, and goes off to his club to lament the degeneracy of literature and the unscrupulousness of journalism. —*December 6, 1894.*

"LESSER QUESTIONS." By Lady Jeune. . . . The transformation which London society is undergoing is connected by Lady Jeune with the seclusion of the Queen. But the transforming influence, plutocratic rather than democratic, which brings with it a domination of tasteless luxury and display, is in the main not traceable to anybody's act or default; it is the dominant influence of the hour. Owing to various causes, mainly to the decay of their estates, the old aristocracy and gentry of England are passing away, and giving place to the lords of money, the smell of which, in whatever way it may have been made, is now sweet. —*December 6, 1894.*

MR. JUSTICE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES desires, as his father's executor, contemplating a possible Life and Letters, that any letters useful for this purpose may be sent to Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.—*December 13, 1894.*

THE FIRST DIRECT EVIDENCE that some of the money collected by Tammany as the price of its government went to Croker in person was brought out by Mr. Goff on Thursday. The president of a towing company, who has contracts with the street-cleaning department to tow garbage out to sea, testified that for several years he sent checks to Richard Croker in June and October of each year, as contributions to the expenses of Tammany's Fourth of July celebration and Tammany's election expenses. The usual amount was $50, but it was increased in one instance to $75 and in another to $150. He said he sent them to protect him in his contracts.—*December 20, 1894.*

ADVICES FROM WASHINGTON indicate that it is the purpose of the supporters of the Nicaragua Canal bill to press it through both houses of Congress, if possible, at the present session. . . . The supporters of the project estimate the total cost of the canal at $87,799,570. It would require, however, either a large measure of credulity or a very strong bias to enable a man of average intelligence to believe that the work would ever be completed by or for the government for that sum.—*December 20, 1894.*

Strange Homecoming

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

WITH the announcement by the army that it intends to lift the ban against the return of Japanese American evacuees to the West Coast on January 2, 1945, one chapter in the troubled history of this unfortunate minority has closed and another opens. The decision has been anticipated for over six months. For some time selected individual evacuees have been permitted to return to their former homes with the special permission of the Western Defense Command. By this means the Administration has been testing the reaction of people on the West Coast, and having satisfied itself that mob violence is not likely, it has finally decided to lift the one remaining restriction on the civil liberties of American citizens of Japanese descent. The announcement was made just twenty-four hours before the United States Supreme Court by a vote of six to three upheld the constitutionality of the evacuation program and in another decision ruled unanimously that Japanese Americans of unquestioned loyalty could not be detained in relocation centers.

On December 9 the Fukuda family returned to their home near Placentia, California. The father, a graduate of the Placentia public schools, is now again operating the fourteen-acre farm acquired by his parents more than thirty-four years ago. Contrary to the blood-and-thunder predictions of the Hearst press, the Fukuda family were warmly received by their neighbors in Orange County, neighbors who three years ago had been reluctant to see them leave. No sooner had they entered their home than friends whisked away the Fukuda daughters to practice the Christmas program of the Anaheim Lutheran Church.

When James Yamamoto, a forty-year-old farmer, returned to his berry farm near San José on November 20, a number of neighbors and former classmates were likewise on hand to extend their best wishes. The Hearst press, however, promptly sprang into action, reviving its familiar calumnies, rewriting feature stories of two decades ago, and predicting violence and bloodshed. The San José *Mercury-Herald,* on the other hand, in a front-page story defended the right of Yamamoto to return to his home and reported that sentiment in the district was favorable to him. And when Congressman Jack Z. Anderson complained that he had not been "contacted" by the army before permission had been granted Yamamoto to return, the San Francisco *Chronicle* tartly replied, "We are not aware that it is customary for the government, or the army, to 'contact' Congressmen when citizen property-owners in their district leave, or return. It would be odd to establish a rule that Congressmen are to be notified about the coming and going of residents in their districts."

These initial tests of West Coast opinion confirmed what informed observers have consistently maintained—that only a minority of West Coast residents are prejudiced against the evacuees and that the antagonism to them is largely synthetic. Rodney Brink, after completing a survey of West Coast opinion, reported recently in the *Christian Science Monitor* that opposition to the return of the evacuees was "fading." Even some of the diehard groups, such as the

California Grange, have begun to relax their traditional attitude against Orientals in response to mounting pressure from their members for fair play.

The policy of permitting individual evacuees to return has, to be sure, provoked some mild flurries. On November 10, in Bainbridge Island, Washington, an organization called the Remember Pearl Harbor League held a protest meeting, but it is interesting to note that the local newspaper, the Bainbridge *Review*, advocated fair play. Various groups in the state are circulating copies of a pamphlet by Lambert Schuyler entitled "The Japs Must Not Come Back!" in which the curious theory is advanced that the Founding Fathers never intended the constitutional guaranties to apply to citizens with "yellow skins." The Hood River Post of the American Legion recently removed the names of sixteen Japanese Americans from its honor roll of local citizens now serving with the armed forces, but the action promptly provoked a number of protests from Legion posts across the country. Threatening letters have been sent advocates of fair play in Oregon, Washington, and California; the Hearst and McClatchy newspapers continue to scream; such California Congressmen as Clair Engle, Jack Z. Anderson, and John Phillips, once a paid organizer for the Associated Farmers, have emitted the usual hisses; and in Los Angeles District Attorney Fred Houser waves the bloody shirt of intolerance; but except for these aberrations all has been quiet on the West Coast. Governor Earl Warren, once a strenuous "Jap" baiter and advocate of mass evacuation, has again demonstrated his political acuteness by suddenly blossoming forth as a stickler for law and order and a partisan of fair play. In view of the Governor's unfortunate speech at the Conference of Governors in Columbus, Ohio, a year ago, this new manifestation of concern for constitutional rights seems a spectacular quick-change performance.

There can be no doubt that during the last twelve months West Coast opinion has taken a decided turn in favor of the evacuees. Organized opposition to their return has in effect disintegrated. Accepting the army's decision as inevitable, the opposition forces have recently been cultivating a remarkable theory, of which more may be heard in the future. This theory was first advanced by Upton Close, who has become reaction's favorite hatchet man on the West Coast. Speaking at a luncheon in Los Angeles celebrating Bill of Rights week, by invitation of the California Newspaper Publishers' Association, Mr. Close suggested that the policy of returning Japanese Americans to their homes had been concocted by "Communist crackpot reformers" to "lure" the evacuees back to certain mass slaughter. As soon as a sufficient number of Japanese had been slaughtered, the aforesaid Communist crackpot reformers would raise the issue of "race prejudice" —which up to this time of course has not been a factor in the problem. The purpose of sending back the evacuees is, in Mr. Close's own words, "to destroy them, to make trouble, and to stimulate prejudice." In the creation of this particular fable Mr. Close has shown an inventiveness worthy of Hitler. If even one returning Japanese American meets with physical violence, the event will be blown up to mountainous proportions to reinforce the theory, and the editorial Big Berthas will be aimed, not at the instigators of mob violence, but at the "Communist crackpot reformers."

For their firm but tactful handling of this delicate question, and for their courageous determination to permit the evacuees to return to the West Coast, the War Department and the Department of the Interior are to be commended. Particular praise is due John McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, and Dillon Myer, head of the War Relocation Authority. It now seems reasonable to expect that most of the relocation centers can be closed in 1945. Of course not all the evacuees in the centers will elect to return to the coast, and it may be several years before all phases of the problem can be settled. But certainly the lifting of the ban indicates that the Administration wisely intends to liquidate the entire relocation program as rapidly as possible.

In the Wind

THE UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS, C. I. O., has applied to the Federal Communications Commission for permission to operate FM radio stations after the war in Detroit, Flint, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Newark, New Jersey. A statement of purpose filed by R. J. Thomas and George F. Addes, respectively president and secretary-treasurer of the union, said the U. A. W. will undertake FM broadcasts "to enhance the cause of our political, economic, and social democracy through affording to all groups and classes such freedom of speech and opportunities for discussion as to be unparalleled in the history of the radio broadcasting industry."

LITERARY CRITICISM: Elsa Maxwell writes in the New York *Post* of December 14, "Cole [Porter] is the Proust, Molière, and Verlaine of America."

F. F. McNAUGHTON, editor of the Pekin, Illinois, *Daily Times*, summed up the Greek situation in two brief columns. On December 12 he wrote, "Stalin came pretty close to taking over both Greece and Italy once before. Mussolini headed him off in Italy. John Metaxes (*sic*) headed him off in Greece. . . . It is too bad John Metaxes died." And on December 13 came the clincher: "Perhaps America is trying to force democracy onto nations that can't afford it. Democracy is a luxury. . . . Yet we insist that poverty-stricken lands like Italy, Greece, and Germany have democracy. . . . That would be silly."

CORRECTION: On December 2 this column stated that the 1943 survey of church membership by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was the first since 1926. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam informs us that a survey is published every year. It was also stated that the number of denominations had increased by 21.7 per cent. The Bishop points out that 97 per cent of all church members in the country belong to 52 denominations and that the remaining 202 denominations have only 3 per cent of church members.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

"Purely an Italian Affair"

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

ON DECEMBER 5 the new American Secretary of State, Edward R. Stettinius, announced that "the composition of the Italian government is purely an Italian affair," and that "we expect the Italians to work out their problems along democratic lines without influence from outside." If these words meant that President Roosevelt intended to grant the Italians the opportunity to work out their problems of government without outside influence, we should greet them with joy. Unfortunately, I am very much afraid that they meant something quite different.

On July 25 Premier Bonomi had announced officially, and accepted the fact, that Italy had become a British "sphere of influence." This could not have happened if Roosevelt and Stalin had not given the British government those unlimited powers in Italy which are implied in the term "sphere of influence." Because Albania had been recognized as an Italian sphere of influence, Mussolini was able to bestow its crown upon the King of Italy in 1939 without protest from London or Paris.

In his declaration of December 5 Secretary Stettinius said further that Italy was "an area of combined responsibility." A more comprehensive formula would have made clear that it was an area of combined *military*, not political, responsibility. There is only one brake on British initiative in Italy. The British government must "consult" the American government before taking any important step. Thus if the British government planned something in Italy which might arouse protest in the United States, the American government would be able to object in time and either obtain a change of plan or some procedure by which the chicken might be plucked without making it screech. Now that Roosevelt has become Lord Protector of the Pope, the American government, for that reason if for no other, must be consulted when an important question arises in Italy.

It seems that the British ambassador to Rome, when presented with the name of Carlo Sforza as possible Minister of Foreign Affairs, vetoed it immediately on his own initiative, and that his superiors in London, in approving of his decision, considered the matter of such small importance as not to merit consultation with the American government. The American government reacted by announcing on December 5 that it "had not in any way intimated to the Italian government that there would be any opposition on its part to Count Sforza." But it did not dispute the British right to veto such an appointment in a British sphere of influence.

As the New York *Times* explained on December 6, the Stettinius statement had no other purpose than to express the "resentment" of the American government "over the reported omission of the British government to consult or even inform us in advance on its stand against Count Sforza; it is held that as a member of the Allied Commission with Britain and Russia, this country was entitled to that courtesy and consideration." With equal lack of courtesy the American government, instead of communicating its protest privately, announced it publicly.

Greece too is an English sphere of influence. In the December 5 declaration we read that the American government's attitude of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries "would apply to an even more pronounced degree with regard to governments of the United Nations in their liberated territory." But American non-interference, far from preventing British interference, gave it unlimited scope.

According to the New York *Times* of December 8, Secretary Stettinius "again stressed our hands-off policy in respect to the internal politics of liberated countries" and "supported the position enunciated by Prime Minister Churchill to the effect that the Greek people had the right to decide what form of government they should have." The description of Churchill's position must have been meant as a joke. But that the American government follows a hands-off policy was said in deadly seriousness and is true—hands off for us, a free hand for Churchill. The New York *Herald Tribune* of December 8 also explained that "the American declaration of non-interference in internal Italian affairs was extended to strife-torn Greece." And again, on December 9: "On Tuesday, after the British government officially had opposed the projected appointment of Count Sforza as Italian Foreign Minister, the State Department announced a policy of non-intervention in Italy. On Thursday, following the outbreak of fighting between British troops and Greek partisans, it extended the policy to Greece."

As a result English soldiers are killing Greek citizens who want to have nothing to do with monarchy—a rather forceful way of supporting the theory of "legitimacy." The American government keeps out, but expresses the hope that the Greeks and the British will work together. Hope is the only sphere of influence which the United States has reserved for itself in Italy or Greece.

Returning to Italy, we note two facts which make the situation even clearer: (1) In some agreement which accompanied the two armistices of September 3 and 29, 1943, there is—we do not know in what form—a promise by Churchill and Roosevelt to uphold the royal house in Italy in exchange for the unconditional surrender of September 3 and for the rights given to the victors on September 29. (2) On October 14, 1943, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin jointly proclaimed the principle that "nothing can detract from the absolute and untrammeled right of the people of Italy *by constitutional means* to decide on the democratic form of government they will eventually have." In other words, this "absolute and untrammeled right" has to be

Second Warning

On August 12, 1944, I wrote in the Political War Section of The Nation, *under the title Warning: "In the summer of 1940, when most people believed that the battle against Hitler was lost, we proclaimed our faith in the final defeat of the Nazis. In the summer of 1944, when most people consider the Nazis already beaten and expect the war in Europe to end momentarily—even Mr. Churchill's speeches breathe optimism—we warn our readers that the enemy still has strength to resist. This is not paradoxical. It simply means that this war is not only a military but a political war. Military results may be influenced by political acts, and the power of the German army may be temporarily increased by the purge of half-hearted anti-Nazi generals and the total Nazification of the internal as well as the military structure. The fight between democracy and fascism is literally a fight to the death. It is too early to assume that the force of Nazi fanaticism is wholly spent."*

When I wrote these words, almost everyone was saying that the war would be over before Armistice Day, or at least before the end of the year. Unfortunately, the powerful German offensive which was launched ten days ago has fully justified my warning. People realize that now, but there is still a lot of wishful thinking and a lot of talk about "potential traps." My second warning is this: unless the entire strength of the Allies is thrown against the Nazis, and unless the Allies cease providing propaganda for the enemies of democracy—in Italy, in Greece, in Belgium, and elsewhere—we had better make up our minds that we shall still be at war on Christmas Day, 1945.

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exercised through constitutional means—that is, under the monarchical constitution, which means that it cannot be considered at all absolute or untrammeled. On the previous day Badoglio had issued a declaration to the effect that "at the end of the war the Italian people will be free to choose through elections the government they want." "Government" in Italian means "administration" or "cabinet," and not "form of government," such as a monarchy or a republic. But Badoglio's words were translated into English as if they affirmed the right of the people to choose their "form of government," and in their declaration of October 14 Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin pretended to believe that Badoglio meant "form of government," not "administration" or "cabinet," and accepted his promise. A diplomatic forgery! Thus the British government in upholding monarchy in Italy is not only acting in accordance with its rights in its sphere of influence but is remaining faithful to the declaration made by Badoglio, in Italian, on October 13 and to the proclamation issued by England, America, and Russia, in all languages, on October 14.

One who is aware of these circumstances must conclude that the Stettinius declaration of December 5, although it raised a great cloud of dust, served only to remind Churchill that the British government must not act in Italy without first consulting the American government. It left intact the basis of Anglo-American relations in Italy. Very wisely, the New York *Herald Tribune* of December 8 said that what we really need is only "a far better and more effective machinery for agreement than now exists," a "continuously functioning machinery of political agreement." Such is also Lord Halifax's opinion. On December 8 he said that "he did not believe there had been a serious misunderstanding over the political freedom to be granted in Italy and Greece," but that "in the future, there must be full consultation on all matters affecting America and Britain jointly. Thus the controversy may have the beneficial effect of strengthening and revitalizing Allied cooperation." And he gave the good tidings that "the United States and Great Britain have achieved substantial understanding on Italian and Greek political issues."

In Italy everybody understood what had happened. The Rome correspondent of the New York *Times* reported on December 9 that the crisis had "brought out the British determination to intervene, and led the United States State Department to make its memorable declaration of hands off internal politics of other countries." Hands off for America and freedom of intervention for Britain!

Black International

Rupprecht von Wittelsbach calls on the Pope,
Otto von Hapsburg has cropped up,
Royalist circles see vistas of hope
When Europe's republics are mopped up.
Hapsburgs are Holy as well as Imperial,
Their annals are old as their story is serial.

Family thrones they are ready to fill,
As presidents fall with their ministries,
From Chile, Bolivia, Peru, and Brazil
Flock claimants of dead and gone dynasties.
With Papal support (and a thumping minority)
Pretenders receive a high travel priority.

Wettins may sit upon Saxony's throne,
Zahringens flourish in Baden,
Württemberg-Brandenburgs get back their own,
When the tenant vacates Berchtesgaden.
The Third Reich is marked by exceptional brevity,
Hapsburgs rejoice in amazing longevity.

Monarchs may rise in the wake of the peace,
Wittelsbachs reign in Bavaria,
Sonderburg-Glücksburg find welcome in Greece,
Saxe-Coburgs inherit Bulgaria.
The Vatican offers a new opportunity
For public devotion and Catholic unity.

Ex-Bourbon-Hapsburgs in Spain may be found,
To match Lisbon's Hapsburg-Braganza,
Hapsburg-Leczinskis in Poland be crowned,
For that's what the Vatican plans are.
Catholic courts of antique consanguinity,
Rulers restoring the right of divinity.

Hapsburgs and Bourbons safe back in the fold,
Not to mention the reigning Sardinians,
Wettins and Wittelsbachs throned as of old,
In sovereign ducal dominions.
Princes and potentates east of the Rhine again!
Ex-Hohenzollerns are getting in line again!
Dukes of Saxe-Coburg, Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Meiningen!
Royalist circles begin to feel fine again.

SAGITTARIUS
(The *New Statesman and Nation*, London)

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

GERMANS enter into the mood of Christmas and New Years at the beginning of December. This year, for tens of thousands of persons in Berlin and in the country, the month of sentiment opened with the receipt of a letter containing a piece of paper on which this laconic message was printed: "Peace *on* earth and not peace *under* the earth!" (*Aftontidningen*, Stockholm, December 12). Shortly afterward, in Berlin and other cities, people found pasted on the walls of buildings one morning posters which said, "On December 11, 1941, Adolf Hitler declared war on the United States. In consequence we have lost Africa, Italy, Russia, Finland, the Baltic states, and the Balkans. Today the Americans stand on the Rhine, the Roer, and the Saar. Germany, awake!"

Of course we do not know the source of such campaigns. It is possible that they do not originate in Germany but in the Russian or Anglo-American propaganda agencies. In carrying them out, however, a certain number of Germans must have cooperated. And although only very sparse traces of any active opposition can be observed in Germany, news of this kind is leaking out more frequently.

The *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* of December 12 mentioned the discovery of an organization calling itself the Stalingradbund, and declared that the Hamburg police had posted yellow placards promising a 10,000-mark reward for information leading to the arrest of the leaders. The newspaper did not say what the Stalingradbund was or did, but the name indicates that it is a Communist organization. The Stockholm *Aftonbladet* reported, however, that its chief activity was circulating defeatist propaganda. A considerable quantity of illegal reading matter printed in some unknown place was found in the cellar of a gutted house in the Gänsemarkt, in the center of the city. "It consisted mostly of excerpts from Hitler's earlier speeches, as for instance the famous statement, 'Stalingrad will be taken; you can rely on that.' "

Ominous thefts of weapons have been occurring of late. An item in the *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten* runs, "Pistols have frequently been stolen from the holsters of members of the armed forces. These thefts took place in crowded street cars or at the Erfurt railroad station. They seem to follow a certain pattern, and it is obvious that under present conditions they imperil public safety. Suspicious-appearing persons should be turned over to the nearest policeman. Informants are promised rewards of up to 300 marks and that their testimony will be considered confidential."

To be noted, further, is the increasing number of disappearances among both soldiers and civilians. Many miners from the Aachen district, Lorraine, and the Saar basin have apparently fled to towns in the interior, but instead of registering at the local employment bureaus, they seem to have lived in hiding for months. The police chief of Ludwigshaven on the Middle Rhine published this notice on November 24: "All miners who have entered Ludwigshaven since September must report immediately to the Labor Office, where their present employment will be investigated. Failure to report and false statements will be severely punished."

A corresponding phenomenon in Berlin is described in the Stockholm paper *Nordens Frihet* of December 12. A Swede just back from Germany reports that about 65 per cent of the houses in Berlin have been destroyed and that about two million of the city's former four and a half million inhabitants have been evacuated. He then says: "Still in the city are tens of thousands of deserters, stragglers, and political refugees who have 'gone underground.' They live in ruins and cellars. How do they get money and, above all, ration cards? Often by robbing and raiding. In the daytime discipline still seems to prevail in Berlin, but at night only persons who are armed feel safe."

To return to Christmas, this year the "German festival," as Germans call it, will be celebrated in circumstances without a precedent for centuries. The sale of Christmas trees has been forbidden in order to save labor and transportation. The extra rations distributed in each of the other war years, which made possible a few regular meals and some Christmas cakes, have not been repeated this year. Few houses will be heated, for the coal ration has been fixed at 25 per cent of last year's, which was bad enough—and even this amount is in general only theoretically available since in most places the necessary coal shipments fail to arrive. "While last year," the Swiss *Appenzeller Zeitung* tells us, "the authorities asked people to give practical gifts, the admonition is now superfluous because hardly anything can be bought; even a toothbrush is a gift to be treasured. With wine sold only by the glass, and to heavy workers, and with liquor distributed only occasionally after air raids, there is almost nothing to create a festive spirit." In fact, the great majority of city dwellers, instead of sitting down to a feast during the holidays, will go as usual to the "communal kitchens" and eat the hated soup.

The lot of the children is an especially sad chapter. Most city children have been evacuated and live in some sort of camp. It was announced originally that they might all go to their parents at Christmas or their parents might come to them. But in the end these journeys were forbidden on account of the transport crisis. Last year the older children in the camps made simple toys for the younger ones. This year that must be omitted because the older children are all doing work farmed out by the arms industries. Christmas in camps will be marked by two events (*Dagens Nyheter*, December 14): each child will receive "a savings-bank book in which a few marks have been entered"—and an autographed picture of Hitler will be hung in each dormitory.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

By MARGARET MARSHALL

THE OLD MASTERS have been back at the Metropolitan Museum for some time now, but I have put off paying a call for all sorts of unimportant reasons, including the sound of the word museum. When I did go it was only incidental to a walk in Central Park, which in turn was merely part of a program to get the best of Sunday. So lightly do we take our treasures. There were, as usual, too many people, and of course there are too many pictures. But as usual, also, there was one for which all the others seemed, on this particular day, to be only prelude and setting. It was Tintoretto's "A Doge in Prayer Before the Redeemer," which seems, as Henry James said of a canvas by Bellini, to have been painted with molten gems. Look at it for a time and museum walls and visitors' chatter alike fall away; the scene itself floats in a higher air—somewhere between heaven and Venice.

When you have "seen" a picture in this way, you'd better not look at any others. If you leave quickly you can take it with you—and no other painting will seem quite good enough anyway, for you will have shot your bolt of response.

CONTEMPORARY ART has recently come into my life in the form of two canvases by Baziotes which friends were kind enough to lend me. It has been quite an experience. I brought them home in a cab, and of course the driver, having the tradition of New York taxi drivers to live up to, had to stick in his oar. He was on his way "back to the garage"—all taxi drivers these days are just on the point of going back where they come from and your destination is invariably out of their way—but he insisted on looking at the pictures and lingered long enough to tell me I shouldn't waste my money on such stuff.

It is, to say the least, very lively "stuff." Certainly it is not for those who think that art, so to speak, should be seen and not heard. I've been getting a rather mischievous and irresponsible pleasure out of the reactions they provoke —I can be sure of a vigorous reaction for or against.

One friend, who reacted against, was with me before Tintoretto. And she made it clear that she didn't see how anyone who was transported by Tintoretto could also like the pictures in my living-room. While a museum attendant eyed us suspiciously and hoped we'd break a rule, we agreed that the art of painting, after Tintoretto and all the others had finished with it, had, like a font of type, either to be laid away or broken up and melted down for a fresh beginning. Fresh beginnings are precarious, disturbing, sometimes false. They are also inevitable. And the plaintive question—which my friend, being intelligent, did *not* ask—"Why can't modern artists and poets write or paint like those of the past?" is foolish when it isn't vicious. Hate modern art and poetry if you like. But don't assume that your hatred of it is a sign that you are more sane, more honest, and more perceptive than the people who like it.

I didn't mean to return to this question—but what with the League for Sanity in Poetry getting more and more aggressive and the obscurity of modern poetry being raised in a Senate hearing on the fitness of a candidate for office, the question is by way of becoming a public issue.

I have had two long letters from members of the league. One of them is based on a misunderstanding of a very unobscure paragraph I wrote a few weeks ago—a misunderstanding so complete that it gave me added insight into the (anti) intellectual bias of this group. I said, for instance, that people who cry for a return to the past could as easily be taken in by a clever imitation of Wordsworth as *Angry Penguins* was taken in by the fake Ern Malley—which brought forth the ringing statement that "we do not necessarily hark back to Wordsworth though we do believe that the great tradition represented by Wordsworth . . . deserves something more than a spattering of mud from the critics of today"!

On second thought perhaps it *is* worth while making myself clear, in four easy lessons:

1. Wordsworth was a first-rate poet.
2. The world we live in is different from the world Wordsworth lived in, though there seem to be even more Philistines throwing their weight around, since more of them are able, as the saying goes, to read.
3. If Wordsworth were alive today he would probably, being a first-rate creative mind, be writing in the same "obscure" way as T. S. Eliot, Marianne Moore, and E. E. Cummings.
4. Any attempt to "write like" Wordsworth today would be just as phony as the "poems" of Ern Malley.

The second letter is an attempt at appeasement. This representative of the league is sure that without realizing it I hold the same view as the league. Obviously I don't, if only because I greatly admire the two poets for whom the league reserves its sharpest—and bluntest—knives, namely, E. E. Cummings and Marianne Moore. I shall not mention the league again.

LOUIS FERDINAND CELINE is now in Spain, waiting out the war. He applied for German naturalization—and was turned down.

A VERY CYNICAL NOTE is appearing in some of the current advertisements for whiskey. One shows a hall table loaded with hats, and the caption informs us that "it happens every time" he serves such and such a brand of whiskey. Another shows a gentleman outside the door conspicuously displaying a bottle of such and such a brand and asking with all the confidence of a gangster, "May we come in?" This is getting down to realities with a vengeance. Bringing one's own liquor became an accepted custom in the days of prohibition—and no questions asked about the brand. High prices have revived the custom. But hospitality will have come to a pretty pass if the butler is going to decide whether a guest is to be admitted or not on the basis of the quality of whiskey he has been able to pay for. This sort of thing can lead to serious abuses if not the disruption of social life. Your honest guest may have mortgaged his future to buy a good unassuming rye. The gentleman who got in by producing Napoleon brandy may be a ruthless social climber or a second-story man who had no scruples about breaking the law, set forth in such threatening terms on whiskey bottles and feather pillows, which forbids refills.

Bellamy's Utopia

EDWARD BELLAMY. By Arthur E. Morgan. Columbia University Press. $5.

IN THAT exciting time in our history—roughly from 1880 to 1898—which we have come to call the "Great Upheaval," two men, a continent apart, published two books which to this day color much of our economic and social thinking. In San Francisco Henry George wrote his "Progress and Poverty." In Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, Edward Bellamy wrote his "Looking Backward." Both men were free-lance journalists, well outside the walls of academic economics, but between them they have set more people thinking about the fundamentals of the "dreary science" than a standing army of professional economists.

They were writing when the frontier was closing, when large-scale organizations of industry and labor were in violent collision, when all the grass roots were stirring with revolt. Plain people everywhere, looking for a way out of the mess that was the status quo, went to these books with avidity, and a short time after publication both books became sensational best-sellers with steady sales which continue today.

The George thesis of land values has long since been accepted, though there is doubt in most people's minds that this is the single source of our complex economic ills. Interest in the more comprehensive "Nationalist" scheme of Bellamy's is renewed by the publication of Arthur E. Morgan's full-scale biography of its author.

Unlike George's, Bellamy's life was so free of incident that Mr. Morgan, former president of Antioch College, chairman of the TVA from 1933 to 1938, now president of Community Service, Inc., can sum it up in two chapters and devote the rest of his 420-page work to discussion of Bellamy's ideas, writing habits, the Nationalist movement, and so on. This makes mighty heavy going at times, as Mr. Morgan has apparently dug up every last book review or magazine article that Bellamy ever wrote, together with a mass of unpublished writings, and disregarding his protagonist's advice to cut everything to the bone, proceeds to discourse at windy length on any thoughts, however commonplace, which Bellamy ever expressed. At all events, no other biography of Bellamy need ever be written. If anything is omitted from this heavily documented book, Mr. Morgan assures us it will be found in his "The Philosophy of Edward Bellamy" (King's Crown Press).

Living the greater part of his short life—he was born in 1850 and died in 1898—in a dull New England mill town, the son of a cheerful Baptist parson and a tryingly pious mother, Bellamy was one of those lone-wolf, small-town rebels who hammer out their own philosophy without benefit of participation in the main streams of American activities. To be sure, after the publication of "Looking Backward" in 1888 he spoke at meetings of the many Nationalist clubs which were organized on the pattern of his utopian vision. For a short while as a youth he worked on the New York *Evening Post,* and there was an uneventful trip to Germany and another to Hawaii for his fragile health's sake, but for the most part his Chicopee study bound him.

America's outstanding Utopia has its characters looking back from the year 2000 with amazement at the way we are fumbling the chances for a good collective life which our unparalleled productive facilities give us. In Bellamy's happy future all hands are employed, and peace, plenty, and freedom are the order of the day. As Bellamy himself summarized it,

> The labor question so-called and all problems growing out of the division of labor and its results have been solved by the union of the entire nation in a general business partnership, in which every man and woman is an equal partner. The conduct of the industries, commerce, and general business of the country is committed by the national firm to a so-called army of industry, which includes all the able-bodied citizens, men and women, between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five, the intellectual and professional services being rendered by associated corps. All persons choose their occupations in the army of industry according to natural tastes and gifts, provided, of course, when there are too many volunteers for the needs for a particular branch that the fittest are taken. In order to equalize the attractiveness of different occupations, the hours of work in those which are more laborious or otherwise unattractive are shortened as compared with the easier and more attractive trades. . . . As all the members of a nation of today, whether able to fight or not, share equally in the protection of the army and the prosperity it insures, so in the nation of the year 2000, all alike, whether men or women, strong or weak, able-bodied or defective, share in the wealth produced by the industrial army, and the share of all is equal. This share, varying only with the general prosperity of the national business, is the sole income and means of maintenance of all, whether during active industrial service or after discharge from it.

Here, of course, was socialism without Marx, the class struggle, or the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the Christian Socialists recognized, who together with the Theosophists, the Populists, and all sorts and conditions of unattached liberals swarmed into the Nationalist clubs from coast to coast. It was an indigenous, homespun, made-in-Chicopee Falls socialism, and it caught the imagination of millions unwilling to struggle with the intricacies of the Marxist dogma.

Chockful of jokers though it is (Who shall decide on the "fittest"? What about the dangers of regimentation? What about malingerers? And today we might ask, What about totalitarianism?) "Looking Backward" is still worth rereading. The core of it, the full social use of our resources and productive powers is still sound in this second "great upheaval." For all its oversimplification it remains one of the most provocative books of our times. Until we find some adequate answers to the central questions which it poses, it is not for us of a confused and bewildered generation to call the book "dated."

MCALISTER COLEMAN

BRIEFER COMMENT

Ten Latin Authors

IT IS ONE of the misfortunes of the reasonably curious that so many of the books which should satisfy their desires are so dull. The unreasonably curious will plow through anything, even such a volume as "Contemporary Spanish American Fiction" by Jefferson Rea Spell (Chapel Hill, $3). But the mildly interested will hardly get beyond the first few pages. And that is a pity, for Professor Spell has labored long, and perhaps lovingly, to enable those who do not read Spanish to know something about modern Spanish American literature. His book is not too profound for the average audience. He has apparently read everything that his chosen ten moderns have written. The book has a bibliography which lists not only titles but also translations. It is an exceedingly useful job.

But it is very doubtful that this book will make a single convert to the cause of reading Spanish American fiction either for its own sake or as a way toward understanding Latin countries. In the first place, it takes the skill of a Charles Lamb to chew up another man's plots and regurgitate them in attractive form, and heaven did not so dower Professor Spell. In the second place, he has a way of turning over a man's work with one academic toe that damns it even when he seems eager to praise it.

Guïraldes of Argentina is famous, he says, but he can neither develop character nor weave a plot. Icaza of Ecuador is a reformer interested neither in people as individuals nor in form. Gallegos of Venezuela is little more than a stylist. Quiroga's work is slight. And so he goes with the ten authors on whom he has lavished years of study and the money from at least one university grant. One sometimes wonders why he bothered.

However correct Professor Spell's judgments may be—and this reviewer would quarrel with several of them—his book suffers from that curious ambivalence which afflicts so many of our countrymen who work with Latin American material. He loves the fiction he describes, and at the same time he disapproves of it. Its richness, its color, its lavish unrolling of scenes and incidents that are not ours attract him. Its formlessness, its emphasis on uncorseted emotion, its disregard of the standards of life and literature to which he clings—all this repels him. The net result is not happy.

MILDRED ADAMS

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NOTICE OF CHANGE OF ADDRESS

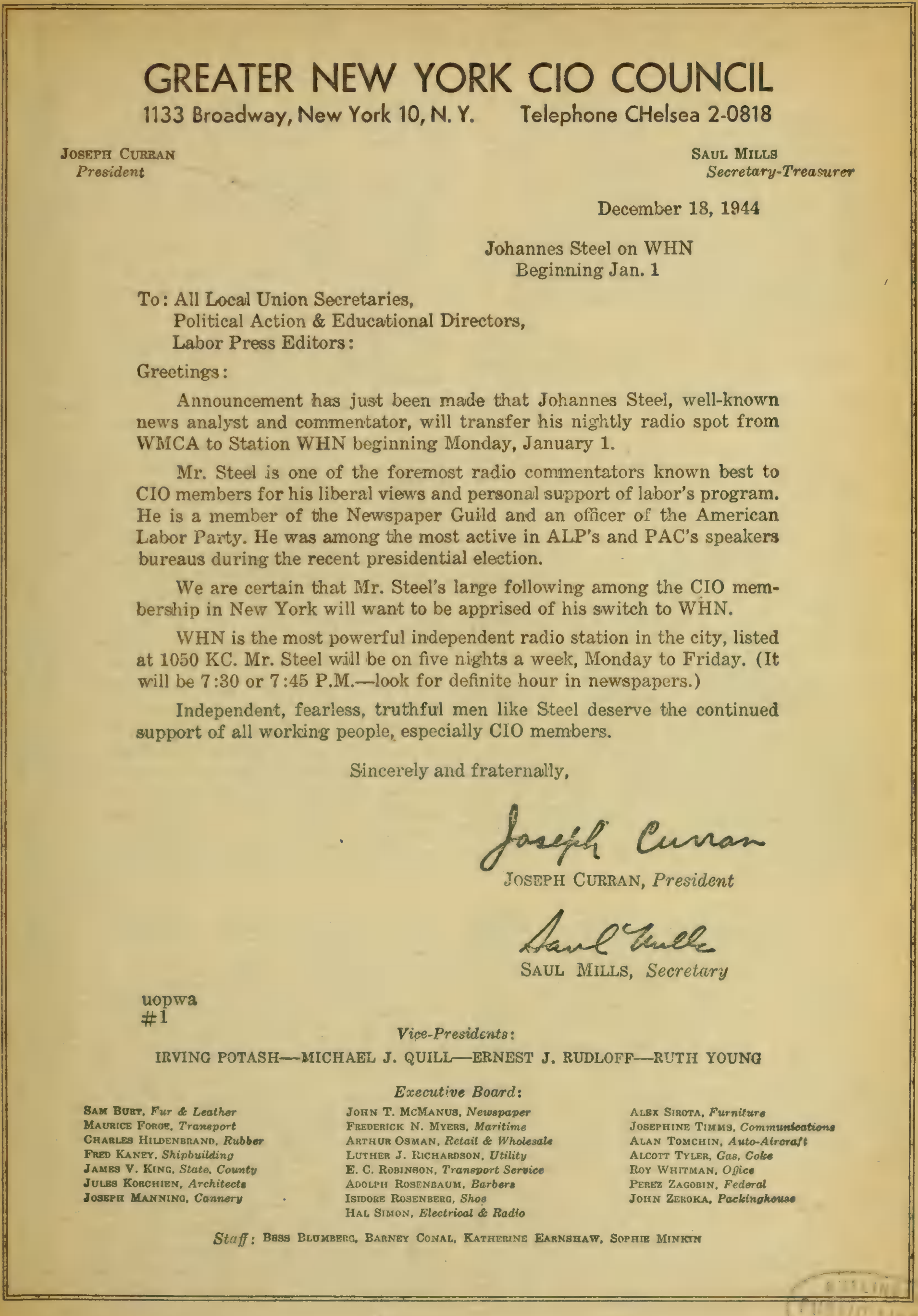
Nation subscribers should give at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

The Case for Naturalism

A SYMPOSIUM by fifteen American philosophers on "Naturalism and the Human Spirit," edited by Yervant H. Krikorian (Columbia University Press, $4.50), seems to have been conceived as a counter-weapon to buzz-bomb attacks relying for their explosive effect on charges of Aristotelian metaphysics mixed with Catholic theology. Naturalists have been accused by their opponents of peddling a disguised materialism which "reduces" man to the level of the lower animals, ignores the "higher values," and makes impossible a democratic philosophy founded on the inherent dignity and nobility of man. The more polemical sections of this volume, such as the essays by John Dewey and Sidney Hook in greater and others in smaller part, are concerned with replying to these charges. Naturalism is held to be simply the doctrine that nature is a self-contained system, for the knowledge of which scientific or empirical method has proved itself to be more reliable than intuition, revelation, or purely a priori reasoning. Even though human values and purposes have arisen out of conditions in which these were lacking or present in lesser degree, these writers repudiate the "genetic fallacy" of identifying the outcome with its antecedent. Man's nature consists of all that he is and can become.

The volume constitutes an effective retort in general terms to misrepresentations of naturalism, and also contains some careful analyses of special problems, notably the essays of Eliseo Vivas on aesthetics, Ernest Nagel on logic, E. W. Strong on historiography, and W. R. Dennes on metaphysics. It is weakest at those points where contemporary naturalism as a whole is least developed, including, unfortunately enough, the discussions of ethics and general theory of value, the salients upon which attacks by the opposition have been centered. Among the sources of these weaknesses are the influence of Dewey's peculiar version of behaviorism, an indiscriminate distaste for dualisms amounting to a phobia of the number "2," a frequent inability to discriminate science from pseudo-science, an as yet incomplete assimilation of the "humanities" and of religious symbolism to the naturalistic and empirical scheme, and a disproportionate emphasis on methodology at the expense of philosophical vision. To remedy these defects will in the long run be the most potent defense against intellectual reaction.

PHILIP BLAIR RICE



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December 18, 1944

Johannes Steel on WHN
Beginning Jan. 1

To: All Local Union Secretaries,
Political Action & Educational Directors,
Labor Press Editors:

Greetings:

Announcement has just been made that Johannes Steel, well-known news analyst and commentator, will transfer his nightly radio spot from WMCA to Station WHN beginning Monday, January 1.

Mr. Steel is one of the foremost radio commentators known best to CIO members for his liberal views and personal support of labor's program. He is a member of the Newspaper Guild and an officer of the American Labor Party. He was among the most active in ALP's and PAC's speakers bureaus during the recent presidential election.

We are certain that Mr. Steel's large following among the CIO membership in New York will want to be apprised of his switch to WHN.

WHN is the most powerful independent radio station in the city, listed at 1050 KC. Mr. Steel will be on five nights a week, Monday to Friday. (It will be 7:30 or 7:45 P.M.—look for definite hour in newspapers.)

Independent, fearless, truthful men like Steel deserve the continued support of all working people, especially CIO members.

Sincerely and fraternally,

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Average Member

ALTHOUGH ROSE PESOTTA has been an organizer and vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, she writes, in "Bread Upon the Waters" (Dodd, Mead, $3), from the point of view of the ordinary union member. Believing that continual office-holding in the union tended to remove a worker from the problems of the shop, the author recently refused to continue as a union officer and returned to the factory bench. Her book is largely a record of the feelings, conduct, and heroism of the average member, and it is one of the most enlightening volumes on labor published in recent years. She not only deals with the problems of organizing and maintaining unions of Chinese, Mexican, and Puerto Rican garment workers, she also discusses the early organization drives of the rubber and automobile workers in which she participated.

Miss Pesotta's book is full of little incidents which reveal more than pages of heavy analysis. She has a good eye, and she tells her story with interest and humor. The bitterness usually found in the pages of convinced or disillusioned Marxists is absent, and the most severe epithet hurled against an opponent is "henpecked." Not that she hides her feelings toward police who assault pickets, hostile employers, or Communist disrupters, but she avoids bitter name-calling and denunciation.

She describes the difficulties of building a union, winning a first contract, and maintaining the organization in the face of the lethargy and suspicion of new members and the jealousy and incompetence of officers. Snatches of history dealing with other times and problems are scattered through the book and help to put current developments in proper perspective. While the author respects the leaders, she is skeptical of attempts to paint the heads of her union as statesmen and great tacticians. Some of their success she attributes to ability, but much of it, she believes, is due to a favorable social climate. It is the rank-and-file member, the duespayer and picket, who is the hero of her story. "Bread Upon the Waters" is an important contribution to our understanding of labor. It is full of hope and dignity, and is a credit to the author and to the labor movement.

PHILIP TAFT

New Zealand's Way

"UNDERSTANDING NEW ZEALAND," by Frederick L. W. Wood (Coward-McCann, $3.50), is the best general book on the most remote and isolated of the British dominions since J. B. Condliffe's "New Zealand in the Making" (1930). This is saying a great deal, for New Zealand has been well documented of recent years. Professor Wood's achievement is to describe the country, its history, its people, its institutions, its experiments in social legislation, in such a manner that they all seem to fit together in the pattern of a nation. The significance of this will be more apparent to a New Zealander than to a foreign observer, for of recent years citizens "down under" have become increasingly aware of a separate nationhood and conscious that they are different, but without knowing how or why. Professor Wood provides a good set of answers—even though

BEHIND THE CRISIS IN CHINA—by Lin Yutang

Lin Yutang has accomplished what no American, and no Chinese of lesser stature, could have done. He has visited China, probed deeply into the bloody civil war between the Communists and Chungking, and returned with the first authoritative, dispassionate report to reach the American people. In it he reveals the full tragedy of the conflict . . . discloses facts, rigorously censored until now, that help explain China's present critical position. For the story behind today's China headlines read "The Civil War in China" by Lin Yutang in THE AMERICAN MERCURY for January.

WHY ENGLAND IS WOOING RUSSIA

In the Balkans . . . in Poland . . . in Iran, the British lion purrs softly to the Soviet bear as England lays plans to safeguard her empire. Why does England worry more about Russia's friendship than America's . . . how much will she concede to strengthen her Russian alliance . . . where will she draw the line? Let Andre Visson, veteran authority on foreign affairs, answer these questions and unravel for you many a puzzling diplomatic move. Read "Why England is Wooing Russia."

THE AMERICAN MERCURY—for January—OUT NOW

It is no easy task to select the "headliners" among the intriguing articles in the January MERCURY. *De Valera's Ireland* is a memorable portrait of a troubled land ruled by a puritanical idealist using totalitarian methods. *Poison From Europe* is Francis Rufus Bellamy's terse label for Fritz Mandl, sinister armament figure from Austria, now in Argentina — a menace to the peace of all South America. Philip Wylie's *Memorandum on Anti-Semitism* is a Christian's stirring analysis of Jew-hatred — the sickness that breeds it, the food it feeds on, the disaster it leads to. *The Astrology Racket* takes you behind the scenes of an industry that pulls $200,000,000 a year out of the stars and the public's purse. *This Was Ziegfeld* is a delightful profile from the witty pen of Bernard Sobel . . . Discover for yourself half a dozen other thought-provoking articles in the January MERCURY — plus George Jean Nathan on *The Theatre,* Alan Devoe's fascinating *Down to Earth,* Fiction, Books and Open Forum.

Mercury Authorship and Mercury Readership

Once again Mercury authorship and Mercury readership have proved themselves a combination that "makes things happen." When Emery Reves wanted to reach opinion leaders with his fresh and rather startling views on "How to Civilize Germany", he sent his article to THE AMERICAN MERCURY. Let Mr. Reves tell what happened after publication: "*. . . . newspapers commented editorially . . . some reprinted large portions of the article . . . a number of radio stations broadcast it. I heard that in an important government department it was the subject of lengthy discussions. One Allied embassy sent copies to its home office . . . another forwarded them to the nine governments in London, forming a committee to decide post-war policies toward Germany.*" What happened to the Reves article proves again what has long been recognized — THE MERCURY is the *magazine of opinion that makes things happen.*

Lawrence E. Spivak PUBLISHER

one would not agree with all of them—which should attract the American public for which the book was written; the answers are interesting and important in themselves, and the author's style is excellent and well sustained. Moreover, one gathers the impression that among students of social policy in this country New Zealand's program of social legislation and its extension of economic planning promise to attract as much attention in the future as Sweden's "middle way" used to do. Professor Wood's story gives support to New Zealand's claim to have reestablished a lead in social legislation, but his examination of recent policies and of depression programs before the Labor government took office in late 1935 is too much of the style of "on the one hand, but on the other"; so that he gives little indication of his personal views, and we still await critical analysis. The special student of these problems, of the general economic problems of a "dependent" economy exporting farm products to distant markets, or of the problems of adjustment facing the indigenous Maori people, or of those of education and culture in a vigorous but still security-minded people will want to pursue those matters farther in the authorities listed; but those with such specialized interests cannot do better than accept "Understanding New Zealand" as a preliminary assignment. I hasten to add that the book is not designed primarily for the specialist but for the general reader, who will be introduced to a land of great natural beauty and with a history of pioneering settlement in some ways as romantic as that of North America.

H. BELSHAW

CONTRIBUTORS

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GAETANO SALVEMINI was professor of modern history at the University of Florence until 1925, when he was arrested as an opponent of fascism. He is now teaching history at Harvard. His latest book, written in collaboration with George La Piana, is "What to Do with Italy."

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FICTION IN REVIEW

Genus Lost Generation

ALTHOUGH "This Very Sun" by Edith Heal (Crown Publishers, $1.25) is very short, scarcely longer than a novelette, its method is somewhat closer to the method of full-length than of short fiction; it is divided into chapters, and this regular division of the material permits the author more movement among her characters than is usual in a novelette. But judged even as a work of less ambition than a full-length novel, "This Very Sun" is difficult to estimate for its literary value because of a startling lack of connection between its matter and its manner. Perhaps when an author can write with as much authority and address as Miss Heal, she has the responsibility to write in a better emotional idiom. Miss Heal's manner certainly promises a more serious narrative than she ever produces, and a far deeper insight into character.

The prose of "This Very Sun" is rich, bold, untouched by cliché. Its people, on the other hand, while they present to the first examination enough surface eccentricity to pass as being freshly and powerfully characterized, are actually stale and unprofitable. Miss Heal's novel might be studied as proof that it takes more than the flashing of the facets of personality to add up to a fully rounded personality, and more than the knowledge of idiosyncrasy to excite the response we would give to truly created people. Perry K, the world-famous photographer running away from his own fat body; Burd, the arthritic non-writing writer; Justine, who loves Burd because he protects her from other men—all these are, I am afraid, regulation types, at bottom familiar specimens of the genus lost generation. Miss Heal sets her story in an Arizona resort town to which people come chiefly for their health. Yet there is no greater concentration of body and soul sickness in "This Very Sun" than there is, say, in the novels of New York or Chicago in which all the characters go to hell to the accompaniment of Bix Beidebecke; nor is the sickness any more meaningful. Despite the fact that there is no touch of hot jazz in Miss Heal's speech—for which we can only be grateful—the emotional idiom of her novel is very little removed from the idiom of the hot-jazz view of the disintegrating modern psyche.

There is a small passage in Miss Heal's novel which I think provocative. The writer, Burd, is having a fantasy about the novel he would like to write. It is about arthritics, and he is asked about the propriety of such a subject for fiction. Burd answers that since the "lungers" have had their magic mountains, why not the arthritics? It occurred to me when I had finished the book, not while I was reading it, that if, instead of allowing such a simple-minded understanding of "The Magic Mountain" to go unchecked, Miss Heal had herself—in private, I mean—at that moment thought through the significance of calling Mann's novel a story of "lungers," she might have preserved her own novel from being merely a story of neurotics. She might even have given it the dimension that comes from seeing sick people whole and in relation to society, as Mann does, instead of only in their sick spots.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

GIRL children who are subnormal or at least retarded must, I suppose, still occasionally turn up in the American family, but they are certainly being neglected by the playwrights of today. The female adolescent has recently become as familiar a figure on the stage as the bootlegger once was, but she is now invariably represented as a monster of sophistication, thoroughly conversant with both Freud and Marx, instantly prepared to undertake the settlement of all affairs either international or domestic, and apparently in the incipient stages of nymphomania. When fourteen- or sixteen-year-olds appear among the dramatis personae you may rest assured that they will be, not "Little Women," but little "women," or, if the literary allusion needs explanation, that they will seem less like the creatures of Miss Alcott's imagination than like immature specimens of the genus studied by Mrs. Luce before she began to devote her talents to the service of political idealism.

Perhaps it was a minor character in "The Philadelphia Story" which started the cycle and perhaps it was "Junior Miss" which established the formula, but we have had since then "Kiss and Tell," "Janie," "Violet," and now, latest but probably not last, "Dear Ruth," which has just started what looks like a successful career at the Henry Miller Theater. The piece is credited to Norman Krasna, and the mystery is that he has managed to make it amusing enough with no more than the minimum of variation upon what is very decidedly a familiar theme. Once more we have the sophisticated upper-middle-class household, once more the romance of a girl old enough to be taken seriously, and once more the meddlesome adolescent wise enough in the ways of the world to muddle the affairs of everyone else. This being 1944 it is inevitable that the young man who comes a-wooing should be an aviator just returned after the completion of his twenty-five missions, but thinking that up can hardly have imposed any undue strain upon the author's imagination, and there is nothing else in either the plot or the dialogue which seems to diverge any farther from the expected. Yet, as I have already suggested, "Dear Ruth" gets its laughs where it expects them, persuades the audience to take its romantic elements as seriously as need be, and in general glides smoothly along from 8:40 to 10:50.

One explanation probably is that the plot, for all its conventionality, is more dextrously managed than the plot of "Junior Miss," and that the dialogue, without being at any moment memorable, is full of gentle good humor even though it is seldom really witty. Another may be that the terrible child is played by Lenore Lonergan, who is not only an actress of considerable expertness and awkward charm but also one who ought by now to know how to play a role she played before in both "The Philadelphia Story" and "Junior Miss." Most important of all, perhaps, is the fact that the author successfully resisted that temptation to which the exploiters of already familiar material usually succumb, the temptation, I mean, to go their predecessors one better by making everything more noisy, more far-fetched, and more generally frenetic than it has ever been before. The curtain rises on an unusually inviting living-room, the father and mother turn out to be agreeable people, the young lovers are played by a very pleasant young man and young woman, even the terrible child o'ersteps not too far the modesty of nature, and the result is that one finds oneself wishing well to the whole enterprise. Neither my approval of "Dear Ruth" nor the apparent approval of the public will, I hope, encourage other authors to suppose that still more plays about over-clever adolescents are just what the American theater needs, but the latter might easily welcome a fresher subject treated with Mr. Krasna's skill.

"Dark Hammock" (Forrest Theater) is a would-be thriller which manages somehow to miss most of even the elementary excitement which might seem inseparable from the story of a beautiful woman who is caught lacing her husband's eggnog with a decoction of match-heads. Quite passable detective stories have been made out of material no more promising than this, but the author, having first taken the dangerous decision to let her audience in on the secret from the beginning, finds it impossible to keep the play from coming to a premature end by any method except that of endowing her amateur sleuths with a maddening obtuseness.

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

AN ESSAY ON WALT WHITMAN
By Lionel Trilling
THE DILEMMA OF T. S. ELIOT
By Sidney Hook

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

LANDSCAPE and still life are the genres in which painting since early in the nineteenth century has been most at home, particularly in this country. In their treatment of nature and the familiar, handled object, our minor painters found an inflection all their own, expressing a hesitancy, a delicate diffidence toward the world around them. The result was pathos, charm, domesticity; somewhat the same attitude produced somewhat the same result in English painting. But an art ambitious in any real sense must discard reserve and treat nature high-handedly, coloring it with more subjective emotion or imposing anthropological order upon it. Anglo-Saxon painting was usually not ambitious enough—yet achieved in compensation a unique lyric charm.

Marsden Hartley was half lyricist and half architect, then half *fauve* and half expressionist; this was his difficulty and the source of the unevenness for which he is blamed. The many different influences, impulses, and aspirations woven into his art sharpened these contradictions. Alternately or simultaneously he converted his means from Rouault, Ryder, Cézanne, Derain, Vlaminck, Segonzac, Courbet, cubism, Oriental art.

In 1928 Hartley wrote that he was renouncing "imagination." "I have lived the life of the imagination, but at too great an expense. . . . I have made the complete return to nature, and nature is, as we all know, primarily an intellectual idea." But intellect had always played a large role in his painting, though not in the way he imagined. Hartley's notion of modern art was that of stylization: impressionism, expressionism, cubism, abstractionism were for him so many different modes of stylizing, and his effort to stylize was deliberate—and characteristic of that sad misapprehension of "modernistic" art under which so many of the first attempts to acclimatize post-impressionist tendencies over here were made. Cubism, for instance, was taken for something decorative, to be *applied.* The organic, internal necessities from which cubism, and nothing else, had to issue were not felt.

Hartley was preeminently a man of emotion, and started from emotion. But he succeeded only when his applied aesthetic broke down and the emotion broke through—that is, when he kept his eye on the end instead of on the means. Yet even in his best work a final pressure is missed that could have come only from a higher spontaneity. A certain excess of feeling, which he could not quite handle in paint, sought its way out through an unconscious symbolism of stylized shapes that partook more of writing than of painting, where it seemed an unwarranted, unpainterly, too deliberate intrusion. It was not for nothing that Hartley wavered between poetry and painting. The sadder results of stylization can be seen particularly in his later figure pieces with their raw reds and hot blues, where design becomes arithmetical, stiff with symmetry, parallel verticals, and objects arranged seriatim in rows. Few of these strictures apply, however, to his still lifes, which are most free of stylization.

In Hartley's best work every color is successfully related to black—as in Rouault. After his early fling at the high palette of the later impressionists and of the *fauves*, he went to earth colors, prussian blues, dark grays, and blacks and chalky whites. He painted his strongest still lifes in earth colors, adopting the tonal keys and the massive simplifications of shape and value of Derain and Vlaminck. For a while during the last war he flirted with cubism and a kind of abstractionism, giving the latter a German accent and typically and almost completely misunderstanding both. But he soon returned to his dark still lifes and to monumental landscapes influenced, I think, by Segonzac and certainly by Ryder. He was never quite at ease in the landscape and made it too much a matter of architecture, which was wrong, because his gift was for the close at hand, the tangible, not for the ambiguities of space—or rather he could not organize space that he could not touch. Thus his still lifes show far more three-dimensional quality than he ever attained in landscape or seascape, where his habit of reducing the salient incidents of surface as well as form to drastically definite and monolithic silhouettes denied space by decorating it. Even the best of his open-air pictures—and some of them are very good—have a disturbing thinness; one wants something more under the paint surface itself.

There was in Hartley something of the seer and enthusiast in the William Blake line. He eschewed the oracular, but his art still seems to yearn toward an esoteric center. The stylization, the objects—the birds, fish—the archaic formalization—the carved clouds, hammered surf, modeled mountains—all hint at yang and yin, the cabala of fish, trees, and old shoes. The resemblances in Hartley's painting to Oriental art, more a question of spirit than of matter or influences, are not accidental.

Hartley died in 1943 at the age of sixty-six. The present comprehensive exhibition of his work at the Museum of Modern Art (through January 7) and the joint show at Knoedler's and Rosenberg's (through December 30) reveal him as of greater stature than one had thought. He was not a great artist, and, as I have said, he was radically uneven, but his reputation will grow as time passes. The limitations of the art are in some peculiar way redeemed by the large character of the man.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE great radio public hasn't heard "Fidelio"; and not only does it tend to think of what it doesn't hear as not worth hearing, but it has been told that the opera is one of Beethoven's failures. So it was a good thing for Toscanini to include "Fidelio" in his series of Beethoven broadcasts; though there is a question whether the public's ears were able to fight through its preconceptions to hear the wonderful expressiveness, dramatic force, and spiritual elevation of the music. Also there is the question whether a public accustomed to regard the staggering piling-up of *Leitmotiven* at the end of Wagner's "Götterdämmerung" as the highest development of operatic method is capable of appreciating quiet climactic sublimities like *Contessa, perdono* at the end of Mozart's "Figaro" or *O Gott! welch' ein Augenblick!* at the end of "Fidelio."

Some years ago the late William J. Henderson, in a week-end article about opera, contended that since it was a form of poetic drama it could have the best music ever written but would not hold the interest of its audience if it was not good theater. His example was "Fidelio": how often was it given; how much public approval did it get when it was given? And why? It had "one great vocal number, a scena drammatica for soprano, two good choruses which would be better placed in an oratorio than in a drama, and an overture which is one of the immortal masterpieces of orchestral music"—not enough to save a work with "one scene, no more, completely saturated with the blood of the theater."

But at that point Henderson still had two-thirds of his column to fill (the intellectual crimes that are committed by the journalists with space to fill, a living to earn!); and continuing with what had operated against good music drama he referred to the public's love of the exceptional singing voice—" 'Tristan und Isolde' entered upon a new lease of life when the public became emotional over Mme. Flagstad's Isolde"—and ended by contending that a new Caruso would bring back all the works with brilliant tenor roles. "For in the opera house there is and always has been a resort for those who do not take the drama in any of its forms very seriously and who find life more delightful when they can listen for a brief moment to beautiful sounds and not have to do any thinking."

We had, then, the contention that it is drama the public wants, and the contention that the public does not take the drama seriously and wants only beautiful singing; the contention that "Fidelio" fails because it is not dramatic, and the contention that "Tristan" succeeds because of a Flagstad. But actually "Tristan" had not been headed for the rubbish-heap before Flagstad's arrival; it had been one of the staples in the Metropolitan's repertory not only when it had been sung well by Leider and Melchior but in all the years when it had been sung badly by other sopranos and tenors. And it certainly had not held its place because Isolde's long narrative and her long verbal duel with Tristan in the first act, their long duet and King Marke's long monologue in the second act were exciting theater.

The English critic E. J. Dent once observed that the only thing which made a character in an opera convinc-

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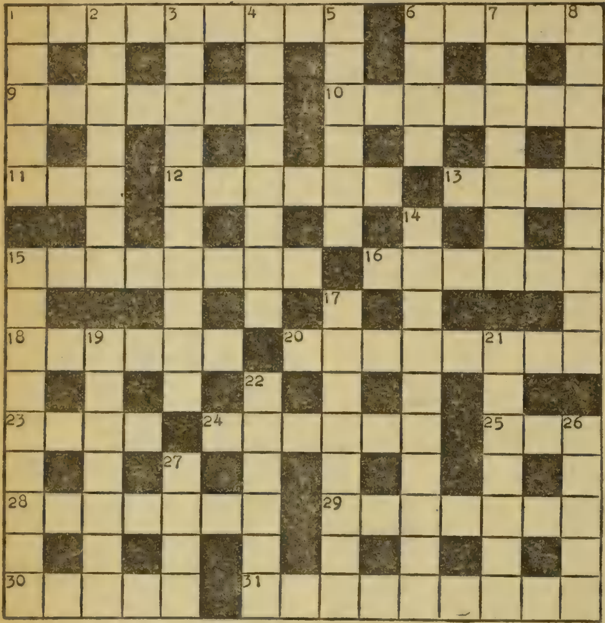
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 96

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Though no mathematician, he can make two into one!
6 Resembles a lark in plumage and a wagtail in habits
9 "Not I, Moe!" (anag.)
10 A pet, a mountain and an article for an American tree
11 Great god—he's dead
12 Important item in kit, etc., of traveller
13 Original man who had the makings of a mother!
15 Heartening
16 Autumn feed for the little horse?
18 Bathe and put me where I'm christened
20 It has taken wings during this war
23 You may take a boy to it, but you won't perhaps make him absorb it
24 Fabulous creature which, from the looks of it, wasn't very quick-moving
25 I rise to the right, and sink to the left
28 A term in clothing
29 Impress deeply
30 One of seven deadly sins
31 The agreement omits the place of agreement

DOWN

1 A peach might be—but never is in England
2 Proclaim with some weight
3 Brilliant—and don't leave the inside lying about
4 How the headmaster looked when he was caning me
5 Recesses—in the Hall of Fame, perhaps
6 It can't be too short for the golfer
7 "That very knowing, overflowing, easy-going -------, The Duke of Plaza-Toro"
8 One's fellow-players (hyphen, 4-5)
14 An African follows a Mexican card game in what was once part of Serbia
15 Proverbially heaven helps those who dine here
17 Giuseppe Verdi's American counterpart (two words, 3 and 5)
19 Not among those present
21 There'll always be one, the song assures us
22 Not a yes-man
26 "You may break, you may shatter the vase if you will, But the ----- of the roses will hang round it still" (Moore)
27 Lord, take a peek!

◆

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 95

ACROSS:—1 COLORADO; 5 STOICS; 10 MEASURE; 11 ADORING; 12 DOTED; 13 MARCH HARE; 14 AWASH; 16 REDUCTIO; 19 ABSTRACT; 22 RONDO; 24 CALF'S FOOT; 26 OFFER; 28 IONIANS; 29 AGITATO; 30 NIECES; 31 SKINNERS.

DOWN:—1 COMEDIAN; 2 LEAST; 3 ROUND SHOT; 4 DREAMER; 6 TOOTH; 7 IMITATION; 8 SUGDEN; 9 MADRID; 15 AMBULANCE; 17 CORROSION; 18 BOURBONS; 20 AROUSE; 21 TITLARK; 23 ACTION; [illegible] SHADE; 27 FLAME.

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ing and interesting was the music he was given to sing; and that it did not matter that the music delayed the action, because as long as it held our interest it destroyed our sense of time. In other words the drama in an opera must be in its music; that is where it is in those long scenes without any action in "Tristan"; and it was the music of "Tristan" that had held the public's interest in those scenes and kept the work in the Metropolitan's repertory even as it had been performed by poor singers and the wretched orchestra of the Gatti-Casazza period. So with "Fidelio": it happens to have the lively and clear dramatic action that "Tristan" lacks; but more important is the fact that it has some of the greatest dramatic music outside of Mozart's operas, ranging from the charming opening duet to things like the quartet *Mir ist so wunderbar,* Leonore's *Abscheulicher!,* her duet with Rocco, the introduction to the dungeon scene and Florestan's *"Gott! welch' Dunkel hier,* the duet, trio, and quartet that follow, and *O Gott! welch' ein Augenblick!* at the end.

How often is it given, asked Henderson, and with how much public approval? Constantly and with enormous public approval in German Europe, is the answer; and if that isn't so in this country it proves a defect not in "Fidelio" but in impresarios and public. In 1936, when Henderson asked his questions, Mozart's "Figaro" and Verdi's "Otello" had been out of the Metropolitan's repertory for somewhere around twenty years; would he have contended that they too were poor theater insufficiently compensated for by the music? Or would he have conceded the operation of insensitiveness to greatness, of indifference to it, of inertia? For one thing inertia of ideas: "Fidelio" has been produced and loved in Europe because it has been thought of as an opera worthy of production and love; when managers have not produced it or the public has not admired it in this country that has been because of the idea in their minds that it has only "one scene . . . completely saturated with the blood of the theater" and only "one great vocal number, a scena drammatica for soprano, two good choruses which would be better placed in an oratorio," and so on.

BUY BONDS